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The Critical review of theological & philosophical literature

Stewart Dingwall
Fordyce Salmond



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EDITORIAL NOTE.

WITH the present issue we begin the seventh year of the 'Critical Review,' and we have the pleasure of announcing that the Publishers have resolved to enlarge the Volume to the extent of four sheets. The price will remain as before. This addition of 16 pages per Part will make it possible to overtake a larger number of books, and will add, we trust, to the usefulness of the Journal.

We take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the valued help we have had from our esteemed Contributors, and the kind communications which have been sent us from many different parts of the world in appreciation of the 'Review.' We have also to thank the various Publishers, at home and abroad, who have been so prompt and attentive in sending Books for notice. It will be an additional favour if they will remember to forward in all cases the prices of their Publications. We shall spare no pains to make the 'Review' more and more serviceable as a critical survey of the Theological Literature of the day, and we ask the kind co-operation of all interested in it in making it still more widely known.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Christian Ethics.

Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1895, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., by T. B. Strong, M.A., Student of Christ Church. London: Longmans, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxviii. 380. Price, 12s.

WITH few, if any, marked exceptions, recent Bampton lectures have been directed to questions of living interest, and have struck straight at the vital point. In this respect Mr Strong's volume—in spite of the doubt which he hints that some may feel—is not untrue to the later and better tradition. Does Christianity make men better than they would otherwise be? and, if so, how does it do this? are questions which were never of more real concern than to-day. There seem to be two main lines along which the criticism of Christian ethics is at present moving. On one the contents of the teaching are attacked, as when the Positivists maintain that the Christian system is now confronted with a morality which not only rests on a less disputable basis, but is also purer and loftier in itself, and capable of exerting a more widespread influence. This is a contention which raises many interesting points, and is well worth challenging. But on this Mr Strong has little or nothing to say, at least directly. He argues at length the question whether, and if so, why, Christianity realised its ideal to a degree unknown to earlier systems; but he does not directly compare its ideal with that of some modern theories of life. On the other line it is contended that the Christian morality may be retained, and even purified, while the Christian doctrines are discarded as *Aberglaube*, only hindering, at the present stage of the world's development, the general acceptance of the moral teaching. It is against this attitude that Mr Strong directs the whole force of his polemic. His line of argument is so far unfashionable in that it maintains that in every age, and under all conditions, the warfare of the individual with sin is the same, and that it must be fought with the same weapons. While others have laid stress upon the evolution of a more enlightened and sensitive morality among the average of mankind, he seems to put this aside almost impatiently as of little moment, compared with the persistence of the struggle of each new generation with the old problem of personal righteousness. Hence Mr Strong's lectures have little more than the title in common with such books as Dr Newman Smyth's well-known and valuable treatise. They rarely

take up the same ground, and when they do, they approach it from different points of view.

The necessary limitations of a preacher have compelled Mr Strong to keep quite distinct his main line of argument, and the detailed historical discussion and illustration of various topics arising out of it. The former may be set forth and enforced in a series of sermons: the latter not so. Hence his volume contains eight well written and, at times, eloquent lectures; and attached to these a number of detailed notes, sometimes comparatively brief, sometimes extending almost to the length of a treatise. These notes must be passed over briefly in the present article, though the brevity of the notice is not to be taken as the measure of their value. The first treats of the ruling principles of life in classical days: its two main points are, (1) that the Greek idea of divine *φθόνος*, which ruins men out of sheer jealousy, and that of an inexorable necessity, ruling alike the lives of gods and men, equally imply a belief that life is ultimately irrational; and (2) that passion (or emotion) is a mischievous and incalculable element, which is not so much to be controlled as to be extinguished, and which therefore cannot be brought into a theory of life. These two conclusions mean that the deepest thinkers find resting on all human life a cloud of perplexity and failure. Both these points are true and valuable; but Mr Strong would doubtless be the first to admit that the influence of the popular religions of Greece and Italy, with their many-sided manifestations, cannot be summed up in a couple of sentences. The second deals with Judaism and the Law, and argues that the Jews differed from the Pagans, not in the way of approaching God,—through sacrifice and prayer—but in the nature of the God whom they approached; and that the weakness of Judaism lay in its incomplete power of access. This note contains some needful corrections of the popular notions as to the “spiritual religion” of the prophets. Passing over two careful and interesting notes on the use of the terms *virtue* and *πίστις*, we find a very full note (pp. 143-206) on the growth of moral theory from Philo to Augustine. This is mainly directed to show that, besides combining the ethical elements derived from Judaism and Hellenism, the teaching of the Church came to add a distinctive element of its own. Another long note, appended to Lecture V. (pp. 233-266) deals with the history of the Christian doctrine of sin, especially in connection with the problem of free-will. That added to Lecture VI. treats of the problem of the attributes of God; and shows how the raising of this problem is really the theological way of asking whether we can trust the moral sense. All these disquisitions contain much valuable matter. Mr Strong has hardly kept to his promise of referring to all his modern authorities in footnotes; but

even allowing for the help that may have been derived from these, his treatment shows a remarkably wide knowledge of the Fathers and the Schoolmen. It would be unfair to say that *la sauce vaut mieux que le poisson*; but certainly some of his most valuable contributions to the history of ethical thought are to be found in these learned notes.

But to proceed to his main line of argument. The attempt to follow it, not always quite an easy one, is much aided by an excellent analysis, upon which, when occasion arises, I shall draw freely.

The contention of the first lecture is that the attitude towards life of the Greek and the Jew alike is marked by an air of disappointment and failure. This is due in the former case partly to the fact that ethics was treated as a science, aiming solely at the formulation of facts; partly to the result of this, that externally imposed ideals brought with them no motive strong enough to dominate the will. There is, of course, nothing new in this; *video meliora proboque deteriora sequor* is the final sentence on the ethics of the most elevated Paganism. But it is worth while saying once more in face of the modern Neo-Pagan ethics, which, with all their charm of culture, are proving just as powerless; and it is said and illustrated well. In the case of the Jews the moral ideal was not left to exercise its own attractive influence; it was embodied in a law; but this law only stood outside and issued commands. Its working on the will was limited to those whose spiritual nature was such as to respond to it. "In hard, narrow unspiritual natures it produced the most unlovely character almost that has yet appeared in history; with less moral depth and more stiff self-righteousness than has been developed under any other system of moral principles. When it failed, it failed grievously. When it succeeded, it declared itself incomplete." Here again Mr Strong does not do more than expand the dictum of St Paul, that "righteousness came not by the Law," though there is much which is very instructive in the reasons for this. It may occasion more surprise to find the Bampton lecturer placing the Sermon on the Mount in the same category as the Mosaic law, and pronouncing it equally liable to St Paul's sharp sentence, "the Law killeth." So far as it is a law—though the "Teaching" is surely more than this, with all that it has to say about the Kingdom—Mr Strong is right. The one and the other alike command from without.¹ "As if a law were made easier to

¹ It is tempting, perhaps, but surely incorrect to treat, as Mr Strong does, Matt. v. 48 (*ἐρεσθε οὗν ὑμεῖς τέλει*) as a promise, not a command. The parallel of Deuter. xiii. 18 is enough to decide that the verb must be a virtual imperative. It is misleading to speak of "the true text"; there is no difference of reading which touches the interpretation.

keep by being made more difficult." So far from being, as many now think, the substance and the essence of Christian morality, it is hardly Christian morality at all. The new relations which are the basis of Christian ethics are scarcely adumbrated here. The Gospels indeed throughout contain extremely little moral exhortation. What instruction of this kind is to be found in them arises out of Christ's opening up of the permanent moral meaning of the events on which he made comment. It is incidental, and nowhere takes the form of a code. It is true that in them the ideal becomes historic; it is no longer imaginary: but an ideal is not the easier to imitate because it is historical. The true significance of Christ's human life lies in his revelation of the secret of His power; and this He often indicates to be His union with the Father. Now it was only after His Resurrection and the coming of the Holy Spirit that it was, or could be, realised how this union was possible to all men, viz., by their being united by the new spiritual life to Christ Himself. This gives a new ethical impulse, the strength of which could be and was directly experienced. Hence we see why faith in Jesus as the revealer of the Father was the substance of the Apostle's teaching.

Here one is tempted to feel that Mr Strong is putting unduly into the background the more immediate, as compared with the ultimate, reasons for the new life which came into the world. As a basis for theological explanation, his analysis is admirable; and we may have to fall back upon it as bringing out what in the long run would prove a necessary factor. But the question arises whether it was not in the first instance a simpler force which told upon the vast mass of the early converts. Can we really in most cases go behind the passionate devotion to a Person, called out by a belief in His infinite self-sacrificing love? The theological justification of this is one thing; the historically operative force is another. The consciousness of the Church found the former needful for the permanence of the latter; but it would be hard to show that it began with it. In somewhat the same way Mr Strong is right in laying stress on the treatment of man as a social being by Christianity, and on the unity into which every Christian is admitted by baptism as the *normal* environment of every Christian soul. But he would have been more true both to theory and to experience if he had not gone beyond his earlier assertion that this is *one* important motive to moral action. The distinctively Christian forces making for righteousness may be and are at times found fully operative outside of what he treats as their necessary conditions.

In dealing with the three theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity, Mr Strong points out that the Apostles provide no system

of Christian duties ; their ethical judgments, like those of Christ Himself, are almost always incidental, in connexion with occasional circumstances. But these three moral ideas frequently emerge into view, often associated with each other. They set forth fully, when combined, the attitude of men towards the facts on which the new creed rests. And they have a direct bearing on the old problems of life. The end of man, so long discussed in the schools, is now seen to be conscious union with God through Christ. The unruly element of passion, with which the Greek philosophers had found it so difficult to deal, is brought into line, because hope and love themselves dominate and transform the emotions, and do not leave them to be controlled by reason as an alien force. The question why these three theological virtues are necessary factors in the Christian life is answered when we remember that they, and they alone, unite the Christian with the central facts on which the Christian dispensation rests, and with that new and spiritual order into which it was the mission of Christ to translate him. The difficult question of the nature of faith is dealt with carefully. The varying senses in which the word is used by different writers of the New Testament are distinguished ; and it is finally defined as a continual habit of confidence in the Wisdom and Love which guides the course of the world. But this confidence is based upon an acceptance of the historical tradition of the life and work of Christ, and of the interpretation put upon it by the New Testament and the Church Catholic ; and therefore it is a virtue, or perfect state, of the intellect made possible by the existence of a certain state of the will.

The theological virtues give the most profound exposition of a man's moral character, determining as they do his relation to the true end of life. The four cardinal virtues represent the ideal of Greek life ; but they needed to be reinterpreted before they could answer to the Christian ideal. This was due mainly to the new view of the value of human personality, and to adjust the current ethical conceptions to this was a serious problem for the Church, which was solved only by degrees. Ultimately the virtues find their place as modes of the love which is the life of the new society. Mr Strong very acutely notes how the danger that the Christian ethical theory should lead to a narrow individualism is met by the strenuous assertion of the equal manhood of all men ; for this carries with it the impulse as well as the duty to extend the faith to all. A church which is not a missionary church is lacking in one of the most necessary conditions for a harmoniously developed ethical life.

The lecture on the ethical meaning of sin shows how the conception of sin as inevitable, due to the present conditions of man's life,

gives rise to political rather than ethical systems, and suggests a change in the surroundings rather than in the man. Christianity, here drawing upon Judaism, views it as rebellion; but it treats it more coolly, though not less severely. There is less of panic, less of passionate indignation, "because it is no longer a haunting fear against which it is impossible to provide, because the separation between man and God is at an end . . . the whole nature of man has been raised up into relation with a spiritual order." This is a striking and profound remark. It leads to two conclusions which would hardly be anticipated. First, that a wilful breach of contact with God must be possible in the intellectual region, and that when it occurs it is sin. We hear so much at present of the duty of unbiassed search after truth, and of the faith that lives in honest doubt, that it is well to be reminded at times that there may be sin in the use of the intellect as well as of the affections. Second, that "failures to do what the conditions of society demand, failures still more to answer the claims of the spiritual society, are not only misfortunes and injuries to the fabric of society, they are sins against God." Hence, as the very basis of the Christian scheme is the solidarity of mankind, and the creation of a society of which purity from all sin is the law, the Church must exercise a discipline over individual members. On this point Mr Strong dwells at greater length afterwards; and we must return to it then to consider exactly what he means by it. The question of the nature of the society which Christianity postulates will also arise later.

The lecture on Morality and Reason is an attempt to answer the question why the individual will should be bound to obey the command of God; and the rational justification of this is found to lie in the fact that His commands are the expression of Divine Wisdom. If the Divine King is perfectly wise, in the only sense which we can imply when we use the term, it is simply irrational for us to refuse obedience to His commands. Here is found the answer to Mr Kidd's difficulty that reason can never explain the surrender of individual interests to those of society. This meets not less Mr Arthur Balfour's argument that authority is the source of most of our beliefs, and that it is therefore idle and misleading to look to reason to justify them; that our convictions have been accepted unquestioningly from our "psychological climate," the validity of which we have never seriously attempted to test. Mr Strong argues admirably that in the Incarnation we have the manifestation of the whole Wisdom and Love of God in their inseparable union. There is, of course, nothing novel in this: but it finds its place just at the right point of the argument. There is no passage in the book which rises to a higher key than this: unfortunately, it is too long for quotation. It is all the

more welcome as it follows on a somewhat technical statement of the views of the schoolmen, Aquinas, Scotus, and Ockam.

The seventh lecture is in substance a protest against false conceptions of Christian ethics, which came in with the Reformation. Up to that date, in Mr Strong's judgment, the Church had met with fair success in its task of moralizing the world. It had developed and systematized the theological and moral principles on which Christianity was based. The development of monastic life shows that the Church has set up a very high standard of self-denial; and the extent of the penitential literature proves that it had largely succeeded in coercing and civilizing the rough wills of the rude people which it embraced. But from the time of the Reformation there has been growing a gulf of separation between the doctrine of the Church and morality. It has no longer been held that the one basis of Christian morality is the new life bestowed in Christ: it has come to be felt that doctrine is simply an irrelevant appendage. Mr Strong recognizes that the theological Reformation was accompanied by a strong and whole-hearted yearning for good: but he believes that none the less the divergence between morality and the creeds, "which is notorious in England, and still more in Germany," naturally, and as a fact, began with this. Yet "the Reformation was an effort to restore primitive belief and practice, to bring morality again within the range of Christian teaching, and to get rid of the shameful spectacle of a Christendom which was morally debased." What is the explanation? The lecturer finds it in three facts: the revolt against a usurped authority led to the revolt against all authority; the reassertion of the position of the individual passed into a pure individualism; the rejection of the exclusive claim of ecclesiastics to control the State led to the substitution of the State for the Church as the true home and the natural sphere of action of the human spirit. But these have led, he holds, to a destruction of the unity of life. "Religion, on the basis of pure individualism, is not naturally, and cannot be, the supreme motive, and the synthetic force which binds together and makes rational all the various elements of life." It may be suspected once more that Mr Strong is over-subtle in his analysis. Without denying the existence of the forces which he traces, may we not say that the tendency to separate religion and morality was, with plain men, then as now, just the fact that they were not found in practice to have any connexion? When those most faithful to their religious duties were also the most ambitious, the most faithless, the most tyrannous, who could readily believe that creeds and sacraments had any relation to conduct? The peasant and the burgher of the sixteenth century were not so unlike the British working-man of to-day. If he sees moral strength and

beauty in action, he will ask as to its source and believe what he is told; if a life does not attract him, it will be useless to tell him that it ought on all theory to be ideal. But a graver objection lies against Mr Strong's treatment of this topic. It is idle to find fault with a book for what it does not contain; and eight sermons, of a length tolerable only to long-suffering congregations, give but scanty space for any development of the preacher's main positions. Much of what is most interesting in the application of the principles of Christian ethics Mr Strong has deliberately put aside. No questions can be of more importance than those which concern the interpretation of commands of Christ in the light of modern economic science or experience—questions of communism, of usury, of marriage, of temperance. But they do not suggest themselves naturally in his treatment of the subject. It is not quite the same when he considers the relation of the Christian to the State. On the one hand he ignores too much the fact that the State, not less than the Church (and much more than any section of the Church), is an ordinance of God. It is a great thing to be "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," it is no little or mean thing to be members of the common state, sharing in the memories, the traditions, the responsibilities and the hopes which bind every Englishman to his fellows. Has Christian ethics nothing to say to the whole, as well as to the part? The course of history has so moulded this state of ours that a unity based upon a common creed, still more upon a single organisation, can never again embrace the whole of its members. Is it not well to keep in view, and to lay stress upon, the bases of unity which still are possible? Mr Strong has emphasised the limitations of a religion based upon pure individualism. But there is an element here which surely has a strongly uniting force. It is significant of the lines on which Mr Strong has treated his subject, that there is nowhere, if I am not mistaken, any reference to *responsibility*, yet this conception is very near to the centre of the notion of religion. So long as the members of a State feel that they are responsible to the supreme ruler for their words and acts there will be a true unity of moral action, which a futile or fictitious assent to the same creeds could never produce.

The purport of the last lecture may be summed up in one phrase, to which, indeed, the whole argument has been converging, that the Church should resume its functions of discipline. After repeated reading I find it quite impossible to determine what Mr Strong really means by this. He says that there are two obvious objections to it—first, the danger of casuistry, and second, the danger of sacerdotalism. In the case of the two typi-

cal instances of the former, the Pharisees and the Jesuits, Mr Strong argues that the evil arose from the fact that the intellectual faculty was misused in the interests of moral perversity. This, of course, is in no way inherent in the practice; definite guidance may be given from the purest and highest motives. The latter he finds arising whenever the laity and the priesthood are separated in the conception of the Christian life. On both these heads he has some sound remarks. But when he passes on to explain what he means by the revival of the functions of discipline, there is a vagueness in his language which is to me simply bewildering. "Of course the old universal claim of the priesthood to direct the moral lives of men is, in England, at least, an obsolete custom, dead beyond all hope of rising again." A recovery of discipline is defined as "the restoration of an internal spirit in the Church," a feeling of the Church as one body united to one Head, following one law in the strength of one Spirit. But when we ask how this would affect the moral conduct of the individual, we are left with little guidance. We are told that it should be a recognised fact that Christians would take a Christian view of all things which come under their cognisance. A consummation devoutly to be wished, and one towards which Christian teachers of every sect are unwearingly labouring. Four out of every five sermons that one hears—at least of the good ones—are directed to this object. But "discipline" is a meaningless term unless it implies penalties for its infraction. We can understand the discipline exercised by a priestly order, which visited with tremendous penalties any rebellion against their guidance, even in thought and will. But to say nothing of other most serious objections, this involves the habitual practice of auricular confession, that motives may be known and judged with at least as much severity as more venial open offences. It is a graver moral delinquency to give an unconscientious vote at an election than to get drunk and disorderly; and a Church discipline is morally ineffective which can punish the latter, but must let the former go free. But again the Church in England is quite without the means of giving the decisions needful for any discipline in the true sense of the term. Would a graduated income-tax be a dishonest plundering of the rich, or legitimate consideration for the poor? Ought we to have followed the Bishops in voting against the abolition of the slave-trade, or against the representation of Manchester and Birmingham? Who is to be the mouth-piece of the Church? It is with deep regret that I find myself compelled to differ so widely from the ultimate outcome of a book in which there is much which is instructive, and much more which, if not novel, is admirably

stated. But I cannot but feel that here Mr Strong is oscillating between what is obvious and all but universal, and what is visionary and dangerous. If he means that Christian teachers are to hold up a high standard of duty for Christians as such, *quis negabit*? If he means that the Church has a right and a duty so to control its members as to secure by the infliction of penal measures (such as temporary or complete expulsion) that they shall not live by secular standards, then he is claiming for it a function for which it has not either the officials, or the processes, or the criteria. Conduct flagrantly inconsistent with the Christian profession is a different thing, and of that we are not speaking; but a general lowering of the moral tone, resulting in a falling short of the full demands of the Christian life, can never be dealt with otherwise than by an inspiration of spiritual force, and then no discipline will be needed. A. S. WILKINS.

A History of the Hebrews.

By R. Kittel, Professor in the University of Breslau. In 2 vols. Vol. II. Sources of Information and History of the Period down to the Babylonian Exile. Trans. by Hope W. Hogg and E. B. Speirs. (Theological Translation Library. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., and the Rev. A. B. Bruce, D.D.) Lond.: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 420. Price, 10s. 6d.

THIS concluding volume of Kittel's work will be very welcome to those who do not care to use the original. The volume covers the whole history both of Israel and Judah from the settlement in Canaan down to the fall of Jerusalem in 586. The review of so extended a period within the compass of 400 pages implies the omission of a mass of details; but this is just what constitutes the charm and value of Kittel's book, that neglecting details it sketches the significant movements of the history in bold and graphic lines. It is the spirit of the history which the author seeks to detect and reveal. The book is anything but a meagre outline of the commonplace incidents of the story of Israel known to everybody. Many a time, even when narrating familiar episodes, the author puts his finger on some incident usually overlooked, and combining it with the familiar details, gives the whole a new meaning, and sets the conduct of the chief actors in a different light.

As in his former volume, Kittel gives first a literary criticism of the materials, the narratives in Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which are available for historical treatment, and then on this foundation rears his own historical construction. In estimating these early

narratives he pursues a *via media*, declining on the one hand to at once discard them as legendary and historically worthless, and recognising on the other that their details require examination. As the result of this examination, he is able in most cases to maintain that there is an important historical element in the most ancient stories, which it is the duty of the historian to extricate and assign its place in the fabric of his narrative. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those in which the internal condition of the people at various epochs is sketched—their customs, religion, and morals. The section on the period of the Judges is particularly valuable. The processes that went on in this age, with their natural results, really afford the key to the subsequent religious history of the people, and particularly to the meaning of the prophetic writings. The Canaanite population was not exterminated by Israel, but absorbed into Israel, and with the population there necessarily was taken in also a mass of heathenish ideas and immoral rites. A new Israel arose, larger in bulk, and including masses of people devoted to lower religious practices, and living on a lower plane of morals; and in this way the higher religious and moral spirit of Israel had presented to it the task of penetrating and animating a mass of thought very dissimilar to itself. It is proof of the power and fresh vigour of the Jehovah religion that, notwithstanding Israel's inferiority in numbers to the native population, it did not succumb before the Baal worship. Israel did not become worshippers of Baal, but the Canaanites become worshippers of Jehovah. It could not but be that a religion of Jehovah would thus arise which was debased by many Canaanitish elements. Two religions of Jehovah thus existed side by side, a higher and a lower, the pure religion of Mosaic Israel and the debased religion created by amalgamation with the Canaanites; and it is the conflict between these two religions of Jehovah which fills the pages of the prophets and gives its profound meaning to the history of Israel. The religious mind of Israel did not develop altogether in a straight line from Moses downwards; it underwent a deflection on entering Canaan. This is the testimony of all the prophets; and to regard their view as unhistorical and nothing but their throwing back their own ideal upon Israel's earliest age is not only to do injustice to the historical sense of the prophets, but to disregard the data of history. Perhaps Kittel handles Saul somewhat harshly; and the concluding portion of his work, treating of the age of Jeremiah and the downfall of the state, has been made rather meagre by the necessity for compression. But, altogether, the work deserves the heartiest recognition.

Unfortunately the translation cannot be spoken of in very high

terms. Some parts of it read well enough, but it is never felicitous, and the English is often most helpless. Possibly the English reader will derive from it a general idea of what the author says, but it is what he says with the point too often broken off, and the colour too often effaced. We have made no formal comparison of the translation with the original, but merely while reading over the English turned up the original when something was encountered that caused a jolt in our progress. Not much weight is to be laid on such curiosities as "it is extremely impossible" (p. 227), on the omission of *not* in the sentence, Elah "has even taken the field" (p. 255), or on "*surer* and more certain of victory," for *purser* (p. 259), and similar things (p. 195); they are examples of carelessness, but nothing more. But the translators are curiously destitute of what might be called the sense of language. They speak of a *slender* impression, where the author says *wenig tief*—anything but *deep* (p. 259). Jeremiah is "consumed by a warm love for his nation," where the original says *hot*, for which some vigorous English word might have been found (p. 385). Saul "saw spectres everywhere which *brewed* disaster"! No wonder he went mad. In Kittel the spectres do not brew, they brüten (p. 119). And what could be more feckless than this in regard to Athaliah: "A daughter of the proud Jezebel, she was not disposed to vacate her place with any readiness"! This is putting it mildly, certainly. Or could anything be more ludicrous than this circumstantial way of expressing the idea that a decisive conflict between Nebuchadnezzar and Egypt was inevitable: "But when Nineveh fell it *was necessary* that *there should be some clear definite understanding* between Egypt and the new lord of the East as to which was to be master"—musste es zur entscheidenden Auseinandersetzung kommen (p. 389). The translation is full of imbecilities of this kind. But there are other things more serious. On p. 15 we read: "No one will regard it as a serious objection to this view that the Priestly writing P was not continued *through the time* of Joshua"—über die Zeit Josuas hinaus, *beyond* the time of Joshua. Surely everybody knows that P as well as JE carries the history *through* the time of Joshua. P does not go beyond his time, and the question which Kittel discusses here is whether J and E go beyond it. He is not convinced that they do, though the view has a number of supporters, such as Budde. It is incomprehensible how the editors could have passed a mistake like this. The middle paragraph on p. 17 entirely misapprehends the author's meaning, and is indeed unintelligible. Again, over the leaf, on p. 18, this occurs: "This being the case, it must recommend itself to us as the safer way, *in seeking the historical value of the Judge-stories for the time of their origin*, not to trust to the results already won

for E and J," &c. What "historical value for the time of their origin" might mean need not be discussed; what Kittel means is, that it will be safer "in enquiring into the historical value of the stories of the Judges, not to rely for the date of their origin upon the results already won for E and J." Kittel doubts if JE be found in Judges, and consequently considers the dates found for J and E in Pentateuch criticism not decisive for the dates of the narratives in Judges, each of which must be investigated independently. On p. 22 occurs an instance of what is so common in the translation, viz., missing the point of the author: "To it [the older narrative in Jud. xvii.-xxi.] belonged, beside the story of the outrage in ch. xvii., *perhaps* the account of *the* hostile procedure against Gibeah"—wohl die Nachricht über ein feindliches Vorgehen, *no doubt* the account of *a* hostile proceeding, &c. The point which Kittel makes is that in the older narrative there was no doubt the account of *a* or some kind of hostile proceeding against Gibeah, though not at all of such a proceeding as the passage in its present form describes. On p. 23 it is said of Samuel: "He believes he has found the right man *for them* in Saul—für sie is no doubt *for it*—viz., the royal crown, mentioned in the previous clause. The sentence on p. 67, near foot, has no meaning: "Two powerful and dangerous enemies of every normal development *of a feeling of common interest*, stood in Israel's way, retarding it at every step—internal want of union and attacks from without"; which should be, every normal development *of a community*, eines Gemeinwesens. Passing over a multitude of minor inaccuracies, we may note on p. 248: "She is said to have set up *the Ashera*, 'an abomination,' which was destroyed by Asa"—der Ashera einen Greuel, i.e., erected *to* Ashera an abomination. Ashera is here a goddess. On p. 252 a really incredible mistake occurs: "Until the disappearance of the sanctuary at Shiloh, and thus *until the break up of the Philistine rule by Saul*, Dan contained a graven image"—also bis zu den Wirren der Philisterherrschaft vor Saul, *till the confusions of the Philistine rule before* (the time of) *Saul*. The continuation of the same sentence: "and then after this *it* seems to have been disused *as a sacred place*," is in direct contradiction to the footnote, "The sanctuary itself naturally continues to exist." It was the image that fell into disuse, not the sanctuary; there is nothing in the original for *as a sacred place*. One more instance out of many must suffice. On p. 318, "in Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, the God of the world has decreed the breaking in pieces of His own people that *He may maintain justice in the world by means of His moral world-order*"—damit er in der Welt Recht behalte mit seiner sittlichen Weltordnung. The translation has no meaning. The

phrase *Recht behalten* does not mean "to maintain justice." The rendering of the expression on p. 369, "Isaiah had triumphantly *shewn himself to be in the right*," at least comes nearer its meaning. It is not easy to see why the translators sometimes omit important expressions, *e.g.*, p. 62, in the first two lines; p. 159, "Jahve's hand was withdrawn," which has no meaning without the omitted adj. *segnende*; and why should the words "direct to Jerusalem and Tyre" have been left out at the end of the first paragraph on p. 189? They certainly add to the meaning of the statement there. On p. 315 it is said of the prophets: "*incomparable in themselves*, and as unique in their performances," &c.—the first words probably meant to express Kittel's *denen kein Volk Aehnliches an die Seite zu setzen hat*, to whom no people has anything analogous to compare. Justice to Kittel and to his readers required that this very explicit statement about the Hebrew prophets should have been clearly brought out. The translators have not been quite equal to their task, though editorial supervision should have come to their help. But the Editors, like Baal, appear to have been on a journey, or peradventure sleeping.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

Jewish Life in the Middle Ages.

By Israel Abrahams, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 452. Price, 7s 6d nett.

MR ABRAHAM'S new work, "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," promises well for the Jewish Library of which it forms the first instalment. It is a fine piece of work, bearing evidence of the great industry and wide reading of the author. This will be seen from the index of Hebrew authorities given at the end of the volume; especially from the long list of Responsa. Of this branch of Jewish literature Mr Abrahams has made much more extensive use than his German predecessors in the same field; a branch of literature the more important as the "Questions and Answers" were mostly dealing with actual cases, not with imaginary or possible life.

The range of subjects such as life suggests, all of which fall under Mr Abrahams' scholarly treatment, is very wide, and nothing less than a full reproduction of the table of contents, with its three hundreds of headings, would give an adequate notion of the various religious and social topics which Mr Abrahams touches upon in his learned book. In fact, he accompanies the Jew from

his cradle to his grave, follows him through all stages of life, observes him both in his serious moments and his pastimes, makes himself acquainted with all his occupations, both sacred and secular, and enters with full sympathy into his joys and his sorrows. In this short notice we cannot attempt even to hint at this variety of subjects. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves only to a few general remarks.

The centre of this life was, as Mr Abrahams rightly tells us, the Synagogue. "The Jewish quarter seems to have grown up round the Synagogue, which was thus the centre of Jewish life, both locally as well as religiously." The main functions of the Synagogue were prayer and teaching, and the regulation of the charities. But considering that there was hardly a moment in Jewish life which was not sanctified by prayer, and that on the other hand learning was not limited to a caste, but "all thy children be taught of the Lord." The atmosphere of the Synagogue soon enveloped the whole life of the Jew. The private houses were only as many extensions of the Synagogue, in which the morning prayers were continued, by the grace spoken before and after the meals, and by various other benedictions on every possible and impossible occasion. Prayer, says an old Jewish mystic, is the moment when heaven and earth kiss each other. The old Jew seems, as a true lover, to have always been on the lookout to steal a kiss, and thus prayed under every pretence, in and out of season, in the house of God as well as in the streets and in his private dwelling. The great opportunity, however, for private worship was on the eve of the Sabbath and the festivals. Some writers, who pretend to penetrate through the darkness of the "Night of Legalism," maintain that among other pernicious effects of the acceptance of the Law was also this that it impaired the natural joy of the earlier times, for it was not the nation which returned from the exile, but a religious sect. Delitzsch, in his charming little book "*Iris*," (p. 189 seq.) has thoroughly disposed of this fallacy. "Unity of religion, common religious worship, and a central sanctuary are surely not things which rob a people of its national character." But it will be seen in Mr Abrahams' book how much gladness and rejoicing is compatible even with the life of a religious sect such as Jews were in the middle ages. "The Jewish table-songs," Mr Abrahams tells us, "were the bridge between the human and the divine, and they were at once prayers and merry glees" (p. 133). Our fatherland is the Bible, exclaimed once the well-known philologist Jacob Bernays. The Middle Age Jews were not only quite ready to die for this fatherland, but also to live for it and in it. And if the Sabbath imposed upon him many a privation, he was richly compensated by the

presence of his family, which would "remain for hours round the table, singing those curious but beautiful hymns :

' Light and rejoicing to Israel,
Sabbath the soother of sorrow,
Comfort of downtrodden Israel,
Healing the hearts that were broken.' "

Of a similar strain of intense religious joy, tempered only by the memory of Zion, is the wedding liturgy. Mr Abrahams' chapter on marriage customs is particularly brilliant, perhaps the most interesting in the book, but we want only to draw attention here to the seven benedictions which formed a part both of the ceremony in the Synagogue and of the grace after the wedding banquet. The first mention of them is made in the second century, but they were probably composed long before. The sixth and the seventh run thus:—"O make the loved companions greatly to rejoice, even as of old Thou didst gladden Thy creatures in the garden of Eden. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who makest bridegroom and bride to rejoice." Then "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, mirth and exultation, pleasure and delight, love, brotherhood, peace and fellowship. Soon may there be heard in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of joy and gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the jubilant voice of bridegrooms from their canopies, and of youths from their feasts of song. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who makest the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride." This divine joy, which develops in the later literature into *amor Dei*, becomes a favourite topic both with Jewish philosophers and with mystics (cf. Joel's *Lewi ben Gerson*, p. 69, and Zimmel's *Leo Hebracus*, p. 75).

The second main function of the Synagogue is, as we have said, teaching, or rather education. In chapters xix and xx Mr Abrahams gives us an excellent account of the mediæval Jewish schools, and the references in the footnotes will enable the student to follow up the subject to its earliest history in the pre-Christian era. The crowning product of these schools was the Rabbi. By means of the index the reader will find it easy to form some picture of this interesting Jewish species, both of his rights and his duties. We could have only wished that the author had seen his way to dwell a little longer on the significance of the various titles and dignities connected more or less with the Rabbi, as Eminence (Gaon), Leader (Nagid), Prince (Nasi), and Prince of the exile, which all in their turn disappear in the Middle Ages. The point about which we are mostly in need of information is that of ordination, which was the making of the Rabbi.

Maimonides, indeed, establishes a regular Rabbinical succession, beginning with Joshua (Numbers xxvii. 23) as the first ordained disciple by Moses, and brought down by the elders (Joshua xxiv. 31), and their successors—each ordaining those who were to follow after him—to the latest posterity holding courts of justice in the first centuries after the destruction of the Second Temple. We may take the statement for what it is worth; there is, probably, as much historical truth in it as in other successions of a similar nature. But there can be little doubt, from the New Testament, as well as from the Talmud, that the institution dates from very ancient times; though, according to the latter, it is rather doubtful in what the ceremony consisted, whether in the laying on of hands or in conferring the title of Rabbi. But of whatever nature it was, we know that the ordination was still in the second century considered to be of such importance that the famous martyr, Judah ben Baba, actually endangered his life to carry out this ceremony, which was forbidden by the Romans on political grounds. Still, about the beginning of the Middle Ages, the whole institution was abolished without any perceivable detriment to Judaism. Only in the sixteenth century a strained effort was made to restore it, but without success. Judaism meant to survive its orders, and the Rabbi had to become a simple student who acquires his authority, not on the strength of any external symbol, but by reason of his personal worth. Even any specific style of dress was resented. "Why are the disciples of the wise of Babylon distinguished by their dress?" exclaimed an old Rabbi, "because they are not the children of the Torah" (scholars). The *morenu* (our teacher) diploma of later ages which entitled the recipient to give decisions in ritual questions and to act as judge, was, as Mr Abrahams rightly points out, (p. 356) in no sense an ordination—but a mere *venia docendi*. But it is clear from Messer David Leon's Responsa, that even this harmless title was looked upon, in some quarters, as aping "the customs of the Gentiles who make doctors," just as in modern times some Rabbis begin again to play at imposition. Rather interesting is a diploma which has come down to us from antiquity running thus: "Behold, we have sent you a great man, and in what does his greatness consist? He is not ashamed to say I know not" (Jerushalmi Tractate Chagigah 77d). Another interesting remark in the same Talmud, in connection with our subject, is to be found in Tractate Bikkurim 65d. It refers to cases of Simony, the candidates having acquired their orders by a donation to the patriarch in whom the power of ordination vested. This abuse, as we read there, called forth the wrath of the more independent Rabbis, and they not only declined to call them Rabbi—

which practically meant as much as to declare their orders invalid—but applied to them the words of the Scriptures : Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold (Exodus xx. 21). Altogether, the whole history of Judaism bears witness to the fact that any concentration of authority, or any patronage of the Synagogue by the State, always proved fatal to it, retarding its progress and free development. The Synagogue is a democratic institution, and its constitution is essentially congregational, for wherever ten are occupied in the words of the Torah (or any other religious occupation) there the divine presence is resting among them, and can only thrive in the air of real freedom and liberty.

The organisation of the charities, which is another main function of the Synagogue, and the various occupations of the Jews which formed a part of their education, the father being advised by the Rabbis to teach his son a trade, are treated by Mr Abrahams in a very complete and scholarly manner, and will prove not less instructive to the philanthropist than to the political economist. We wish only to add here the following passage from *Die Textilkunst*,¹ by Dr Otto von Schorn, bearing evidence to the importance of the Jews for the maintenance and development of certain trades in the Middle Ages. "The 'point d'Espagne,' which plays so large a part in all court inventories of the Renaissance, was not really a kind of lace, but a sort of art-embroidery, in which gold and silver threads and coloured silks were worked together, by the intertwining of which they obtained a most artistic effect, still heightened by the frequent use of designs of Moorish style. As this branch of industry in former ages lay mostly in the hands of the Jews, every fresh expulsion of the Jews caused a great lack of such art works for Church decoration. In Spain, most renowned for this industry were chiefly the towns of Barcelona, Valencia and Seville." There is something ironically tragic in the thought that the clerical glitter and pomp at an Autodafé of Jews may have often been the product of Jewish taste and craftsmanship.

We have already stated that the centre of Jewish life was the Synagogue. The only serious fault we have to find with our learned author is that he did not more steadily cling to this centre, but granted too much space for such topics as athletics, games, card-playing and similar subjects. There may be something soothing in the thought of muscular religion which enables the young candidate for the ministry to look upon the cricket-field as a sort of consecrated ground, and upon his flannels as a kind of

¹ I am indebted for this quotation to my friend Frau Professor Badt, of Breslau, who both drew my attention to it, and copied it for me.

holy vestments. But we are not aware that there is much room for such a deception in the Synagogue. On the whole, it was rather hostile to idleness under any form, and least of all has it encouraged men to make of idleness a fine art. Mr Abrahams says, in his admirable introduction, that the reader may possibly find that his book is less a survey of Jewish life than of Jewish lives. But are all lives worth living, or to be recorded as Jewish life? We venture to think that there would have been more unity in his work had Mr Abrahams not allowed his centre to be broken by those aspects of life which are mere accidents. Jewish life within the Synagogue, and its far extending influence, will never be devoid of a certain unity, much as this unity may be impaired by local conditions; outside the Synagogue the Jew loses his identity, and his life breaks up into lives. Regarding Jewish life from the point of view of the Synagogue, we shall also be able to account for the fact which Mr Abrahams finds so strange, that it was the German Jews "who ended in gaining influence over their brethren in Europe." The mental horizon of the Spanish Jew was undoubtedly wider than that of the Franco-German Rabbi, "to whom but the literature of religion was worth study." But people of a wide horizon are often apt to fall into a sort of mental squinting which, by constantly looking at both sides of the question, sees neither side clearly. The German Rabbi was "the master of one occupation," and this occupation was the Synagogue. The Synagogue of the saintly R. Meir of Rothenburg was certainly not so broad as that of the many-sided Ibn Kaspi, but it gained the more in depth. And in the end it is depth which carries the day. It would even seem as if the very versatility of the Spanish Rabbi proved in course of history fatal to the permanence of his work. I am thinking of two hymns which are still recited by the Jews, on the eve of the Day of Atonement; the "Song of the Unity," by an anonymous German Rabbi; and the "Crown of the Kingdom," by R. Solomon Ibn Gabirol, of Saragossa in Spain. The hymn of the Spanish Rabbi is undoubtedly the grander of the two, both in style and in philosophical conception. But whilst there is nothing in the "Song of the Unity" to which the worshipper of the nineteenth century could raise any serious objection, Ibn Gabirol unfortunately knew too much, and wove into his crown a long discursive meditation over the cosmos which, being based on the Ptolemaic conception of the Universe, is now entirely obsolete, and marked with the words: "Some omit it."

S. SCHECHTER.

The Faith of Islam.

By the Rev. Edward Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., Fellow of the University of Madras. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. xvi. 370. Price, 12s. 6d.

SINCE Mr Sell in 1880 published the first edition of *The Faith of Islam* it has remained the unrivalled authority on its subject. Written by one who, for fifteen years, had resided in India, and who had been during that time in daily intercourse with Musalmans, who also had made a diligent study of the recognised authorities, and proved himself able to use them with a mind singularly free from prejudice, it is not surprising that his book should at once have taken the place it took, and still retains. Until the appearance of Mr Sell's work, although the English reader had access to trustworthy lives of Muhammad, and to full and interesting histories of the extension of Islam, he was dependent for his knowledge of its doctrine on Sale's introduction to his translation of the Quran, or to Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*. The latter work was, indeed, of great merit. It treated the same subjects as Mr Sell handles, and with the same reference to the sources, and a similar familiarity with the present beliefs of the Musalman and their results in actual life. But, as Mr Hughes indicated in the title of his valuable book, he did not aim at the same completeness as Mr Sell. This completeness is much more nearly attained in the second than in the first edition of the *Faith of Islam*. "Revised and enlarged" means that every paragraph has been reconsidered and has received such alterations as seemed advisable, and that the volume has been increased by about a third, especially through the introduction of certain phases of modern Muslim thought in India and Persia omitted from the first edition.

Naturally, Mr Sell begins his work with an exposition of the Foundations of Islam. These are four in number: the Quran, Tradition, the unanimous consent of the leading theologians, and deductions, inferences, or applications of the utterances of the Quran, or of tradition. An analogy might obviously be drawn between the foundations of Islam and the foundations of the Romanist creed. And in this part of Mr Sell's exposition the reader is throughout pursued by the thought that as soon as the light of scientific criticism is let in upon the superstructure that is so based, it must utterly vanish as surely as a palace of ice dissolves before the sun. And the interesting passages in the history of Islam are those which describe the efforts which thinkers of

intelligence and earnestness have, from time to time, made to introduce some elasticity and spirituality into the system. Mr Sell's chapters on the Faith and practice of Muhammadans are eminently informative, but by far the most interesting chapter in the book is that which describes the heresies and unexpected developments of Islam. The Sufis and the Babis show us that under any religious system, however narrow and however rigid, the human soul will assert its right to truth and to expansion. The influence of the man Muhammad is felt to this hour, the influence of a man who had the one sole virtue of being obstinate in his convictions, but who was as far behind David in the poetry of devotion as he was behind St John in purity of character and St Paul in keenness of insight and modernness of mind. Could Muhammad have foreseen that among those born within the pale of Islam there would arise men of far higher religious genius and speculative power than himself, it might, perhaps, have modified his arrogance, and prompted him to make some provision for freedom of thought.

Mr Sell's account of the beliefs and sects of Islam is full and detailed, perhaps somewhat too detailed and technical for the general reader, yet eminently satisfactory to the student. Dogma is divided into "roots" and "branches," the former including the doctrine of God, and being founded on the Quran and tradition. Differences of opinion regarding the "branches" or deductions from the root doctrine, gave rise to the Muhammadan scholastic theology. All enquiry into the nature of God was forbidden, for "just as the eye turning to the brightness of the sun finds darkness intervene to prevent all observation, so the understanding finds itself bewildered if it attempts to pry into the nature of God." Even deductions from the dogma of the Quran were frowned upon and repressed: one Imam is reported to have said that a man who enquired into such matters should be tied to a stake and carried about, and that the following proclamation should be made before him:—"This is the man who left the Quran and the Traditions for the study of scholastic theology." But repression of human thought was found to be, here as elsewhere, impossible; and the various opinions cited by Mr Sell regarding the attributes of God, predestination, the future state, the angels, and other matters, are sufficient evidence that a full-grown theology has been developed out of the Quran and Tradition.

Books like this tend to dispel the romance that sometimes attaches to the religion of Muhammad. Mr Bosworth Smith and Lady Duff Gordon have said all that can be said in extenuation of the blemishes and in praise of the virtues of Musalmans. Mr

Sell shows no animus whatever, but his verdict is decidedly adverse. He strips Islam of the claim, so commonly made in its behalf, to have been the promoter of science and philosophy in the Middle Ages, and cites Renan to the same effect: "Arabian science and Arabian philosophy are often alluded to, and, in fact, during one or two centuries in the Middle Ages the Arabs were our teachers; but it was only until we were acquainted with the Greek originals. This Arabian science and philosophy was only a puerile rendering of Greek science and philosophy. When closely examined, moreover, this Arabian science has nothing Arabian in it. Its foundation is purely Greek; amongst its originators there is not a single true Shemite; they were all Spaniards and Persians who wrote in Arabic." As to its influence in civilisation Mr Sell is equally explicit: "When brought into diplomatic and commercial intercourse with States possessing the vigour and energy of a national life and liberal constitution, Muslim kingdoms must, in the long run, fail and pass away."

But it is not Mr Sell's conclusions and verdicts—which, indeed, are very few and most temperate—that impress the reader of his volume. It is the facts he brings before the mind. As the system unrolls itself before our eyes, two criticisms are silently passed upon it. First, it is a religion of law, of rites, and external observance, and is therefore two thousand years behind time. It is remarkable that although Muhammad was evidently indebted to the Talmud, or to Jews who knew the Talmud, for much of his knowledge, he should have known nothing of the teaching and mind of Jesus. He has not a glimpse of the spirituality and inwardness of true religion. He is in the swaddling clothes of legalism and ordinances without the faintest conception of the liberty and full-grown manhood of the sons of God. Prayer depends upon the right posture and the correct number of ablutions. There is a merit in fasting, and that merit is destroyed, if in washing the teeth a few drops of water are allowed to enter the throat; and so on, and so on, till the Rabbinic trivialities of the Jews seem respectable in comparison. That such a religion should claim to be a universal religion is proof that Islam as yet has not even conceived what true religion is. The religion that gravely declares that if a man washes his left hand before his right or his nose before his teeth, he cannot lawfully say the daily prayer enjoined on all Muslims, puts itself out of court altogether. As Dean Stanley says: "The ceremonial character of the religion of Musalmans is, in spite of its simplicity, carried to a pitch beyond the utmost demands of Rome or of Russia. Prayer is reduced to a mechanical act, as distinct from a mental one, beyond any ritual in the west. It is striking to see

the figures along the banks of the Nile going through their prostrations at the rising of the sun with the uniformity and regularity of clock-work; but it resembles the worship of machines rather than of reasonable beings."

A second criticism which has often and justly been passed upon Muhammadanism is its fixity: its inability to adapt itself to the growing intelligence of the civilised races. "Islam is in its essence stationary, and was framed thus to remain. Sterile like its God, lifeless like its First Principle and supreme Original in all that constitutes true life—for life is love, participation, and progress, and of these the Quranic Deity has none—it justly repudiates all change, all advance, all development." So says Mr Palgrave who probably understood Muhammadanism as well as any one has ever understood it, and who traced all its defects and blemishes to its radically false idea of God.

Mr Sell's learned and satisfactory work is likely, in its revised form, to retain its place for a long time to come as our highest authority on the faith and practice of Islam. MARCUS DODS.

Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.

Von Dr Friedrich Delitzsch, Professor in Breslau. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 4 vols. Subscriptionspreis, M.46.50 · geb. M.49.

PROFESSOR DELITZSCH'S Assyrian Dictionary has been the labour of years. The form, however, in which it was first published, was not successful, and the author, wisely listening to the counsels of his critics, has now brought it out in a new and improved shape. In fact, the present edition, if such we may term it, gives the student just what he wants. It is clear, compact and well printed, and as practically useful as it is scientific. Every word noted in it is illustrated by examples, which enable the scholar to judge for himself whether or not he will accept the meaning assigned to the word. And the method of transliteration is such as to leave no room for doubt as to the cuneiform characters for which it stands. Finally, the work has been published in a handy and inexpensive form, fully justifying its claim to be a Manual as well as a Dictionary.

But it must not be supposed that it is a Dictionary in the sense of recording all the words that occur in the Assyro-Babylonian texts. It does not even give all the words which may be found in the published texts, and the published texts are but a fraction

of those which are preserved in the Museums of Europe and America. The student of Assyrian has not to go very far in his reading to come across words which he will not find in Professor Delitzsch's Dictionary. It will be years before anything approaching an exhaustive Dictionary of Assyrian can be compiled, if indeed this is ever possible. From this point of view, therefore, the Dictionary might rather be called a Vocabulary.

Nevertheless, it is far more than a Vocabulary, and is in real truth a Dictionary, though the Dictionary of a limited portion of Assyrian literature. It stands to the Assyrian Dictionaries of the future much as the English Dictionaries of two hundred years ago stand to the Dictionaries of the Nineteenth Century. And it is the first attempt to collect, classify and explain the words of a language which so short a while ago seemed hopelessly lost. The beginning in this case is half the whole ; indeed, considering the difficulties of the undertaking, it is more than half the whole. The way has been cleared for those who come after us and who will have but a faint conception of the difficulties of the pioneer. Only those who have watched the progress of Assyriology, since the days when it was painfully essaying its first steps, can realise the labour and thought that have gone to the making of the work.

It is essentially the work of one man. It is not historical, like the *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* which Dr Muss-Arnolt is publishing, and in which the varying explanations of a word or root given by different scholars are recorded ; on the contrary, it contains only the explanations of Professor Delitzsch himself, his views as to the meaning of words and phrases, and the relation they bear to one another. Such a method has its strength as well as its weakness ; it gives unity and clearness to the Dictionary, though it also gives an impression of certainty which does not always exist.

In fact, in turning over the pages of the work, I have been struck time after time with the imperfections of our knowledge of the Assyrian vocabulary. In many cases the signification assigned by Professor Delitzsch to a word is not that which I should assign to it ; in many more cases the meaning he gives is probable only. We are still a long way off from certainty in our translations of the Assyrian inscriptions, even though the general sense of them has been made out, and in the historical texts only a word here and there is of doubtful signification. But it will require long years of further labour and an examination of the multitudinous tablets which still remain uncopied before the translations of the Assyriologist can be placed on a level with those of the Greek and Latin scholar. After all, however, the translator of the Old Testament Scriptures is not much better off than the Assyriologist, and

in some respects he is worse off. His MSS. are not contemporaneous with the period when Hebrew was still spoken, and are therefore not free from corruptions of the text, the literature he has at his disposal is more limited in extent than the ever-increasing mass of cuneiform documents which are at the service of the Assyriologist, and the Hebrew alphabet takes no notice of the vowels like the syllabary of Babylonia, while the Assyriologist enjoys the help of innumerable lexical and philological tablets as well as bilingual texts, in which the Assyrian translation can be checked by its Sumerian original. Hitherto, the Assyriologist has been hampered by the want of a Dictionary, and his memory has well-nigh broken down under the accumulating weight of a vast literature; thanks to Professor Delitzsch this difficulty is now removed.

It is impossible here to notice the instances in which I should differ from Professor Delitzsch in the interpretation of words, or the numerous words which I should add to his list. Thus the adjective *tsēnu*, which he supposes to mean "pious," is shown by the examples of its use which I have collected to have exactly the opposite signification, and *tuktē*, which, after Jensen, he renders "bones," though with a query, is really "remains" or "remnant," corresponding with the Hebrew *shēār*. The fact is interesting, since in the ancient Babylonian work on astronomy, which goes back to the age of Sargon of Akkad (B.C. 3800), we read (W. A. J. iii. 61. 21, 22): "The Umman Manda (the Goyyim of Gen. xiv. 1) come and govern the land. The mercy-seats of the great gods are taken away. Bel goes to Elam. It is prophesied that after 30 years the remnant (*tuktū*) shall return and the great gods shall be restored with them." Here there is a close parallelism with passages of the Old Testament like Isaiah x. 21, and Jer. xxv. 11, 12.

Professor Delitzsch has added a few additional words in an Appendix at the end of his work, the last of which is *tillē*, which a passage he quotes proves to have been a metal object used in the harness of a horse. We may gather from this that I have been right in proposing to read as *tillē* a word found in the contract-tablets, where it is usually read *belē*, and interpreted "spears." The meaning is perhaps "skewers," the *tillē* of the horses being their "bits."

I must not forget to add that, in his Preface, Professor Delitzsch promises to discuss elsewhere "the great number of non-Semitic words with which the Assyrian vocabulary is filled." The recent discoveries of early Babylonian tablets have thrown a flood of light on these Semitised loan-words from Sumerian, and have shown that Assyro-Babylonian is, like English, a mixed language,

in which the non-Semitic Sumerian element occupies a very large place.

A. H. SAYCE.

With Open Face, or Jesus mirrored in Matthew, Mark and Luke.

By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 332. Price, 6s.

The Cure of Souls.

By John Watson, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 244. Price, 6s.

The Lady Ecclesia: An Autobiography.

By Rev. George Matheson, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 332. Price, 6s.

WHEN Dr Bruce, in his preface, speaks of the chapters of this volume as "popular sketches," "selected scenes," "the overflow from severer studies on the first three Gospels," he warns us that we are not to expect a complete treatment of the theme. As the purpose is to picture the human Jesus of the synoptics, the fourth Gospel is left entirely out of view. Only in one place (p. 168) is that Gospel used to supply a clue to an enigma of the synoptics. We venture to think that a complete picture, even of the human Jesus, requires the inclusion of the fourth evangelist. To go no further, the incidents of Cana, the well of Sychar, Bethany, add glorious features to the gracious humanity which our author portrays with so much charm and skill. And within the domain of the synoptics there is much teaching and history, which more than indicate the higher nature taught by John, and which are not included in the "selected scenes" of the present volume. Still, as we should judge a work by its professed purpose, we can only describe Dr Bruce's volume as perfectly successful. Dr Bruce sets out with the desire to commend to our admiration one side of the Lord's life and work; he does not say that this is all; and the result undoubtedly is to present Jesus of Nazareth, the great Prophet of Galilee, in a most winsome light. He says to us: "Hold up the picture and let men look at it. Set it in a good light, hang it well on the wall, remove from the canvas obscuring dust and cobwebs, if such there be; then stand aside and let men gaze till the Friend of sinners, the Man of sorrow, the great Teacher, begins to reveal Himself to their souls" (p. 21).

This is what he himself does in his volume, and every reader will be drawn into sympathy with his own loving reverence. Many a preacher will be thankful for suggestive hints and new points of view. The work reminds us strongly of the writer's delightful "Galilean Gospel." Dr Bruce is here in a congenial field. The synoptics are his favourite Gospels. And as true theology is advanced by different writers concentrating their study on special fields, we are too thankful for their several contributions to reproach them with neglect of other aspects of a vast subject. We must not suppose that they deny what they omit. The present volume treats the theme of the "Galilean Gospel" on a larger scale. Here, as there, the author's originality, unconventionalism, moral fervour, enthusiasm for humanity, come out strongly on almost every page. As to the second trait, take this sentence: "Whom I *uphold*: Jehovah backs His servant, ideal Messianic Israel, however despised, against all comers" (p. 23). I have noted also five instances of the use of "phenomenal" in the new, American sense, "phenomenal miraculous love." Would not "unique" be better? These are mere warts.

The first three chapters, delineating the characteristics of the synoptic gospels, are exceedingly graphic and generally just,—the three pictures being severally characterised as "prophetic, realistic, idealised." Mark, who is "unembarrassed by reverence," who tones down nothing and is not afraid to bring out all the facts, is evidently the author's special favourite. Luke, on the other hand, whom we should rather have expected Dr Bruce to take to his heart, comes in for a good deal of comment which almost amounts to unfavourable criticism. Luke seems to write with the fear of Theophilus and other fastidious spirits before his eyes, and so dare not describe things just as they are; the offence of the Gospel is tempered and smoothed down in many ways. His picture is "idealised," accommodated to special conditions in his readers. Dr Bruce is careful to say that this does not mean "dominated by a theological idea, or by a controversial tendency." Many supposed instances of this tendency are given, as *e.g.*, the way in which he "ever spares the Twelve." Some of the instances are certainly true and innocent enough. In some cases, perhaps, the point is pressed too far. Mark, on the other hand, is brusque, outspoken, fearlessly candid. He quotes the title "Carpenter" on the lips of the people of Nazareth, and the saying of the relatives of Jesus, "He is beside himself." "Jesus," Dr Bruce adds, "was a real, not an amateur carpenter, the difference being as great as between a volunteer soldier and one who engages in actual fighting." Most readers will share the author's enthusiasm for Mark, while equally thankful for the complementary pictures.

Some of Dr Bruce's bold, original suggestions challenge discussion. To the traditional title "Sermon on the Mount," he prefers "Teaching on the Hill," because the exposition is for disciples. "Teaching was for disciples, preaching for the people." There is reason for the suggestion. The discourse is evidently addressed to the inner circle of believers. But why change "Mount" into "Hill"? In Matt. vi. 27, "stature" is referred to height, not age. "The aim is to remind the anxious that God has done for every man arrived at maturity what no man, by any amount of thinking or wishing, can do for himself." The saying of Jesus about the "foxes" and "birds of the air" is understood of spiritual, not physical, homelessness,—the want of sympathy between the Lord Jesus and the men of His age. This is argued with much ingenuity (p. 217). The greatest departure, however, from old interpretations is in regard to Matt. xi. 28, which Dr Bruce understands, not as a universal invitation to the spiritually weary, but as the expression of the longing of Jesus for apt disciples, of whom He found few. It is argued that the tone of the chapter is one of lament over the general unwillingness to believe. Few, we imagine, will prefer the new interpretation. It is a little surprising that one, who is so enthusiastic for the grace of Christ's teaching, should accept a weaker interpretation of so great a saying. At the risk of being classed with St Luke's fastidious readers, the present writer confesses to a shrinking from Jesus Christ being contemplated as an example of the purity of thought enjoined in Matt. v. 27 *f.* (p. 241).

The points of interest are too numerous for detailed reference here. Many of the Gospel incidents are turned to good account in vindication of the historicity of the record. The Christian Primer at the end is a Catechism on a new plan. To quote the striking descriptions of the Lord's character we have noted, and the many shrewd hits and asides of the author, would be unfair both to author and readers. We give only one quotation: "Christ's doctrine of man is grand, and still at the end of nineteen centuries stands above Christendom a lofty, unreached ideal. And what shall we say of Him who taught it not by word only, but still more emphatically by deed? Surely that He has earned the eternal honour of all who seek the good of their kind. With open face we see the Saviour and the Friend of Man, and His teaching and His example are the inspiration of all who desire to leave the world better than they found it."

Dr Watson's volume is sure to be widely read for its author's sake and for its grace of literary form; it deserves also to be read for its own sake and for its wealth of practical counsel. On all the

subjects entering into ministerial work—sermon-preparation, pastoral work, congregational organisation, public worship—the preacher will find much that is helpful and stimulating, not old platitudes, but counsel drawn from personal experience and modern life. If nothing new or startling is said, no one else could say it in the same way, with the same directness and force, the same delicate point and humour. In one respect Dr Watson's style reminds us of the sculptor's work—clear-cut, sharply defined—but it has none of the coldness of sculpture; indeed the precision of the sculptor's art seems to be wonderfully combined with the glow and richness of the painter. While the volume has all the lucidity which it demands in the sermon, it has also much of the pathos familiar to us in the author's other works; witness what is said of John xiv. (p. 189), and the picture of a certain pastor which is evidently a portrait from life (p. 195), and the Del Sarto's Head of Christ in the author's study (p. 243). There are many beautiful touches like the reprint of the title-pages of Baxter's *Reformed Pastor* and Herbert's *Priest to the Temple* (p. 178), and the tribute to the humble village pastor (p. 165). It is to be hoped that some of the descriptions are caricatures, as that of Evangelicals (p. 90), and the diary of a modern minister's daily round (p. 229). The Rev. Joseph Tomlinson's diary is surely a bit of Drumtochty humour (p. 52), just as much as the recipe for a sermon, "Tinct. Hodgii oz. i., Aquae ad oz. vi." (p. 57). There is, of course, much sarcasm, grim or humourous. Even Dr Watson, like Dr Bruce, speaks of "phenomenal"; but he is lecturing in America. He certainly would not find the word in the "masters of the English tongue," whom he so earnestly commends to the preacher as models of style. "Andrews" (p. 118) is a misspelling. The breath of modern life, which pervades the entire volume, is especially refreshing in the chapters on "Theology the Theory of Religion" and "The New Dogma."

Dr Matheson has essayed the bold task of describing under the veil of allegory the fortunes of the early Church up to the triumph of Christianity in the days of Constantine. In order to do this with any tolerable measure of success, he has had not merely, as he tells us, to compress "nations into miles and centuries into weeks," but also to limit his description to the most general outline of one aspect of the Church's many-sided life, viz., its political and ecclesiastical relations. The inner history of the Church is left out of view. Within these limits it is a true and vivid picture of the early conflicts and progress of Christianity that is given us. The author himself in the Preface interprets the characters for us. Ecclesia is "that inner life of Christianity which was originally the flower of Judaism." Hellenicus represents Greek thought in

contact with Judaism. The Lord of Palatine stands for the Roman Emperor, Caiaphas for the Jewish priesthood. Phoebe, the letter-carrier of the apostles, is the ministering influence of the new faith; the captain of the guard figures the imperial system; the "son of the star" is the false Christ. The difficulty of introducing the true Christ is skilfully overcome by making Him appear and speak in dreams, one of the most impressive features of the allegory. In the story He is called "the Man of the Valleys." The true representative of Judaism is not Caiaphas, but Moses ben-Israel, Ecclesia's father.

The people of the valleys are attacked by the plague, the peculiarity of which is that each sufferer thinks others smitten and himself free. There is a great national conclave to consider the matter, presided over by the Lord of Palatine. Plato, Confucius, Buddha, Caiaphas, give their counsel, which is self-contradictory. The final decision is to seclude the valleys and forbid them intercourse with the rest of the land. Ecclesia, instructed by a vision of Christ, secretly violates the command, and in the valleys again meets the Lord, who gives her a healing elixir. We cannot here follow the windings of the story. Moses ben-Israel tries to form an alliance with the new power represented by his daughter, and on its failure disappears by sea. Caiaphas is crushed by a falling statue. There are many striking episodes. Ecclesia has an interview with the three pillar-apostles, and corresponds with Paul, Phoebe being the letter-bearer. Phoebe's character is well worked out. Ecclesia has three wooers—Hellenicus, the captain of the guard, and the Lord of Palatine himself. The two latter play a leading part in the story; they are the agents in two of the three worldly temptations Ecclesia has to undergo. Hellenicus soon disappears from the stage. What the barbarous giant who is the agent in the first temptation represents is not so clear. Ecclesia vanquishes all three temptations and refuses all the three wooers, though she wins the Lord of Palatine to her views.

It may be asked whether it is worth while to invent a veil of allegory to tell or conceal the story of the Church. All depends on the ingenuity and judgment brought to bear on the task. No one who knows the author's other works will question the great resources of ingenuity at his command. Whether the master-romancers of our day would find fault with the construction and working out of the story, we cannot say. At all events there is plenty of constructive skill and dramatic force in the book. There is no reason why imagination should not be used to win attention for such a subject. Unity is secured by the story being thrown into autobiographic form; the complexity of many inferior stories of this kind is thus avoided. Ecclesia is the narrator throughout. The style throughout is clear and strong; there are many fine word-pictures.

J. S. BANKS.

Geographie des alten Palästina.

Von D. F. Buhl, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig Mit Plan von Jerusalem und Karte von Palästina. (Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften). Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8vo, pp. x. 300. Price, M.6.60.

THIS work gives a good general description of Palestine and of its ancient geography, founded on recent exploration. It will be useful to those in Germany who have not access to the original works which it quotes; but it adds practically nothing to the information which has been generally available in England for the last ten years; nor is it an exhaustive treatise, either for Bible geography, or for that found in monumental notices, in Josephus, in the Onomasticon, or in the Byzantine writers and early pilgrims; while the curious topography of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., which includes some 500 known sites in western Palestine alone, is unnoticed, as are also the Karnak lists, giving 119 towns conquered by Thothmes III. in Palestine, and the journey of the Egyptian Mohar about 1350 B.C. The author attaches also too much authority to the opinions of Eusebius, Jerome, and later writers, as to the sites of Biblical towns. The Onomasticon is very valuable as a record of fourth century topography, but the views of its author Eusebius, and of his translator Jerome, are as often wrong as they are right in respect to the Bible topography. The distances given in the Onomasticon are also not reliable, especially east of Jordan, and differ sometimes in the Greek and in the Latin. The distances given by Josephus are also sometimes self-contradictory, and his accounts exaggerated. On the other hand, less use has been made in the present work than might have been expected of the Tell el Amarna letters, and of Assyrian records; and some interesting details are thus overlooked. The sources of information used have long been known, and were all consulted by the present author in writing the *Memoirs of the Palestine Survey*.

The general results are correct, with certain exceptions to be noticed; and the Hebrew and Arabic names are correctly rendered on a system much simpler than that usual in Germany, though less simple than the English transliteration. The errors are few, but *Ghoramdyeh* (p. 44) should be *Ghorantyehe*, and *Tabakah* should be *Tabakah* (p. 72): *Tel'at ed Dam* is really *Tal'at ed Dumm* (p. 98): and *Musam'i* is *Mujam'ia* (p. 130): these are probably

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printer's errors, but *Kal'at Kurn* (p. 230) is incorrect for *Kal'at el Kurn*: and the ruin east of the Sea of Galilee is called *Khersa* not *Kursi* (p. 243).

The author hardly seems to appreciate the ruggedness of Palestine, and the dry barren appearance which is so often deceptive. His account of the natural features is thus rather more picturesque than the detailed accounts in the sections of the Memoirs which refer to the physical characteristics. In a few cases the result is therefore inaccurate.

The criticisms which follow are not intended to depreciate the book, but, in the interests of geography, they cannot be passed over, though they refer to only a minority of questions treated. The author begins by stating that the oldest topography is that of the Tell el Amarna letters. The Karnak lists are not only much more complete, but also a century older. The formation of the Jordan valley (p. 14) by a fault in the Early Tertiary period, cannot have had any connection with the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. The sanddunes (p. 32) unfortunately are not kept back in Philistia by olive groves and orange gardens, but steadily encroach. There is no wood (p. 36) properly called near Baniás, but a jungle with tall poplars close to the river; and *Wady er Samak*, east of the Sea of Galilee (p. 44), is a rugged ravine, and not a "fruitful valley." There is no account of the hot and salt springs in the Jordan Valley, such as *'Ain el Jemm'ain* and *'Ain Máleh*, nor is the *Zôr* (or Jordan bed) sufficiently distinguished from the Ghôr. The *Platanus* (p. 38) is not a tree found in the Ghôr, and there are no salt water fish to die (p. 40) in the Dead Sea.

In speaking of the basaltic lava fields (p. 42) it seems not to be recognised that these outbreaks extend right across the Plain of Esdraelon, and even to the west slopes of Carmel. The fine oak wood north of the Heshbon seems also to be overlooked; and, especially in speaking of the Shephelah, the author fails to recognise a very distinct feature to which—and not to the shore plains—the term applies, namely the foot hills, often divided by broad valleys from the mountains.

As regards the botany, apples are not grown in Palestine proper (p. 58) at the present time, and the pine of Gilead is *Pinus Carica*, not *P. Halepensis*, which is a comparatively late importation. The word *Khanzîr* (p. 60) refers to the wild boar found all over Palestine. The existence of the fallow deer (*Rim*) on Tabor, and that of the roebuck on Carmel, discovered by the present writer in 1872, and identified (by its name *Yahmûr*) with the Hebrew *Yakhmor*, are unnoticed. The ostrich now only survives far east in the Syrian desert, and the wild ass is also not found in Moab. The buffalo (found in Sharon) is not the Hebrew *reem*, which was

the Bos Primiginus, the buffalo being a recent addition to the Fauna.

The boundaries of the country are next treated, but the Tell el Amarna Tablets do not indicate that the term Canaan applied (p. 64) to all Palestine. The site of Baal Gad (p. 65) is probably to be found at 'Ain Jideideh, north of Hermon. The attempt of Kasteren to confine the north border of the Holy Land (Ezekiel xlvi.) to the line of the Leontes is ill-supported, and while the site of Zedad and the "Entrance of Hamath" are explained away,¹ the identification of Hethlon (p. 66) with 'Adlān (a corruption of the Latin *ad nonum*) and of Sibraim with *es Sanburiyeh* (probably a corruption of the Norman name *Chamberlaine*) are alike unfortunate, as is the supposition that for Hauran we are to understand the ethnic *Hawarin*, probably a modern name.

The Kadesh of Egyptian records (p. 69) is Kadesh on the Orontes (*Kades* s. of Emesa), not Kadesh Naphtali. The Baka of Josephus (p. 72) is now called *Bukei'ah*, a village east of Acre, and could not be *Tubakah* ("the terrace") spelt with Teth. Although Josephus places Dor (p. 78) on the coast, the site is very uncertain, for the north border of Zebulun ran by Cabul (*Kabul*) and Beth Dagon (*D'aūk*) so that the Shihor Libnath was probably the Belus, and not the *Zerka* or Crocodile river. The attempt to find Eshkol at a *Beit Iskähil* N.W. of Hebron fails (p. 89), because the real name of the village is *Beit Kähil*, the two words having only L in common. It is also very improbable that the name *Süagh* ("Silver Smiths") represents the Greek Siagon (p. 90) and there is no reason for placing the Rock Etam at 'Arāk *Ism'ain* ("Ishmael's Cavern").

In dealing with the topography proper, the author accepts a large proportion of the discoveries published by the present writer between 1875 and 1879, and afterwards included by him in the Survey Memoirs. Most of them were due to the recovery of names not previously known, or to be found on any map. Among these will be found—in order of occurrence in the book—such places as Choresch Ziph, Ascent of Ziz, Bethabara, Neara, Zior, Caphar Barucha, Kain, Caphar Aziz, Shamir, Debir (which, however, had been previously suggested), Mancho, Eleasa, Archi, Jeshanah (also suggested by M. Clermont Ganneau), Borkeos, Ailon, Hazor of Galilee, City of Salt, Eder, Bethelia, Lachish, Eshtaol, Sorek, Rakkon, Bezek, Rabbith, Kedesh of Issachar, Castrum Samaritorum, Beth Shalisha, Idalah, Jabneel of Naphtali, Osha, Hali; and East of Jordan, Tob, Samega, and the survival of Tyros in *Wady Sir*, the three latter

¹ Ezekiel xlvi. 15-17 should be compared with Numbers xxxiv. 7-11, in which Riblah in Syria is noticed as on the border, with Zedad and the "entering into Hamath"; Riblah is well known and north of Baalbek.

being discovered in 1881. This is a satisfactory confirmation, though Professor Buhl is apparently, in each of these cases, unaware of the discoverer's name, although the earliest authority quoted is the Survey Memoir. A good many others, out of 160 newly identified sites, might have been added, in cases where the evidence is quite as strong as for those mentioned.

Exception must be taken to some other suggestions which are improbable, philologically or geographically. Thus Seir (p. 91), with its guttural, cannot be identified with *Saris* (the Sores of LXX.), but is probably *Bātn es Saghīr*. The objection to Beth Hadudu at *Hadeidūn* (p. 99) is not stated, but the direction and distance from Jerusalem confirm this interesting site for the "Mountain of the Scape Goat." Salmon at *Sheikh Selmān el Fārsi* (a Moslem name) is very doubtful (p. 100), and Timnath Heres is much more probably *Kefr Hāris* than *Tibneh*. Gibeah of Saul (p. 101) should not be placed at *Tell el Fāl*, which is a tower, and not the site of an ancient city; nor can Nephtoh be represented by *Lifta*, the site being inapplicable, and more proper for Eleph of Benjamin. Jacob's Well (p. 102) is not a cistern, but a spring well of great depth. Ibleam is more probably *Yebla* than *Bir Bel'ameh*, which is not a town site. En Harod (p. 106) seems, according to the LXX., to have been near Endor, and not at 'Ain Jālūd; and Jiphtahel (p. 109) has no connection with the name *Jefāt*, nor is the position suitable. The land Nukhasse (now read Markhasse) was in the north of Syria, near Tunep, and probably is represented by *Mer'ash*. The name Aulon for the Jordan Valley (p. 112) is stated by Jerome to have been Hebrew (Elon) and not Greek. How 'Ain Ṭābgha can be supposed (p. 114) to be the "Fountain of Capernaum," watering the plain of Gennesaret, it is difficult to understand, seeing that it is divided thence by a rocky ridge, and never was even diverted to the plain (which has plenty of springs) through any aqueduct. This spring probably represents the Migdol Tseboia of the Talmud.

Professor Buhl asserts that it is certain that the "City of David" lay on the narrow shelving Ophel spur (p. 133), but he does not treat any of the objections raised against this view. The theory rests on one expression, "West of the City of David" (2 Chronicles xxxii. 30) which Keil and other Hebraists regard as incorrect, the natural translation being, "westwards to the City of David." The discovery of a fine stairway west of the Tyropæon Valley, just where the "Stairs from the City of David" (Nehemiah iii. 15, xii. 37) would be expected on the more generally accepted hypothesis, is too recent to have been noticed by Professor Buhl; but the objection to his theory is that the names Sion, City of David, Ophel, Akra, Millo and Jebus are all crowded into

an area of five or ten acres, and the rest of the hills included (even by Doctor Buhl's map) in Nehemiah's Jerusalem, are left unnamed. He supposes Jerusalem in David's time to have been smaller than an ordinary Palestine hamlet of to-day—yet it was a royal city in the 15th century B.C., according to the Tell el Amarna letters. Josephus states that the walls of the Upper City were built by David, and Manasseh's wall on Ophel was "outside the City of David." Ancient Jerusalem occupied 200 acres, and the Ophel spur appears to have been the latest part included by the Hebrew kings. The plan given by Professor Buhl shews walls of which we have no ancient account, and accepts as ancient a wall outside Siloam which is of Byzantine masonry (erected by Eudoxia, 450 A.D.), whereas in 70 A.D. the pool was outside the wall. Several recent results of excavation also go against his proposals, and a wall in the Tyropeon valley is impossible from an engineer's point of view. The second wall is also shewn on the slope of the hill, where a rock some forty feet higher would have existed immediately outside, at the traditional Calvary. This, however, is due to a prepossession in favour of tradition; it contradicts the description of Josephus, as does the proposed line of the third wall, while no notice is taken of the ancient ramparts discovered by Robinson, N.W. of the present city. The position of the Valley Gate is shewn too far south, and that of the Gate of Ephraim is purely arbitrary, and the wall in which it is shewn very probably was built by the Hasmoneans in the second century B.C. Space will not allow of more detailed discussion of the theory, but the views of Robinson have continually been reinforced by the results of exploration.

Turning to other points there is no reason to suppose that Beth Haccerem was at Herodium (p. 157), and *Susieh* in the mountains does not suit Hazar Susim (p. 163). The opinion of Eusebius as to Kirjath Jearim (p. 166) has no authority; *Kuriet el 'Anab* is probably Kirjath of Benjamin, it is too far north to suit the description of Kirjath Jearim, whereas *'Erma* stands in the required position. There is no reason to distinguish Gibeah of the Elohim, where Saul's family lived, from Gibeah of Saul (*Jeb'a*), nor any sound reason why its name should be changed to Ramallah (p. 173), a name as old at least as the twelfth century A.D. Ataroth Adar (p. 172) is a place very particularly described as near Beth Horon, just where *Ed Dárieh* now stands; *'Attára* is much too far east. The "Valley of Thorns" was near Michmash (now *Wady es Suweinit*, "Valley of the little thorn tree") and the proposed identification is unsuitable. It is also very improbable that Laish should be the modern *el 'Aisawiyeh*, with a guttural, (p. 175) and Chozeba should be sought, not at the monastery of St John Chose-

both, but at *Kuweiziba* near Halhul (p. 176). It is not certain that Corea was in the Jordan valley (p. 181) and *Kurāwa* suits best for Archelais. If *Tell el Milh* be the City of Salt, it cannot also be Moladah (p. 183), nor can Telam be compared with the name of a modern Arab tribe (p. 183). The name *Sebeita* has not a letter in common with Zephath, which is probably *es Sufa*, further east (p. 184). Anthedon is also an uncertain site (p. 190), and Belzedek cannot be compared with *Wādy es Sindūk* ("Valley of the box"), which is a modern name, connected with the finding of a coffin.

The identification of Gimti (mentioned on monuments) with Gath is very doubtful. It is quite as probably Gimzo (*Jimzu*); and Gath is called *Giti Rimūna* in the Tell el Amarna letters (p. 196). Nob and Nebo were distinct places, the latter probably at *Nūba*, N.-W. of Hebron (p. 198). Beth hag Gan (p. 202) is probably *Beit Jenn*, east of Tabor, and not Jenin, and there is no evident connection between Micmethah and *Kefr Beita*. Tirzah and *Tallūza* are names not having a letter in common (p. 203), nor is *Teiāsir* likely to be a corruption of Asher. Anaharath (p. 204) has no connection with *'Arrāneh*, and has long been known at *en N'aūrah*. Gitta is more probably *Jett* than *Kuriet Jit* (p. 207), and Pirathon *Fer'on* rather than *Fer'ata*. There is no evidence that Megiddo was at *Lejjūn*, and the site *Mujedd'a*, where the name survives, answers better for some of the notices of this city. The name Aphek, as given by Eusebius, is only taken from the Old Testament (p. 213), and the site of this "stream" (as the word means) may have been at Shunem; but Aphek of the Syrian wars was *Fik*, east of the Sea of Galilee. Nahalol (p. 215) is probably *'Ain Māhil*, and not *M'alul*; and *Wādy el Melek* does not suit in position for Alammelech. Beth Shittah (p. 217) was found by Vandeveld before Guerin. The name Asochis (p. 220) probably survives in *Jebel es Sih*. The connection of Bersabe and *Abu Shebā* (p. 222) is highly doubtful; and *Tell Hūm*, though the Capernaum of Christian tradition, is probably the Caphar Ahīm of the Talmud (p. 224). The name *Musheirfeh* is not a likely corruption for Misrephoth Maim (p. 229), which has long been placed at *Šarafend*. The suggestion that *Beit Ahūn* represents an ancient Beth-Shemesh is equally perilous (p. 233), and Kadesh Naphtali is not noticed in the Tell el Amarna letters (p. 235). Kydissos is very probably *Kudeisa*, not *Kedes* (p. 236). Achshaph, near Accho, cannot be *el Kesāf*, but is probably *el Yāsif*.

East of Jordan there is no reason to distinguish Ashtoreth from Ashtaroth Karnaim, or, to place the latter at *Neby Eyūb* (p. 248). Dathema (or Dametha) is much more probably *Dāmeḥ* than *'Atamān* (a Turkish word). Tishbe at *Istib* is unlikely (p. 257), and *Mahne* is

much too far north for Mahanaim, which is more probably *Mukhma*, south of the Jabbok. Ramoth Gilead is also better placed at *Reimân* (p. 262), and Jazer could not be as far north as *Wady Sâr*. The site of Zoar at *Tell esh Shaghûr* fulfils all requisites, and Christian tradition rightly understood points to the same position (p. 271). The Ascent of Luhith seems finally to be best placed at *Tal'at el Heith*.
C. R. CONDER.

Cosmic Ethics ; or, The Mathematical Theory of Evolution, showing the full Import of the Doctrine of the Mean, and containing the Principia of the Science of Proportion.

By *W. Cave Thomas, F.S.S.* London : *Smith, Elder & Co.*
8vo, pp. 296. Price, 10s. 6d.

The Early Church and the Roman Claim.

By *Professor Rentoul, M.A., D.D.* Melbourne : *Melville Mullen & Slade.* Fourth Edition, pp. 220.

An Ethical Movement : a Volume of Lectures.

By *W. L. Sheldon, Lecturer of the Ethical Society of St Louis.* London : *Macmillan & Co., Ltd.* Crown 8vo, pp. 349. Price, 5s. net.

Outlines of Logic and Metaphysics.

By *Johann Eduard Erdmann, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Halle.* Translated from the Fourth (revised) Edition, with prefatory Essay by *B. C. Burt, Ph.D.* London : *Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited.* Crown 8vo, pp. xv. 253. Price, 6s.

MR THOMAS has written an elaborate book, and has evidently spent an enormous amount of time in its preparation. He is quite persuaded that he has not laboured in vain. Again and again he tells us of the importance of his work, and invites all men to enter into his labours, and help to complete his gigantic task. We have read his book with due care, and have endeavoured to weigh his arguments, and we have been forced to take an estimate of the worth of it widely different from that of the author. There is much in

the book worthy of praise, there is evidence of wide reading, and of much reflection, and, on the whole, there is a good deal of instruction to be obtained from the perusal of it. But the interest of the book lies apart from its main issue. The great discovery he thinks he has made is the discovery that the form of knowledge is quantitative, and that the doctrine of the mean is the main principle both of knowledge and of reality. The doctrine of the mean is of the utmost importance, as all students of Aristotle have recognised, and for certain kinds of knowledge its function is well understood. But its usefulness and applicability are limited to what can be measured; in a word, it belongs to the category of quantity. Mr Thomas knows this well; hence his attempt to make out that the form of knowledge is quantitative. We have tried to understand his attempt to prove his proposition, and we have failed. It is simply an attempt to remove the category of quality altogether, and is another of the many attempts to find a universal category which contains all other categories, and from which they can be deduced. As opposed to the assertion that the form of knowledge is quantitative, we may oppose the statement that the form of knowledge, whatever it may be, is not quantitative.

It would lead us too far afield were we to examine the various illustrations of his thesis which he has so abundantly set forth. We may say that, when he is dealing with the sciences which have for their object things that can be measured, he does find many illustrations of his principle, though even here his principle is by far too absolutely stated. He takes no account of the fact that there are cumulative effects in nature to which the doctrine of the mean does not apply. We know, for instance, that the effect of the tides is to change the length of the day, and that this effect is cumulative. Here is a departure from the mean state which is not periodically compensated. This is sufficient to show that his principle is not universal. It seems to us that his book is a failure, inasmuch as he is striving to make a category which is itself incomplete and relative, do the work of a category which is universal and absolute.

The occasion of Dr Rentoul's lectures is a controversy which arose in Australia regarding the Roman claims. The controversy continually crops up wherever Rome obtains a footing, and our Australian friends have to take their share in the battle. The Roman champion is Archbishop Carr, and part of the book before us is taken up with a correspondence between him and Dr Rentoul. On this part we need not speak. But the main part of these lectures is of permanent value. These lectures are not composed by a man who depends on second-hand learning, to be obtained by

a hasty perusal of manuals of church history. Dr Rentoul is at home in the history of the early Church and its literature, and is evidently acquainted with the labours of such men as Lightfoot and Hatch in our own country, and of Zahn, Harnack, Lipsius, and others in Germany. He never gives us the impression that he is a man who has read to get up a case, rather he found all his needed weapons close at hand when the summons to battle came. He did not seek the fight; the call came, and he was found ready. The four lectures are thus called: "The Roman Claim and Method—Peter and the Rock"; "The Roman Legend of Peter—The Question and Modern Scholarship—Was Peter Bishop of Rome?" "Rise of a Sacerdotal Order in the Christian Ministry"; and "Evolution of the Papacy: Its Early Stages." We might have much to say of the rare learning, of the easy mastery of the whole subject, of the brilliant and incisive style, and of the absolute fairness with which the controversy is conducted, were there space at our disposal. As it is, we can only say that in brief compass we have here a masterly presentation of the essentials of the Protestant argument, and we are rejoiced to find that in Australia there are men of the culture and the calibre of Professor Rentoul.

Mr Sheldon's course of lectures represents his teaching to the Ethical Society of St Louis. In other cities similar courses have been given, notably in New York, by Dr Adler, who may be called the founder of the new ethical movement. The movement is one of great interest. It embodies the earnest attempt of serious men who have ceased to find satisfaction in the formulated creed of Christendom, and who cling with ardent devotion to the highest ethical ideal they know, and seek to enable their fellow-men to realise it. As set forth in the volume before us, the new movement is of opinion that religion in the past has laid too much stress on the future life, and has rather neglected the present, with its duties, privileges, and responsibilities. Religious teaching has not been exerting its true influence on the public mind, because it could not adequately apply itself to the actual daily affairs of human life. Whether, by throwing the stress on moral issues, we may be able to restore the right hold for religion, is the problem to be solved by a true ethical movement.

We are sure we wish all success to a movement that promises to restore the right hold for religion, but we are full of doubt as to the adequacy and sufficiency of the present movement. We question whether Ethics can give the true moral dynamic in virtue of which a bad man can become good, or a selfish man unselfish. How for each of us to become better men in a better human society is

indeed a pressing practical problem, but we are persuaded that it can never be accomplished on the lines sketched by our author.

We have read the book with intense interest. It is beautifully written, clear and felicitous in style, lucid in thought, and the meaning of it is easily grasped. The tone of it, too, is very fine. There is a sympathetic attempt to put himself in the place of those who still cling to the creed of Christendom, and to appreciate the strength of their position. We think the author has failed to understand the force of the evidence in behalf of Christianity as a spiritual religion, with divine sanctions, and with the vast historic evidence of its ethical validity.

The failure is even more conspicuous when the writer sets himself to inquire in how many senses men can use the word "God." It may be safely said that the great name will lose its wonted power when men are agreed to think with our author of God as substance and as power, and no longer of Him as personal. The very strength of religion as a power that makes for righteousness depends on the fact that men believe they can enter into fellowship with Him who made and upholds the universe, can speak to Him, and hear Him speak to them. Ethics may remain after we have lost the thought of God as a Person, but it will be an ethic with other aims and other sanctions. -

The chapter on the "Ethical" Christ we have found to be even less satisfactory. The chapter is the record of an attempt to reduce Christ to the level of other men. It calmly assumes that the gracious character we find in the Gospels and in the faith of the Church is partly the creation of the human heart and imagination. It somewhat condescendingly acknowledges that there are elements worthy of high commendation in the ethical ideal realised in Christ, but it assumes that humanity has outgrown that ideal. Suited to the earlier ages, the Christ ideal must now, it seems, yield to something stronger. "In the earlier centuries, when the Christ-picture was taking shape, the ideal aspect most called for was passive endurance, heroic submissiveness, gentle humility. It was the meek and lowly of heart who could be truly great men and women of those times; for there was no field or no sphere for the aggressive virtues. The bold, determined, energetic, pushing will, pushing ahead to change the course of events and to alter the trend of history, would have had little opportunity to display itself if, at the same time, it had been united with the spirit of self-denial or self-surrender. The 'Christ' character of that age knew how to endure and to submit. This is one side of the perfect ideal, and, as such, it will hold its exalted place through all ages to come."

We have given the quotation in order to set forth the author's

point of view. On the quotation, and on the chapter from which we take it, we venture to make the remark that the author has read his New Testament and the History of Christendom to little purpose. For in the character of Christ there is something more than meekness, submissiveness, and humility. Claims of the most enormous magnitude on the loyalty and submissiveness of men to Him are made on His behalf, and statements regarding Him and His worth are made which are distinctly aggressive and exclusive. He is meek and lowly in heart, but in the same breath He says, come unto Me. To speak of Christianity as lacking in aggressive energy is to say the thing which is not. Aggressiveness is its characteristic note. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel" is the Master's command, and obedience to it demands "the aggressive energy, the determined will, and the venturesome mind," which our author regards as wanting altogether in Christianity.

A compact, clear and intelligible account of the Hegelian logic was a great desideratum. The work of the master himself, though disclosing its secret to severe and prolonged study, has appeared in such an imperfect form, that it places needless difficulties in the way of a student. Notwithstanding the vast labours of Professor Wallace, and the strenuous endeavours of a hundred other expositors, the secret of Hegel is not yet an open secret to British students. Next to an exposition of Hegelian logic, from a British pen, which has so assimilated it as to be able to set it forth as a thoroughly native product, is a book like Professor Erdmann's, in which a veteran teacher uses his trained skill, and the experience won through the actual training of many generations of students, in order to simplify, state, and set forth in perspicuous terms, his understanding of the view of his master. The prefatory essay of Dr Burt is also helpful. He is at home in the Hegelian system, and speaks the dialect like a native. It does take a little time to accustom ourselves to the tone, atmosphere, phraseology, and attitude of the system. We have been accustomed to look at terms, concepts, categories as fixed, rigid, unchangeable, existing side by side in mere otherness, that it is difficult for us to look at them as always in a process of evolution, through which experience passes, and must pass, on its way to completeness. "The mind," says Dr Burt, "in the activities of sensible perception, sensuous imagination and conception, feels impelled by a necessity which, while in these stages of its working, it does not yet understand, to move onward to the stage of thought as such in which, as at home with its essential self, it comfortably rests. In fact, the recognised lower stages are in themselves self-contradictory and incom-

plete. The world of perception is too much a sphere of mere multiplicity, mere otherness ; that of abstract understanding, or understanding which ignores the individual for the sake of a fancied universal, has a unity that is constrained and repulsive to the mind. What is demanded is that sense and abstract understanding be harmonised in a certain concrete unity, that the real and the (so-called) ideal phenomena and law, object and subject, be seen, or at least distinctly felt, as at bottom one and the same fact."

This book is the attempt to show the unity of experience, and to unfold the process by which that which is implicit is made explicit, and what is involved in every conscious experience may come into clear consciousness. It is a working out of categories, beginning with the lowest, simplest, most abstract form of thought, and proceeding by a gradual development to the highest, most complex, most concrete, thereby professing to discover, or rather to evolve, the system of pure forms of thought or the categories. In the first part the author deals with categories of immediacy, quality, quantity, mode ; in the second part with categories of mediation, essence as such, phenomenon, actuality ; and in the third part with categories of freedom, subjectivity, objectivity, idea. The threefold process goes on, and each category subdivides itself into three, in the usual Hegelian manner. The book is full of interest, and many rich vistas are opened up as we advance. We cannot read the book without having our thoughts of the unity of the universe in the midst of its infinite complexity being greatly enriched, and in particular our conviction is deepened that we are in a rational universe. Whether the rationality of the universe is of this particular form is another question, too large to be discussed here, but every thoughtful student will be grateful for the opportunity of studying the system as set forth in this book.

JAMES IVERACH.

**Memoir of John Veitch, LL.D., Professor of Logic and
Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow.**

By Mary R. L. Bryce. Edinburgh and London : Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. x. 197. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE sad associations of this memoir, notwithstanding the charming impression left upon those who were privileged to see Mrs Bryce's work in manuscript, are enhanced by the printed book, with its excellently executed and well chosen illustrations.

The task undertaken by Professor Veitch's niece was no easy

one, but the spirit of a labour of love has enabled her to surmount all difficulties, if not with ease, certainly with an eminently happy valiancy. Materials were scant and scattered; and Mr Veitch himself so courted the nature lover's solitude, and cared so little for publicity, that the effort requisite to rendering his quiet career of interest to a large circle of readers would have entirely failed of effect had this aim been consciously pursued. But he was peculiarly a type, and that kind of type, moreover, which—such are life's paradoxes—is best presented by an intimate delineation of individual characteristics. To limn them successfully an unusual combination of qualities must be assembled. A mere record, however flowing, of successive events will not suffice; it might, indeed, be worse than useless. Rather knowledge of the subject—that close acquaintance with every subtle turn of his temperament—is requisite. So, too, is the sympathetic insight that joys in his joys, sorrows in his griefs or disappointments, rises and falls in unison with his mood as he looks out upon the beauties of nature, almost awe-stricken by their wealth, or muses on the hidden mysteries, so partially disclosed here, of our human destiny. Yet, even given all this, the touch with which Mrs Bryce has enveloped her characterisation in a kind of atmospheric halo could not be wholly explained: for she conveys the elements incident to her study at once with the vividness of the impressionist, and with the close faithfulness of the realist. She is an artist no less than a trusted and affectionate friend.

It is not for me to say now all that I feel—even were suitable expression possible—of the portrait she has given of one who was well known to many who will see these pages. But the more it is pondered by those who knew Professor Veitch intimately, the truer, the more adequate, does it seem. And if this be so for us who were privileged to be of the inner circle of Mr Veitch's acquaintance, and who are fully alive alike to the advantages Mrs Bryce enjoyed, and to the difficulties under which she laboured, others can afford to be more than satisfied. Everyone who desires to learn what the highest type of man reared in the Scottish Universities during the Victorian era was, ought to procure this volume. It may very well be that, under the new conditions that every age imposes afresh upon institutions, we may not look upon its like again. What it was, what it has implied in the life of the northern nation, what it has done for the progress and the wise conservation of educational advantages, what it has wrought for the defence of all righteousness, is here set down, not in a dull tale, but in a living picture of a personality both representative and unique.

For some of us, as Mrs Bryce says with a truth that touches us only too deeply, "he is a daily blank." To some he "has become a mere name." No person who reads this *Memoir* can possibly

be numbered with these last; and no Scot who is proud of his country's institutions, and of the men who, reared on hardness, have contributed to rendering their land honoured and even envied the world over, can afford to neglect this beautiful tribute to a character which only Scotland could have cradled and nurtured to perfection.

R. M. WENLEY.

Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Ethik, der Staatswissenschaft, der Aesthetik und der Theologie.

Von Prof. Ludwig Strümpell. Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1895. 8vo, 6 Hefte, pp. vii. 277. Price, M.4.

Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Metaphysik, Psychologie und Religionsphilosophie seit Leibniz.

Von L. Strümpell. 1896. 4 Hefte, pp. vi. 360. Price, M.5.25.

ALREADY in his eighty-fourth year, this venerable Honorary Professor of the University of Leipzig has set himself to gather together and classify the scattered writings of a lifetime. Those relating to Educational subjects appeared some time ago, and the advertisement pages of the present publication promise a similar re-issue of articles relating to the department of Applied Logic, and of others dealing with the History of Metaphysics, Psychology and Philosophy of Religion from the time of Kant. The chief previous work of the author was his "Introduction to Philosophy from the standpoint of the History of Philosophy" (1886), a subject on which he had then lectured for nearly forty years. His object in some of the dissertations now re-published is to clear up some points which had been misunderstood in the "Introduction," and especially to "define, for the benefit of the future historian of Philosophy," the author's "relation to the Philosophy of Herbart" (Preface, p. ii.) whose standpoint, rather than that of Kant or the Speculative School, he in general adopts. The most valuable of the articles before us appear to us to be those dealing with Ethics. The most elaborate and complete is that upon the *Moral Ideas*, which occupies the whole of the third "Heft." In this, after an introductory section, the writer treats, in a thoughtful and suggestive way, of the ideas of Right or Justice, of Recompense or Retribution, of Benevolence or Love to man, of Unlimited Progress towards Perfection, and of Moral Freedom. The articles on *Æsthetics* are two, both in the sixth number. They deal (1) with the "Difference between the sensible, the intellectual, and the æsthetic interest and pleasure," and (2) with

the question, "What prevents the development of *Æsthetics* into a Science?" As might be expected, the articles are of very various value; the insertion of the first of all, for example—a very slight, but emphatic protest against Heine's misrepresentation of German Philosophy in an article written for French consumption in 1835—being justified on grounds which seem more obvious to the author than to us. Theology is represented only by the closing article on "The false connection established between Philosophy, Theology, and Church," the outcome of which is that Theology, so far as historical and traditional, is rightly connected with the Church; so far as speculative and free, with Philosophy; but that between Philosophy and the Church there can, under no conditions, be any union or relation.

Since the above was in type, four parts, composing another volume, of Professor Strümpell's *Abhandlungen*, have come to hand. Of these, the first is occupied with a discussion of Leibniz, and the principal writings and doctrines of that renowned philosopher, with whom Strümpell considers that German philosophy properly begins, the usual practice of going back to Descartes and Spinoza being in his view unnecessary. The second part reprints the *Thesis* on the presentation of which the author graduated as Doctor of Philosophy at Königsberg, so far back as 1833. A second dissertation in the same part deals further with the metaphysics of Herbart, whose name also dominates the papers given in the third part, which all turn upon a discussion of the principle of causality. The fourth part is occupied with three discussions of problems in religious philosophy—namely, "The grounds of belief in the Existence of God," "The questions concerning the Creation, Maintenance, and Government of the world, and Providence," and "God in relation to the Categories of the Finite and Infinite." As in the former volume, the treatises thus collected together are of varying value, but some of them exhibit remarkable speculative power, together with clear and suggestive statement of the problems concerned, if the solutions offered are not always perfectly satisfactory. We may refer to the paper on *Creation and Providence* as a good example of the best qualities of the author.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

**Der Tod Christi in seiner Bedeutung für die Erlösung.
Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung.**

Von Alfred Seeberg, Professor der Theologie in Dorpat. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 384. Price, M.5.50.

ONLY good can come of such attempts at a careful and exhaustive study of the New Testament teaching on the redemptive aspects of our Lord's death as we have in this fresh and scholarly volume. The tendency has too readily been yielded to on the part of many to obliterate the Atonement as an article of the Christian creed, at least in the sense of an expiatory work which is the objective ground of the removal of the sinner's guilt and condemnation, and of his re-admission into the fellowship of God. So engrained is this idea into the texture of the Scriptures, Old and New, that it requires considerable boldness and ingenuity, either to show that it is not there, or to make it at best a crude, early phase of conception which advancing insight into the Gospel compels us to discard. Prof. Seeberg recognises the difficulties of the subject, and the inadequacy of older theories, but cannot satisfy himself that the newer theories are much better, and is least of all content that the subject should be simply ignored. He has not been able to discover that the manifold attempts of the newer theology have hitherto had any determining influence on the practical preaching of the Gospel, and he maintains that however mistaken the theory of Anselm and the old dogmaticians of a *satisfactio vicaria* may have been, just as little does the revived adoption by Ritschl and others of the Abelard type of Atonement doctrine answer to the original form of Christian teaching. He feels himself impelled, therefore, to undertake a re-examination of the subject for himself, not from a dogmatic, but from a biblico-theological point of view.

It is easy to foresee that an investigation of this kind, though cordially to be welcomed, is only likely to result in adding one theory more to the number—a theory which seems to the author himself to embody the pure results of exegetical study, but which may appear to others to be marked by a good many subjective prepossessions. This, we take it, is really the case here in what is nevertheless a very able and suggestive treatment of the New Testament doctrine of the death of Christ. The work is methodically conceived, commencing—apparently because the author finds there the high-priestly idea, on which he lays peculiar stress—with the Epistle to the Hebrews, thence proceeding to the Johannine writings, thence to the Pauline Epistles, thence to

Peter, thence to the speeches in the Acts, finally to the Synoptics. At the close of each section there is a summary of results, and a general summation at the end of the volume. The author's positions on the subject of the sources are marked by considerable individuality; so, likewise, is his exegesis. He will recognise no development of view, so far as this question is concerned, in the writings of Paul, Peter, and John, and labours at length to show that there is perfect agreement—real and not forced—between John's Gospel and Epistles, and the Apocalypse. On the other hand, he will not allow that the Synoptic Gospels furnish us with the means of saying what was Christ's own teaching on His death. We have but reports from Christ's disciples, respecting which we can never be sure whether they literally and faithfully preserve Christ's words or not. This somewhat radical attitude to the Gospels is his reason for beginning with the Apostolic age.

We can but glance at the manner in which the author builds up his theory, and at its main results. There is much in his argument which is well deserving of attention. He contends for the essential unity of the Apostolic doctrine. From the beginning, the Apostolic preaching connects salvation with Christ's death and resurrection. Already, before the conversion of Paul, it was usual to comprehend the sum of Christianity in these two facts. Even as to the nature of this connection—the *how* as contrasted with the *fact* of redemption by Christ's death, he contends that "the fundamental view in the Epistles is one and the same, and is again the same as meets us in the Gospels." The death of Christ is in the first instance a means of transition to His glory, but it has also atoning power—is indispensable in view of the holiness of God as a condition of the reception of the sinner to his fellowship. Here comes the kernel of the matter, and we are bound to say that with all his elaborate and oft-repeated explanations the author does not make his meaning clear. He rejects as unscriptural the conception of a substitutionary endurance of penalty. He looks with equal dislike on the idea of Christ's death as answering to the idea of the Old Testament sacrifice, holding—surely mistakenly—that even in the Epistle to the Hebrews this is a secondary and unessential idea. What then is its import? One thing is that in the death of Christ we are made to feel the awful evil and curse-deserving character of sin. But further, Christ who, for the redemption of men from sin and guilt, out of love permitted himself to undergo the uttermost evil that could come upon the sinless, calls the sinner into fellowship with himself that he may obtain forgiveness of his sins. In this intimate fellowship of life "Christ and the sinner now form a unity, which has for its result that Christ's act comes to stand for that of the sinner. The

Christian, therefore, counts before God for one who for the expiation of his sins has undergone that evil, the endurance of which the holy God makes the condition of his reception into fellowship." In reply to the pertinent question—"But how can God accept the Christian as one who has suffered death for the atonement of his sins when he actually has not suffered?" The answer is that he *has* suffered, not indeed really, but in volition, for he has assented to this judgment of God (in death) upon his sin—with much more of the same kind. In Christ ideally all humanity has died, but the actual salvation depends upon the glorification of Christ, through which men are brought into living fellowship with the crucified and exalted One. Despite of it all, it remains obscure *why* this surrender of Christ to the uttermost evil of death is a necessity of forgiveness—otherwise than in its moral effects; in what way the sinner can see in it a judgment of God upon his sin which forms a ground for its forgiveness; and how an expiatory virtue can be attributed to it unless by importing back those ideas of substitution or representation in suffering which we thought had been rejected. To do justice to Prof. Seeberg's views—especially in their exegetical relations—a much fuller treatment would be necessary, but this bare sketch may indicate at least the sort of lines on which his book proceeds. It will probably not be accepted as the last word upon the subject either.

JAMES ORR.

The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, critical edition of the Hebrew text arranged in chronological order with notes by C. H. Cornill, D.D., Professor of the University of Königsberg. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 80. Price, 5s. net.

THE selection of Cornill, one of the younger Old Testament scholars of Germany, for the difficult task of preparing and editing a critical text of Jeremiah was an eminently wise choice. The learning and skill which he exhibited in his memorable critical edition of Ezekiel—the elaborate prolegomena of 170 pages which he wrote to that work, and the complete mastery there exhibited of critical method and materials in dealing with the maze of details with which such studies confronted him, will be recalled by all biblical students who examined that remarkable book produced by the young Marburg Professor Extraordinarius. True, his treatment of the text of Ezekiel was too drastic and sometimes arbitrary to obtain hearty

commendation from cautious scholars; yet it was recognised that the work was an exceedingly valuable contribution to the problem of reconstructing the text of the exilian prophet. Obviously Professor Cornill, the textual critic of Ezekiel, who had contributed articles of much suggestive stimulus on the critical problems of Isaiah, was the right man to edit and reconstruct, and if possible rearrange, the text of Jeremiah, so complex in its elements and in many passages damaged by corruptions.

It is hardly necessary to say that there can be no finality in the solution of this most difficult problem. In the first place we have to deal with divergent traditions both of text and arrangement in LXX and Massora, which in the case of the oracles of this prophet stand further apart and present greater perplexities to the scholar than in any other department of Old Testament literature. In the second place it has long been recognised that the text of Jeremiah has been subjected to redactional processes, and the greatest literary discrimination and sobriety of judgment combined with linguistic knowledge are requisite in order to disentangle the genuine utterances of Jeremiah from the later Deutero-Isaianic and other texture with which it has been interwoven; and when all that is possible to human acumen and scholarship has been done, one can only say: *periculosæ plenum opus aleæ!* So easy is it (changing the metaphor) to cast away good wheat with chaff and to let theories of Jeremiah's theology and the limitations we impose upon his thought and style govern unduly the sifting process.

The main question to be settled at the outset, as Stade has clearly indicated in his long and instructive note (*Gesch. der V., I.* p. 646, footnote), is suggested in Jeremiah xxxvi. According to this narrative, before the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign the prophet's discourses were only orally delivered. But in this year he dictated to Baruch the prophecies which he had uttered since the thirteenth year of Josiah. This roll was read in the temple before the people during the extraordinary fast that was being held at that time and subsequently before the king in his winter-palace, when the leaves of the roll were cast into the flames with the king's approval, in spite of all remonstrances. Afterwards Jeremiah dictated anew to Baruch the prophecies which stood upon this roll and added other oracles. The aim of the critic is to restore, if possible, the contents of this roll. We may premise that it only contained a summary of the prophetic discourses, since the manuscript-roll was read over at least three times in a single day. Accordingly, in Cornill's present treatise the first thirteen pages of his reconstructed text are an attempt to reproduce this "Urrolle" or original roll (מִנְחָה) in its integrity, purified of all interpolations, which are relegated to footnotes. Thus Jerem. i. 3 is separated as an interpolation owing

to its mention of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. It is, however, quite reasonable to regard all three verses as redactional headings, since they partake of the character of similar superscriptions to oracles in other prophetic books. The order of the Massoretic text (which here coincides with the LXX) is then followed in chapters i.-vi., with the exception of such interpolations, among others, as iv. i. 2 and 10, which Cornill, in our opinion unnecessarily, relegates to the foot of the page, and also of the important sections iii. 6-18 which, in the words of the author's introduction, "interrupts the connection between verses 5 and 19," and is therefore accorded a separate position among Jeremiah's earlier oracles, viz., after chapter vi. It is quite true that iv. i. 2 comes in somewhat abruptly. Nevertheless they supplement and are not a mere amplification of chapter iii. 22^a. Though the LXX give us the third person instead of the second, and though the style is abrupt and the text not easily capable of restoration, that is no sufficient reason for rejecting the passage. As to verse 10 we would adopt Ewald's suggestion and read *וְאָמַר*: "So that one says: Ah! my Lord God, surely thou hast deceived this people." This verse then forms a natural sequence to the previous one which describes the consternation of prince, priest and prophet at the manifestations of Divine wrath. In the course of this review we cannot do more than note down a few of the numerous details in which our author's treatment of the Hebrew text awakens dissent. Much as we admire the learning and insight displayed in this book, and the critical skill with which difficult textual problems are attacked, it is always necessary to follow Cornill's work, pen in hand, and here and there to mark his too copious list of interpolations, reserved to the foot of the page in smaller type, with notes of interrogation.

We proceed to indicate the remaining contents of the "Urrolle" in the chronological order which Professor Cornill gives to them, with occasional criticisms. After chapter iii. 6-16 succeed the following chapters in the order here mentioned: chapter xi.-xii. 6; xviii.; vii.-ix. 21 [verses 22-25 are placed separately (p. 26) among the genuine utterances of Jeremiah, which, as Cornill expresses it in his quaint Hebrew rubric, "have been torn from their place by a fault of the scribes"]; x. 17-24 [x. 1-16 against idolatry being regarded by Cornill with most critics as "unecht"]. Next we have the discourse against Judah, chapter xxv., followed, as in LXX, by the prophecies against foreign nations. The order, however, in Cornill's reconstructed text differs of course considerably from that followed in the LXX. On the difficult chapter xxv., the editor, as we might expect from the language of his "Introduction" (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, p. 163), is largely dominated by the opinions of Schwally expressed in his well-known article on Jeremiah xxv.,

xlvi.-li. in ZATW, 1888. I must confess to considerable misgiving in following this leadership. Schwally's services to Old Testament science are unquestionably solid. To me his "Life after Death" is an indispensable treatise, and his shrewdness and learning in the aforesaid article are undeniable. But the argument he employs against the genuineness of xxv. 30, 31, "In diesen Versen befremdet dass die Wohnung Jahves in den Himmel verlegt wird" (p. 185 foll.), involves a sweeping theory of O.T. ideas respecting Jahveh which I cannot accept. So far from regarding the localisation of Jahveh in heaven as merely exilian and post-exilian, I believe that such passages as 1 Kings xxii. 19 which bears the obvious impress of pre-exilian origin as well as Ps. xviii. 7-18 (admitted by Cheyne to be pre-exilian), and many other testimonies¹ prove that Jahveh, like the Aramaic Hadad and the Assyro-Babylonian Ramman, was associated with the atmosphere rather than with the land in the most primitive religious ideas of Israel. Jahveh differs in this important respect from the primitive Semitic Baal, with whom he subsequently became associated through Canaanite influence; for Baal means the lord or patron whose power extends over certain fertile spots. Schwally's treatment of such passages as Gen. xxviii. 12 (*ibid.*, footnote, p. 186) is mere special pleading. We shall be curious to see how this ingenious writer will deal with 1 Kings xxii. in his forthcoming edition of the Sacred Books of the O.T.²

I therefore much regret to read Cornill's note on chap. xxv. 30-38. "Schwally has already established that verses 30-38 are not original," and to find them accordingly relegated to the foot of the page. Stade's argument that Zech. xi. 1-3 are based on Jer. xxv. 34-38 should make us pause in such wholesale rejection. It must, however, be confessed that Schwally's arguments against the integrity of xxv. 1-14 rest on a much stronger foundation.

Immediately following chap. xxv. in Cornill's arrangement come xli. 1-12; xlvii. 1-7; xlviii. 1-21, 25, 28, 35-44; xlix. 1-33. This concludes the "Urrolle."

Next follows a collection of discourses delivered from the fifth year to the close of Zedekiah's reign. These include chapters xiv.-

¹ Such as אֶת־הַקֶּשֶׁת 1 Kings xviii. 38 (comp. Jud. xiii. 20; Job. i. 16) as the Hebrew designation of lightning. The connection between the sky and mountains would easily account for the special sanctity of such a spot as Horeb. Comp. 1 Kings xx. 23.

² Similarly, Schwally's attempt to erect a hard and fast distinction between the ideas of God in Jer. xlvi.-xlix. and those in the undisputed writings of Jeremiah (*ibid.*, p. 204) is strained and unnatural in face of the circumstances which this critic expressly ignores (p. 205), that those addressed by Jeremiah in his 'genuine' writings were Jehovah's worshippers, while in the discourses against foreign nations these peoples were worshippers of other gods.

xvii. in the order in which those chapters stand in our Hebrew text: xvii. 1-5 are rightly retained despite their omission by LXX. On the other hand, the confessedly difficult verses xv. 11-14 are rejected; while xvii. 5-13, upon a portion of which Psalm i. is obviously based, are included among the miscellaneous brief fragments of a didactic character placed in the short appendix of the sayings of Jeremiah on page 26. Next come chaps. xii. 8-17 and xxxv. (except 15, 16 interpolated).

This section is followed by another brief one consisting only of chap. xiii. delivered in the reign of Jehoiakin. Then comes a collection of discourses delivered during the reign of Zedekiah, viz.: xxiv.; xxix.; xlix. 34-39; xxii.; xxiii.; xxi.; xx. 14-18, 7-12 [here Ewald's arrangement is followed; verse 13 being regarded as a lyrical supplement]; xxxii.; xxxiii. 1, 2a, 4-13; xxiii. 7, 8. In this section we have to note several considerable interpolations, viz.: xxix. 16-31, and xxxii. 1-5 and 17-23, as well as numerous passages in xxxiii., including 14-26 (omitted by LXX). Here Cornill stands upon much safer ground, for it is impossible to deny that chap. xxxii. has received accretions, while more than half a century ago De Wette recognised that Deutero-Isaianic elements abounded in chaps. xxx., xxxi. and xxxiii.

Another section immediately succeeds, consisting of discourses delivered by the prophet after the capture of Jerusalem. These are arranged in the following order: xxx.; xxxi.; xlv. 13-26. As might be expected, numerous interpolations are removed from the text in chapters xxx., xxxi., viz.: xxx. 10, 11, 22-24; xxxi. 10-14, 35-37. On p. 26 stands a brief collection of disconnected sayings of Jeremiah. Here ends the portion of the work that contains the genuine writings of the prophet.

The next section includes "a collection of biographical chapters concerning Jeremiah's life. They were evidently written after the death of the prophet (which probably occurred shortly after 586) by a person who appears to have been well informed." These chapters are xix.; xx. 1-6; xxvi.; xxxvi.; xlv. 1-5; xxvii.; xxviii.; li. 59-64; xxxiv. 1-7; xxxvii. 5, 3, 6-10; xxxiv. 8-22; xxxvii. 4, 11-21; xxxviii.; xxxix. 15-18; xxxix. 3; xxxviii. 28b; xxx. 14; xl. 6—xliv. 28.¹

The last section contains chapters written neither by Jeremiah nor by his biographer, viz.: x. 1-16; xvii. 19-27; xxxix. 1-12; xl. 1-5; l.-lii.

¹ In xliii. 13 we are glad to see that Winckler's wholly unnecessary proposal to cancel בית as dittographia before שָׁמַיִשׁ is not adopted. (*A.T.-liche Untersuch.* p. 180 foll.) At the same time LXX באֵן is substituted for כְּעָרִים of the Mass. on what must be regarded as good grounds. In the previous verse καὶ φθεῖρει γῆν Αἰγύπτου . . . τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ is held to reproduce the genuine text.

Nothing more than this brief summary of results can be now attempted. The critical questions as to genuineness are so numerous, and in many cases so complicated and delicate—sometimes baffling—that they cannot adequately be dealt with in the compass of this review.

We have only therefore been able to deal briefly with a few among them. But these will serve in some measure to illustrate the gigantic task which Dr Cornill has undertaken. So much in any attempt to recover the true order of the oracles must remain conjectural and uncertain that we are inclined to think that the author would have shown more wisdom if he had been less ambitious and had contented himself with the reconstruction of the Hebrew text following the Massoretic order, colours being employed, as in the companion volumes of this series, to indicate interpolations as well as the work of Jeremiah's biographer and still later additions. The attempt to reproduce the order of the oracles in the original Roll (Urrolle) must necessarily be speculative and provisional. Let the reader compare Cornill's results with those of Driver, *Introd.* p. 255, and with those of König (*Einleitung*, p. 340 foll.). Respecting chap. xxxvii. Stade and Cornill differ widely and irreconcilably. Stade (ZATW, 1892, p. 277 foll.) places xxxvii. 4-10 between xxi. 2 and 3. Cornill insists on the close connection of xxxiv. and xxxvii., and after rejecting xxxvii. 1, 2 as interpolation makes the following rearrangement: xxxiv. 1-7; xxxvii. 5, 3, 6-10; xxxiv. 8-32; xxxvii. 4, 11-21. Perhaps the strongest and most satisfactory feature of Professor Cornill's work consists in the eminent linguistic and critical tact with which he attempts to restore or purify the text of the prophet when it is corrupt. Few if any can excel him in this respect.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu der Evangelien.

Viertes Heft. Paralleltexte zu Johannes, gesammelt und untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. iv. 224. Price, M.7.

WITH phenomenal rapidity, the sections of Dr Resch's monumental work drop from the press. The three previous ones have been commented on, in this Review, by the present writer; and now the fourth, containing the variant citations of John's Gospel, found in the Christian literature of the first and second centuries, claims

our attention, and elicits our admiration. It is not nearly so large a volume as that on Luke. The parallel texts on Luke, with our author's comments thereupon, cover 828 pages; whereas those on John cover only 154 pages, and a fifth "Heft" is promised on the *Gospel of the Infancy*, Matt. i. ii., Lu. i. ii., which will contain 300 pages. Dr Resch confesses that the study of the parallel texts to John is by no means so remunerative as on the Synoptists, and that the value of the present volume lies in the unprecedentedly thorough examination of early literature in its relation to the fourth Gospel, and in the fresh evidence this yields of its early date and genuine apostolic authorship. With considerable ingenuity, however, Dr Resch turns to account the relatively small number of variant quotations from John, as compared with the Synoptists, in favour of his hypothesis of a Semitic original of the synoptic Gospels. "We possess," says our author in his opening sentence, "only two Gospels, the synoptic and the Johannean: the synoptic, in the three elaborations of a lost Hebrew basal document; the Johannean, in its original form." The evidence on which Resch relies in proving that the synoptic Gospels are in the main translated from a Hebrew "Grundschrift," is the occurrence of "word-variants," e.g. $\pi α ί ν = τ ύ π τ ε ι ν = ρ α π ί ζ ε ι ν = ρ ά π ι σ μ α δ ι δ ό ν α ι$ found in different authors in quoting Lu. vi. 29 is considered by him to prove the existence of הקף in a Hebrew original. Resch now assures us (p. 213) that these "word-variants," collected by him in quotations from the synoptic Gospels, reach well into the *third thousand*; while those from John scarcely cover the *first hundred*. This is certainly remarkable. Such a disparity must have a cause; and though I have frequently protested that the existence of these quasi-synonyms alone cannot prove a Semitic original, I fail to see how any one can regard this disparity of numbers as other than confirmatory of the statement of Papias, that "Matthew wrote *Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ* (i.e., either in Aramaic or Hebrew), and that each one translated his work as he was able." There is just one *caveat* which we would interpose—one which our author himself supplies to us in another connection. On page 76 we read:—"The numerous patristic parallels which exist to the Johannine Logion, iii. 5, show both the frequent use of the same and also the manifold alterations which it suffered. Both phenomena stand in close interaction: for passages which are often quoted, as a rule from memory merely, are seldom employed in agreement with the written copy." Frequent *memoriter* quotation leads to inaccuracy. This is an unquestionable principle. Beyond a doubt, the synoptic Gospels entered more thoroughly into the life-blood of the Early Church than the fourth, and this may, to some extent, account for the fact that the synoptic Gospels are quoted much more laxly—

with far more numerous "word-variants"—than the fourth. This must certainly be taken into account, but the disparity between 3000 and 100 cannot be fully explained in this way. There is still an immense residual effect, for which the most probable cause is the one assigned by Dr Resch, viz., that in the Synoptists we have indications of translation from a common Semitic original.

Our author maintains that the *difference of style* between the synoptic and the fourth Gospels also affords a negative proof of the existence of a pre-canonical source (p. 219). In the Synoptists we meet with a multiplicity of narratives curtly narrated, presenting on the whole a sort of mosaic (Buntheit). In the fourth Gospel, "all flows out of one mighty source. All comes out of the fulness of one spirit which dominates the material it needs with the utmost freedom. One feels, step by step, that the author at any moment could give immensely more than he really gives. The narrative-portion of the Gospel of John is the author's most personal property, over which, untrammelled by any possible criticism, he rules with absolute sovereignty" (p. 35).

Dr Resch has no misgiving whatever, that the fourth Gospel (with the exception of c. viii. 1-11, and perhaps c. xxi.) is the production of the Apostle John. The external testimony he adduces for its early existence and canonicity is far more copious than I have met with elsewhere. The testimony which our author thinks—and rightly so—deserving of special attention, as a new contribution, is that drawn from the *Didaché*, which he assigns (perhaps a little too sanguinely) to 80-90 A.D. The author of the *Didaché* communicates in chapters vii.-x. some most important portions out of the liturgy of the primitive church, namely, the baptismal formula (c. vii.), the Lord's Prayer (c. viii.), and the Eucharistic liturgy (c. ix., x.). As were the two former, so also was the liturgy of the Eucharist with its three prayers, appropriated by the author out of the traditions of the primitive church. The style and content of these portions is so different from that of the catechetical instruction in which they are embedded, as to show clearly that the author merely incorporated them intact. But the remarkable thing is, that the eucharistic prayers are permeated thoroughly with Johannine phrases, whereas in the catechetical instruction it is impossible to detect the faintest trace of a possible use of the fourth Gospel. At whatever date, then, the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" was composed, the eucharistic prayers are much earlier, and they were certainly in regular use before the end of the first century. As this is a matter of exceptional importance, it may repay us to examine on what grounds Dr Resch claims that the eucharistic prayers are intensely Johannine: collecting the references from various parts of the volume. The

first prayer is, "We thank Thee, our Father (J. xi. 41), for the holy vine (J. xv. 1) of David, Thy servant, which Thou hast made known (J. xvii. 26) to us through Jesus, Thy Son: to Thee be the glory for ever. And as regards the broken (bread), we thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge (J. xvii. 3) which Thou hast made known (1 J. i. 2) to us through Jesus, Thy Son. Just as this κλάσμα was once scattered (διασκορπισμένον) over the hills, and having been gathered together, became one (συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν), so let Thy church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom (J. xi. 52; xvii. 11), &c. After ye are filled (J. vi. 11) give thanks thus: We thank Thee, Holy Father, for Thy holy name (J. xvii. 11) which Thou hast caused to dwell (κατεσκήνωσας, cf. ἐσκήνωσεν, J. i. 14) in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith (J. vi. 69) and immortality (J. xi. 25-6) which Thou hast made known (1 J. i. 2; J. xx. 31) through Jesus, Thy Son. . . . To us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life (J. iv. 14; vi. 54-5) through Thy Son. . . . Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver her from every evil (J. xvii. 15) and to perfect her in Thy love (1 J. iv. 12, 17; J. xvii. 23) and to gather her, now made holy (J. xvii. 19) from the four winds into Thy kingdom" (J. xi. 52). No one can surely deny that these eucharistic prayers are saturated with the teaching of Jesus, preserved to us only in the fourth Gospel. Especially is the prayer of Jesus in John xvii. drawn upon, which, indeed, Dr Resch considers to have been uttered in the upper room, after the conclusion of the first celebration of the Lord's Supper, and thus, in our present text, slightly misplaced. But it has been objected: may not these expressions be drawn from the stream of oral tradition? and thus may not the prayers of the Didaché have been composed prior to the writing of the fourth Gospel? Resch meets this objection with several arguments, of which the strongest seems to me to be that we have in the Didaché mention of "gathering into one (συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν) that which has been scattered abroad (διασκορπισμένον)." Now there is almost certainly here a reference to J. xi. 52, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διασκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν. But this is not an "utterance" of Jesus at all, that it should be perpetuated by oral tradition; it is simply part of the explanation given by the author of the fourth Gospel, as to the unintentional significance of the prophecy of Caiaphas: and therefore, if there is any connection between the two, the author of the prayer must have drawn from a *written* copy of the fourth Gospel.

Other external testimony to the early existence of John's Gospel is to be found in the fourth book of Ezra, which Resch assigns to about 95 A.D. "The parallel 4 Ezra v. 18 = John x. 12, in which

the parable of the Good Shepherd is original to John and borrowed by Ezra, belongs to the Jewish basal document iii.-xiv. The figure of the woman in travail, which meets us, J. xvi. 21, in original priority; 4 Ezra xvi. 39, as a plagiarism of the Johannine text, belongs, on the other hand, to the later Christian additions" (p. 5). Clement of Rome (*circ.* 95) clearly knew of John's Gospel, as is shown notably in 1 Ep. xliii. 6 and lix. 4 = John xvii. 3; xii. 28. A coincidence less frequently noted is from Evodius, the predecessor of Ignatius, as Bishop of Antioch. He, according to the history of Nicephorus Callisti, wrote a book on "The Light," and expressly states that the ministry of Jesus continued *three* years. This is clearly implied in John's Gospel, but there is nothing in the synoptic Gospels definitely implying that the ministry continued more than two years. From this, Resch infers that Evodius was acquainted with the fourth Gospel. The writings of Barnabas, Ignatius, Justin, Polycarp and others have been examined for Johannine allusions, with unprecedented thoroughness: but special interest attaches to the productions of Jewish Christianity; The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (90-130 A.D.), Hermas (130-160), and the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (160-170). In the *Testaments*, the allusions to the Synoptists are tenfold more numerous than to John's Gospel, but some undoubted Johannine references are forthcoming; e.g. τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, Levi, c. 14; ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Joseph, c. 19; ἡ πηγὴ εἰς ζωὴν, Judah, c. 24. In *Hermas* and the *pseudo-Clementines*, there is even a greater preponderance of synoptic quotations over Johannine, but the fourth Gospel is not ignored. This is the more interesting, as in these works there is only too abundant evidence of the deterioration of Jewish Christianity. Neither in *Hermas* nor the *pseudo-Clementines* is there any allusion to the Gospel of the Infancy, to the Passion or the atoning death of Christ, the institution of the Eucharist or the Trinity. The tendency, which the Epistle to the Hebrews was written to counteract, had asserted itself, and Jesus was degraded to a mere διδάσκαλος. Quotations in such writings, from John, clearly prove its acknowledged canonicity.

The *Muratorian fragment* is carefully examined, and its text emended so as to read as follows: "John (wrote) the book of the fourth Gospel from *Decapolis*. When his fellow-disciples and bishops were exhorting him, he said: Fast with me for three days, and whatever is revealed to each we will narrate to one another. The same night it was revealed to Andrew that, while all gave their authentication, John should write the whole in his own name." The text is clearly corrupt, and reads "decipolis," which Resch ingeniously suggests should be "decapoli": and then adds: "The

composition of the fourth Gospel in Decapolis, or rather, Pella, would agree with the presence of the Apostle there about 70 A.D., and would explain the early use of this Gospel in the eucharistic liturgy of the primitive Church" (p. 33).

As to his principles of textual criticism, Dr Resch is quite at variance with Westcott and Hort, and most modern critics. He does not recognise a "neutral text"; but considers $\aleph B$ to have undergone a process of recension; and attaches great importance to Codex Bezae, the old Latin, the Curetonian Syriac, the Diatesaron, patristic quotations, and ancient liturgies. He thinks that the Sinaitic Syriac has been over-estimated. "Where it agrees with Cur. it presents nothing new: where it differs, it seldom gives us anything old." We may here cite one or two important instances in which Resch prefers patristic evidence to that of the MSS. In John i. 13, where R.V. reads, "As many as received Him to them gave He the right to become the children of God, even to those that believe on His name who *were born* ($\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$) not of blood . . . but of God," Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Justin (seven times) all give a singular verb, and refer the words to the Incarnation of Jesus. Resch considers this to be the primitive reading, and would therefore render: ". . . sons of God . . . who believe on the name of Him who *was born* not of the will of the flesh . . . but of God." Resch claims Syr-Cur. in favour of Justin, &c. Tisch. omits it. The fact is, Cur. gives a plural pronoun, "who," but a singular verb, "was born." Baethgen's restoration is $\sigma\iota$. . . $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$. When Aristides says $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\kappa \pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{o}\rho\omega\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\acute{o}\rho\omega\varsigma \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$, he gives a rhetorical quotation of our text, interpreted after the manner of Justin. In John iii. 34-5, "for He giveth not the spirit by measure," Ephraim Syrus and Aphraates append "to His Son": and Resch regards this as a primitive reading lost in later MSS. In John xi. 54 he is of opinion that the genuine reading is preserved only in Codex Bezae, which reads: "He went away into the district of $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, near the desert, to a city called Ephraim." Resch criticises adversely the theory of Harris (Study of Codex Bezae, p. 184) and Chase (Syro-Latin text of the Gospels, p. 108), who explain $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ as a corruption of two Syriac words meaning "whose name was 'desert.'" The Latin text of Cod. Bezae reads "*Sap-furin*" = $\Sigma\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\mu$, which differs from $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ only as $\Lambda\mu\beta\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu$ from $\P\beta\beta\eta$. Hence Resch suggests that $\Sigma\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\mu$ is really the Sepharvaim of 2 Kings xvii. 24, &c., which word appears in MSS. of LXX as $\Sigma\epsilon\pi\phi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\alpha\iota\mu$, $\Sigma\epsilon\pi\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ and $\Sigma\epsilon\pi\phi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$. These people were sent to colonize Samaria, and may therefore well have given a name to a district of the hill country of Ephraim (p. 142). Though given now for the first time, Dr Resch is

sanguine that this will be accepted by scholars as a final solution (p. 204).

The remarks given in connection with each group of parallel texts are neither so copious nor so valuable as those given in M. Mk. Lu. On c. i. 4 Resch adduces new evidence in favour of R. V. Marg., "That which hath been made was life in Him." He gives no early paradiplomatic evidence in favour of *μονογενὴς θεός* (i. 18); and he identifies Nathanael, not with Bartholomew, but with Matthew (i. 48). The variant citations are most numerous on c. iii. 5, where we learn at what an early period being "born of water" was referred to Baptism, and also how soon, in some quarters, the immersion of the believer was deemed necessary to salvation. The word *ἄνωθεν* of iii. 3 is never found, we are told, in any early author. Instead, we have *ἀναγεννᾶν* or simply *γεννᾶν*, and therefore Resch infers that the rendering "from above" was unknown to primitive Christianity. He regards viii. 1-11 as a genuine remnant of a pre-canonical Gospel, but not Johannine: and as for c. xxi. 1-14, Resch agrees with Weiss that this is ultimately identical with Luke v. 1-11. Luke, says he, follows here neither the Semitic source nor the Marcus. Probably he found a fly-leaf containing this incident, and confusing the *restoration* of Peter with his "*call*," inserted it at the commencement of Christ's ministry, instead of at its close (p. 199).

On the "chief-problem" of the fourth Gospel, i.e. the difference of its style and content from that of the Synoptists, Resch does not dwell at length. On page 37 we read: "With this exact historical character of the Johannine Gospel, an ideal freedom goes hand-in-hand which not seldom seems to burst the bounds of history. In this mysterious connection of an ideal freedom in which the thoughts of the author move, with a historic precision on which he himself lays the greatest stress, the chief difficulty of the Johannine question is contained." His explanation is two-fold. (1) In the apostle John we have one who was Prophet, as well as historian. Under the influence of the Holy Spirit, he attained such a state of inspiration, that with *πεφωτισμένοις ὀφθαλμοῖς* he looked back into the historical past of Jesus, without losing his own clear self-consciousness, in such a way that the boundary between exact historic recollection of the word once heard, and the creative reproduction of the words of Jesus wrought within him during the lapse of years, in many places (e.g. c. iii. xiv. ff.) easily disappeared (pp. 39, 40). (2) He ventures on the assertion that if we possessed the pre-canonical Gospel of Matthew, we should find that the differences between it and John were far fewer than between John and our canonical Matthew, and not a few questions which now perplex us would be satisfactorily settled. This, of course, is an assertion

which may be safely made, and which, at all events, cannot at present be disproved.

Though in this volume, as in the others, there are many statements and theories which one cannot endorse, yet one closes his perusal of it with profound admiration for the patience with which its *facts* are collected, on which each one will theorize for himself. All earnest students of the New Testament will look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the appearance of the fifth volume.

J. T. MARSHALL.

The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom.

The Baird Lectures for 1895. By Henry Cowan, D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen. London: A. & C. Black. 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 274. Price, 3s. 6d.

IN a series of six lectures, Professor Cowan shows how the Scottish Church, Catholic, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Dissenting, has directly and indirectly affected Christendom. He traces the influence through missions of the early and of the reformed Church; the influence of the reformed Church on England, Ireland, the Continent, and the Colonies; and, in the sixth lecture, the influence exerted on the promotion of spiritual independence and the advancement of political liberty. Scotland, with ecclesiastics after the order of Hildebrand, and kings with the stubborn mind of the Emperor Henry IV., has reproduced in a small arena some of the great mediæval struggles between Church and State, and her history has been lively; but one is apt to think of the Church before and after the Reformation as national and self-centred, touched on occasion from without, but touching almost nothing in turn. Professor Cowan endeavours to show that from first to last this Church has exerted some influence on other Churches; and he is to be congratulated on the success of his endeavour, since an ample knowledge of books has enabled him to trace the footsteps of the ecclesiastical Scot abroad, of religious men like Dr Duff and Dr Livingstone. It must be confessed, however, that he has named so many notables, and wandered to so many places, that our interest and curiosity excite us to wish that he had spent his energy in an original investigation of one of the many subjects with which he deals, such as the influence of the Scottish Reformers on the Church of England. This volume, with its excellent but irrelevant defence of the present Established Church, with its multitude of references to standard and other books, is withal hardly a contribution to history: it is rather a summary of missionary

triumphs, and a glorification of the Scottish Church as a force in the world. In the endeavour to narrate the services of this Church to Christendom, Dr Cowan is sometimes over zealous. The work, for example, of Livingstone in Africa hardly deserves to be placed to the credit of the Scottish Church, since, though he was a Scot, and in one sense "the great Scottish missionary," he began his public life as an official of an English society. Then, again, the consecration of a bishop for America is put down to the credit of Scotland. In 1783, the clergy of Connecticut elected Dr Seabury to the Episcopal office, and sent him to England for consecration. The English bishops could not find that it was their legal business to take part in the ceremony, and the unfortunate man had to seek in Scotland the consecration he could not obtain in America or England. "In November 1884 (*sic*), within an 'upper room,' fitted up as a chapel, in an obscure street of Aberdeen, the memorable consecration took place, through which a Reformed Episcopate was communicated to American Christendom." Dr Cowan might as well have chronicled among the glories of the Church in Scotland the endeavours of certain bishops, in the 18th century, to negotiate with the Greeks a union which would have been an ecclesiastical fiasco, like the alliance of the Greek and Roman Churches under Pope Eugene IV.

In the last lecture, that on political liberty, we have another striking example of the attempt to magnify the influence of the Scottish Church. The clergy of the Scottish, unlike those of the English Church, we are told, "distinguished clearly in their policy between conservative resistance to royal tyranny and that radical antagonism to monarchical government whose earlier outcome was a short-lived Republic, and whose later issue was a reactionary Restoration. The Scottish Church helped thus to forward what her English sister for two generations hindered, the growth of constitutional monarchy." History shows that the Scottish clergy during the first period of the Covenanters were on the side of freedom, and that the Episcopal clergy of England during the Protectorate were not; but after the Restoration, what did the ministers of the Established Church in Scotland do for political or ecclesiastical liberty? Did they show any resistance to tyranny and thus help to forward the growth of constitutional monarchy? The Revolution Settlement was a moment in English political progress, and would probably have been precisely what it was had there been no Scotland. The Republican government of Cromwell's time was not prevented by the Scots, and the Restoration was not their work. The extent of their influence on English political life is shown by the fact that the coronation of Charles II. at Scone was not followed by a ceremony at Westminster; and it may

safely be said that they learned the strength of England under Cromwell in a way to satisfy them that they could neither effect nor prevent the Restoration.

It is true that the Scots, claiming spiritual independence for their Church and asserting its divine right, professed loyalty to the person of the king when they framed the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant; and for this reason the early Covenanting movement may be styled "conservative resistance to royal tyranny." It is also true that while Charles I. lived they were not strong enough, even though they had wished, to throw off allegiance to him; and they were led by nobles. In the period during which Cromwell was Protector the Scottish clergy were divided in policy, in spite or in consequence of their "conservative resistance;" and the conduct of the factions with their feuds and tyrannies made the people rejoice in a Restoration brought about by the English, and was partly the cause, though not the justification, of the exercise of the royal prerogative which established Episcopacy. "Conservative resistance" was not conspicuous among the Established clergy after the Restoration, and they did nothing to mitigate the severity of the royal policy. "The radical antagonism to monarchical government" which the Scottish clergy avoided, resulted in England in "a short-lived republic"; but the republic lived long enough to give Cromwell time to make the name of England respected in Europe, and to show what constitutional government could be in a country ruled either by a king or a protector. While Cromwell was protecting England to some permanent effect the Scottish clergy were wrangling over a king whom they had forced to accept the Covenant, and to sign a declaration condemning his father's conduct and his mother's religion. The men of the National Covenant, and the later Covenanters, with something very like "radical antagonism to monarchical government," contended for liberty; but even without them the Revolution Settlement, as a new political order, would have been made.

JOHN HERKLESS.

Symbolik. Vergleichende Darstellung der christlichen Hauptkirchen nach ihrem Grundzuge und ihren wesentlichen Lebensäusserungen,

Von Professor E. F. Karl Müller, in Erlangen. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlags-buchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 548. Price, M.8.50.

"FEW will challenge," says Professor Müller in his preface, "the need of a reconsideration of the questions of Symbolics, and none

will dispute the need of a reconsideration of such questions from the ecclesiastical standpoint of the writer." Neither opinion is extravagant. For, on the one hand, good books on the scientific study of the creeds of Christendom are not numerous, while none are very recent; and, on the other hand, the ecclesiastical circle of Professor Müller have a right to make themselves heard. The origin of this *Symbolik* is manifest. Lectures on the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants are commonly delivered from the chairs of the German universities, whether Romanist or Protestant, occasionally issuing in notable books which have appealed to a wider than the academic circle. In this way Karl Müller, an extra professor at Erlangen, has to lecture upon Reformed Theology, with special reference to the Protestant Churches of the Evangelical Union of the Palatinate; and he, too, in the volume before us, addresses a wider audience, his special subject being the Problems of Symbolics as they shape themselves to a believer in the substantial unity of Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism.

There is certainly a place for so careful and so scholarly and so impartial a study as this. Everywhere the requirements of the serious inquirer are consulted, at once in the conciseness and unrheterical presentation of the material (the book is packed very full indeed), and also in the full references to the relative literature. Then, as has been said, there are convictions here as well as the data for discussion. The Protestant reply to the Roman Catholic claims is thus finely presented, special emphasis being laid upon the essential unity, in spite of much diversity, of the two main streams of Protestantism which had their rise in the masterful personalities of Luther and Calvin. Certainly much more is given here than statistical information concerning doctrines and rites. The trend of the information is throughout apparent. Be it noted, too, that this present volume only deals with the main church systems: a subsequent volume is promised upon the Symbolics of the smaller communions.

What precisely this volume does, is to elaborate a comparison of the leading churches of Christendom according to their essential principles, and according to their logical development in doctrine and practice. And the latter branch of inquiry is as important as the former. For no framers of doctrine are ever conscious of the full extent of their divergences. Ecclesiastical, like political revolutions, are not conducted according to a preconcerted and completed system. Fundamental principles only disclose their full implications by degrees, and, for the most part, under the stress of interpreting them into character, worship, and practice.

Such being the general purpose of our author, namely, to
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present (with the utmost charity, conciliation, and truthfulness, be it added) the doctrinal and practical differences of Catholics and Protestants, with clear reference to the Evangelical Union of Lutherans and Calvinists in Prussia, the book is mapped out in the following manner:—In an introductory section the aims, data, and method of Symbolics, the comparative and scientific examination of the Confessions of Christendom, are dealt with, the evangelical principles assumed and applied throughout being also formulated. Then the entire subject, as far as at present treated, is distributed into five parts. In the First Part the common possession of Christendom is considered, as evidenced by the several œcumenical creeds, the so-called Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian; and in this part, too, a preliminary view is given of the divergence between Catholicism and Protestantism. In the Second Part Roman Catholicism is reviewed, its documentary sources, its theory of the church, its sacramental theory, its general polity. Then, in the Third Part, Greek Catholicism is described, its sources named, its pretension to be the one orthodox faith stated, its characteristic cultus and life sketched. The Fourth Part brings Lutheran Protestantism before us—the credal sources for its exposition, its doctrine of justification and the doctrinal implications of that cardinal dogma, its peculiar doctrine of the sacraments. In the Fifth Part Reformed Protestantism is surveyed, the manifest unity as well as the variety of the Reformed Churches being emphasised, the common principles of the Reformed doctrines analysed, the extensions of their ecclesiastical system described, their theory of the cure of souls, and of worship, being outlined. In a final section, the several attempts at a union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, especially in Germany, are recited, and a few general conclusions drawn.

From such a ground-plan it might seem that the main purpose of the author is polemic. But such a thought does him injustice; for his treatment is eminently calm, full and judicial, the polemic bias to select material, and to underestimate opposite opinions, being most laudably absent. Symbolics, indeed, is the science of symbols or creeds, as Dogmatics is the science of dogmas or doctrines, and it is dubitable whether Symbolics, any more than Dogmatics, can be treated in a manner absolutely free from the expression of opinion. It is true that two forms of treatment have appeared in history, the one according as the investigator has ostensibly occupied a position within one confession or another, the other where he has placed himself outside all confessions. Winer's well-known *Comparative Darstellung* is the type of the latter treatment, and Johann Adam Möhler's equally famous *Symbolik* is the type of the former treatment. In Winer tables were drawn up in

which, side by side, the differences manifested by the several Confessions of Christendom were simply presented to view. In Möhler there was a very distinct polemic aim, namely, to demonstrate the superiority of Roman Catholicism over Protestantism in any form. But Winer could no more hide his bias than Möhler, nor is Winer more acceptable to the Romanist than Möhler to the Protestant. So probably it must ever be. A Symbolics without opinions, latent if not avowed, is as impossible as undesirable. All we have a right to ask is that the Protestant write as if the majority of his readers may be Romanist, and the Romanist write as if the majority of his readers may be Protestant. If this ideal standard has not been reached by Professor Müller, it may certainly be said that his ideal seems ever to have been *in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*.

The method of the book should now be explained at a little more length. Let us select the treatment of Roman Catholicism. First, the various confessional sources are briefly but fully named, a summary being given of the decisions of the various Councils acknowledged as authoritative by the Roman Communion, from that of Nicæa to that of the Vatican. Next, a rapid survey is presented of other sources, such as the Papal Bulls, the Tridentine Catechism, Bellarmin's Controversies, the official liturgical books, the ecclesiastical canons, and various hymn-books, prayer-books, catechisms and journals, which are evidence of the present state of Roman Catholicism. Thus the Romish doctrine of the church is formulated from confessional sources. Next, the theories of the sacraments are described, namely the general theory of the sacraments, the theories of baptism and confession, the theories of confirmation and extreme unction, the theories of marriage and orders, the theory of the eucharist and the mass, and the theory of various sacramental acts of the second grade. Finally, the rule of the church is considered, on the one hand as the direction of the faithful, and on the other hand, as external church authority. In about a hundred pages a more careful and complete survey of these thorny themes is given than can be found in any Protestant book known to me. This solid treatment is characteristic of the entire book. Thus on all subjects treated the sources from which opinions may be gained are tabulated, together with all necessary introductory and explanatory matter, and together with full reference to related literature. This detail of method alone makes the book of value. Then, with respect to the main churches of Christendom, an attempt is made to depict the leading principle or principles of each communion, the implications of these principles being pointed out. In short, the prominent features of this book are first, scholarship; second, fairness; third, judgment; fourth, catholicity.

The final words of the book run as follows: "On the basis of the common possession of the churches of the Union, and of the entire presentation and of the principles developed at the outset we formulate the following result. The future does not belong to any particular church, but to the whole of evangelical Christendom, which will have to fight out to its issue the battle with Romanism, which is ever developing into Anti-christendom. So ramifying is the community of the main evangelical churches that a complete separation is an impossibility. It is only exclusive sects which shut out all union; the greater ecclesiastical bodies at most do so in theory, but never in practice. On the other hand, the development of the church of the future has not advanced so far that the present types may straightway die out. Indeed old types are everywhere returning. Even within the Evangelical Union, in one place the Lutheran and in another the Reformed doctrine preponderates. On the Rhine, in the Palatinate, and in Baden the former rules, and in East Germany the latter. Both Confessions must be brought into a stronger and fuller union. Certainly this union is not to be thought of as uniformity. But it seems certain to us that in these churches the spirit of the Evangelical Union will predominate. Pure Lutheranism has always been separatist, but what Luther did for the Church was essentially adopted into the general reformed Protestantism in the sixteenth century."

This is the one narrow and sectarian note in the book. Should not Professor Müller's outlook be a little wider? Can he really expect that the principles of the Evangelical Union, arranged largely by political influence in Prussia in 1817, are going to govern the Church of the Future? Surely the Church of the Future will embrace all Christendom—Asiatic, African, American, as well as European; and Europe is somewhat wider than part of Germany; and the Church of the Future may probably do without any formulated creed at all. Is it not probable too that the Church of the Future will preserve the distinctive characteristics of all the great churches, and even of many of the smaller communions, so far as these peculiarities are rooted in special Divine graces, or in varying mental constitution, or in any specific mission to man. As Professor Müller sees, unity is not uniformity. In the controversies ahead of us, which will assuredly be a fiery trial, the wood and hay and stubble of man's invention will be burned, but the gold and silver and precious stones will be preserved unscathed, and every least builder on the foundation of Jesus Christ will receive the reward of the permanence of his work.

Probably, too, in the evolution of the Church of the Future, the study of Symbolics will play some part. Would that there were capable English studies of comparative doctrine, for the churches

in England sadly need such studies just now. Failing good English works, however, Professor Müller's *Symbolik* should render useful service. It should be translated.

ALFRED CAVE.

Der Gebrauch des Alten Testaments in den neutestamentlichen Schriften.

Von Dr August Clemen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv. 252. Price, M.3.60.

THE author of this little work is not an upholder of any doctrine of infallible inspiration; and he is a believer in the principle of the historical interpretation of all writings. The sense of Scripture is that which those who wrote it intended to express and desired their contemporaries to understand. Holding this principle he raises the question, How the use of the Old Testament in the New is to be explained! In an interesting introduction he reviews the various ways in which the Old Testament has been interpreted from New Testament times down to the present day, adding to this review a statement of the principles on which he would explain its use in the New; and then in the Book itself he discusses the use of the Old Testament in the various parts of the New Testament—the use by our Lord, by the Evangelists, in the Acts, by St Paul, &c., the use in the Apocalypse alone not being considered. The subject is one which the author has had before his mind for a number of years, and some small works formerly published on the earlier part of the New Testament are here reprinted, and the investigation carried through the other portions. The exegesis of the work seems sound; the author's tone is candid and moderate, and his work is thoughtful, and should be very useful.

A "double sense" of Old Testament passages has been much spoken of, and there is no objection to the phrase or the idea provided there be a rational connection between the two senses. There may in that case be not only a double sense, but a manifold sense. Bengel laid down the principle that there was in many passages a sense meant by Divine intention for the contemporaries of the prophet or writer and bearing on things then present: but the same Divine intention, looking further forward *sic formavit orationem* that it (the language) more suited the times of the Messiah. The objectionable thing in this idea, which has been numberless times repeated, was that it operated with the mere language of the Old Testament and not with its ideas. The prophets did not "use language" or "write words," as is often said; they expressed ideas

in suitable words. And the same words can never express two senses. No passage can have more than one sense, but this one sense may receive a wider application, or a more complete verification, or a more perfect fulfilment; in particular, the sense being a religious or spiritual idea all that was particular or relative about its first expression may be stripped off and it may be used in a general or absolute manner. At any rate we must not operate with Old Testament *words*, supposed capable of bearing more than one sense, but with Old Testament *ideas*, which are susceptible of various applications.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

An Introduction to Theology : Its Principles, its Branches, its Results, and its Literature.

By Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D., Principal and Professor of Theology of Hackney College. Second edition, largely rewritten. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1896. 8vo, pp. xiv. 610. Price, 12s.

Das Abendmahl und die neuere Kritik.

By Otto Holtzheuer, Superintendent at Weserlingen a. d. Aller. Berlin : Wiegandt & Grieben, 1896 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 74. Price, M.1.20.

Bible Characters : Adam to Achan.

By Alexander Whyte, D.D., author of "Bunyan Characters," "Lancelot Andrewes and his Private Devotions," etc., etc. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. 301. Price, 3s. 6d.

Life and Light from Above.

By Solon Lauer. London : Elliot Stock. 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 250.

WE have here the second edition in a considerably altered and improved form of an extremely useful work. The first edition appeared in 1886, and was at once recognised as filling an important place in theological literature. Under the title of "An Introduction to Theology," Dr Cave includes what German theologians have been wont to distinguish as *Encyclopædia* and *Methodology*, meaning by these respectively the theory and practice of theological Introduction. *Encyclopædia*, as commonly understood, deals with the general idea of theology, the classification and arrangement of the several theological sciences, and the

contents and distribution of these sciences in so far as necessary to the understanding of their mutual relations. Some writers on Encyclopædia have insisted upon regarding it as a purely formal science, dealing not with the matter, but only with the scientific form of theology. Methodology offers a plan of theological study, and undertakes to provide a guide and directory to theological students in the various departments of the science. Dr Cave, in his "Introduction," seeks to cover the whole ground. There is a very large number of works on Encyclopædia by German theologians, and, more recently, each theological school seems to have been sending forth a treatise of its own. The classical works of Hagenbach and Rübiger, which, in several important respects, may be said to supplement one another, are not likely soon, if ever, to be superseded. One of the latest works of note in this department is that of Heinrici from the standpoint of the Ritschlian School. Dr Cave prefers the name "Introduction" to that of "Encyclopædia," because of the ambiguity of the latter term, which more usually suggests to an English reader a dictionary or treatise arranged alphabetically. But it should be remembered that a similar ambiguity attaches to the name Introduction, which might quite naturally suggest a theological treatise of an introductory or elementary character. There does not seem to be much here to choose between, and either the one name or the other may be accepted as quite suitable and adequate. The full title of Dr Cave's book is certainly free from all ambiguity.

The first part of Dr Cave's work, pp. 41-123, treats of theology in general, and, together with the prolegomena, corresponds to the first volume of the English edition of Rübiger. And just here we come upon a very important question in view of the mapping out of the theological sciences in the body of the work. The question necessarily raised at the very beginning of a treatise on theological Encyclopædia is, What are we to reckon, in determining the character of such a work, as the boundaries of theology? What exactly is for us the connotation of that term? Is it to be Christian theology—the theology of the Christian revelation? Or is it to be understood more widely as including the theologies of mankind at large,—Ethnic as well as Christian? Dr Cave adopts this latter view. "Probably," he says, "the best method for securing precision is to restrict the word to the widest usage, adding modifying appellatives wherever necessary. Theology as such, then, is the science of religion; and natural, Parsi, Biblical, Christian, pastoral theology are the sciences respectively of the religion of nature, of Zoroaster, of the Bible, of Christ, of the working pastor" (p. 43). This latter sentence seems in every way a most unfortunate one, and utterly indefensible. But, in connection

with the point just now before us, we find that this very sentence is followed by the remark that, to avoid appearance of pedantry, the modifying appellations will be sometimes omitted, Doctrinal Theology, for example, being used for Doctrinal Christian Theology, *when the reader is not likely to be thinking of the doctrines of any non-Christian faith.* And this italicised statement describes exactly the position of the theological student, for whom the Encyclopædia is prepared; he is a student of Christian theology. Without exception, so far as I am aware, all the German writers on *Theological Encyclopædia* have confined themselves in the treatment of their science to Christian theology; and in doing so, it seems to me that they have acted in a thoroughly scientific manner, because what is really wanted and intended is an Introduction to the branches or disciplines of Christian theology. In saying so I am aware that I have some of the most profound and accomplished of our own theologians against me, and no one with any vestige of modesty can help feeling somewhat uneasy in taking up a position against such men as Dr Flint, Principal Stewart, and Dr Cave. Drs Flint and Stewart speak very strongly of the absurdly unscientific procedure of the Germans in restricting their Encyclopædia to the departments of Christian theology. But with all due respect to such distinguished theologians, it does not seem to me that the adoption of this widest sense of the term theology as the subject of an encyclopædic treatise, so as to include not only Christian theology, but also the Ethnic theologies, is by any means necessary; and I think an examination of the figure which this enlargement of the idea makes in works of Dr Drummond and Dr Cave shows that for practical purposes it is extremely undesirable. Dr Drummond's *Introduction to the Study of Theology* is a purely formal sketch, but even in such a work, the treatment of comparative religion is absurdly inadequate, so slight and disproportioned that it clearly had better not have been there at all. Philosophy as mental, ethical and religious, whose presence as a branch of theology cannot surely be seriously defended, receives 12 pp., Comparative religion only 7½ pp., while all the rest of the work is given to the several branches of Christian theology. This treatment shows that the first two sections are practically regarded as introductory, and that properly they ought to have been in the introduction, if anywhere, and not in the body of the work. In Dr Cave's work, which follows the material method of treatment, the first two branches of theology discussed in the first two sections are entitled respectively,—natural theology and ethnic theology. Is there really such a thing as ethnic theology? Can we put on the same line these three—natural, ethnic, Christian, theology? When we speak of Christian theology, we have before us a unity, that no

denominational or sectarian varieties can affect. Is there any similar unity which we can designate ethnic theology? It seems to me that we have only ethnic religions, and that we have not, and never can have, an ethnic theology. And even apart from this, how should we co-ordinate natural theology and the so-called ethnic theology? Clearly this would be impossible apart from a special theory of the origin and essence of religion. And so we find that Dr Cave in his introduction follows § 6, What is Theology? with § 7, What is Religion? Now each religion has its theology, and if our *Encyclopædia* is not to be narrowly Christian in its theology, surely each religion ought to be allowed to bring forward and secure a place for its own theology. The statement on p. 200: "From what has been said, it is evident that the history of the study of ethnic theology resolves itself into a history of the advancing knowledge of each separate religion," may be read as an admission that ethnic theology is an abstract term for a non-existent, purely imaginary unity—that we have histories and historical investigations dealing with the separate religions, but no ethnic theology. This "ethnic theology" is evidently an incumbance that such encyclopædists as Dr Cave take up as a matter of principle, but which as a matter of practice they would very gladly be rid of. If Dr Cave intends his "Introduction to Theology" to be in the same sense an Introduction to all theologies, why do we not have "the principles, the branches, the results, and the literature," of the theologies of all known religions, ancient and modern, extinct and existing, savage and cultured, dealt with in succession and in order, and in the same proportion as the departments and subdivisions of the Christian religion? The only way to avoid this difficulty is to put religion and religions outside of the *Encyclopædia*, and in that science to deal not generally even with the Christian religion, but only with Christian theology. If natural theology and ethnic theology (?) be removed, Dr Cave's distribution is essentially the usual fourfold division of Hagenbach and Rübiger. Under the head of Biblical theology we have mainly the usual subdivisions under what is more commonly called exegetical theology. But having taken the name Biblical theology for the general title, it was necessary to devise a new designation for what is ordinarily known by that name. "Biblical dogmatics" is just the old Biblical theology. This name, however, could be more fitly applied to a systematising of the doctrine of the Bible, such as we have in Lutz, *Biblische Dogmatik* (which I find is not referred to by Dr Cave), rather than to the historical or exegetical discipline to which it is here given. The name "Comparative Theology" for what is ordinarily called systematic or doctrinal theology, does not seem to have met with any approval, but is still retained.

Apart from these matters of detail that have been referred to, the treatise before us is one fitted in a most eminent degree to interest and instruct the theological student. The classified lists of books appended to each division are exhaustive in the best sense, in giving all the best and most trustworthy books on the several subjects. Taken as a whole, it is, for the English student, the best book for giving a comprehensive, connected and well arranged distribution of the theological sciences. As an Introduction to theological science it easily holds the first place.

Otto Holtzheuer's treatise has grown out of a lecture delivered at the Easter Conference of 1896 at Gnadau, to an audience consisting chiefly but not exclusively of clergymen. The purpose of the writer in his lecture and in the publication of it, was the very commendable one of indicating the general lines on which historical and exegetical discussion with reference to the Lord's Supper had been proceeding, to those who, from the remoteness of their residence and the exacting demands of their official duties, could not be expected to keep themselves in touch with all the latest theological literature. In an extremely interesting and informing way he reports and criticises the recent utterances on this subject by Harnack, Spitta, Jülicher, and Haupt, and the still more recent writings of Grafe, Schultzen, and R. A. Hoffmann. We have, first of all, a clear and ably summarised description of Harnack's *Brot und Wasser die urchristlichen Elemente bei Justin*, 1891, to which Zahn and Jülicher replied in favour of the use of wine in Justin's age. The chief passage in Justin (1 *Apol.* c. 65) reads, according to the best MSS.: ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος—bread and a cup with water and mixed wine. Harnack seeks to reject καὶ κράματος as an interpolation. But our author makes out a good case for retaining the words, and shows that, after mention of water in the cup, quite naturally mixed wine, and not pure wine (οἶνος), is mentioned. Other three arguments employed by Harnack to show that in Justin's time bread and water were recognised as suitable elements in the administration of the Supper, are stated and discussed. The last of these is an attempt to show from a casual remark of Cyprian, that the cup might be dispensed with altogether, and that a mere "breaking of bread" would constitute a celebration of the sacrament. According to Harnack, the elements were of little importance. The contents of the cup might be changed; the cup itself might be set aside. What Jesus did was to consecrate the nourishment used daily at common meals by designating it His body and His blood. The Supper is a meal at which He, being held in remembrance, is present in His forgiving power. The Agape was the appropriate reproduction of the

original celebration. The idea, as our author says, is Ritschlian and thoroughly modern, but is wanting in all support from the words of our Lord spoken at the Table.

The idea of the meal is also prominent in Spitta's paper on *The Primitive Traditions on the Origin and Meaning of the Supper*, but his main purpose is to shew that it was not a Paschal feast, but simply the last meal of Master and disciples together. Our author regards the usual solution as natural and fair, that the Son of Man, who is Lord of the Sabbath, and therefore also of the Passover, chose to celebrate that feast on the evening before the proper one, seeing He must suffer on the following day.

Jülicher's treatise on *The History of the Supper in the Ancient Church* puts all emphasis on "the breaking" and "the pouring out," and finds in the Supper a parable teaching that, as bread broken nourishes man, so His flesh those who rent it.

And finally, Haupt, *On the Origin and Meaning of the Words at the Supper*, gives a criticism of the text of the words of institution. In contrast to Jülicher he puts in the forefront the benefit of Christ's death and the blood of the covenant as the leading thoughts in the first Supper, and maintains the authenticity of the Pauline demand for the repeated observance of the institution.

The lecture of Grafe reviews those treatises already named, and concludes that in the Supper Christ pointed to His approaching death, and represented Himself as a sacrifice whereby a new covenant was formed with God for His disciples. Without having any express command the disciples sought, in similar celebrations, to reawaken and deepen in them the thoughts of that sacred hour. Schultzen, in his *Das Abendmahl im neuen Testament*, 1895, in opposition to many objectors, seeks to emphasise as strongly as possible the relation of the Supper to the death of Jesus. "Body and blood come into consideration here, not as the moments constituting His personality, but as that in which His death was accomplished. It is certain that His person which He offered, and His body and His blood, have value not as physical substances, but because His person stands behind them." Our author regards this distinction between body and blood on the one hand, and the person of the Lord, on the other, as artificial, but, on the whole, warmly approves of this able evangelical little treatise. R. A. Hoffmann, in his *Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, 1896, makes a careful comparison of the Synoptist and Pauline texts with the passage in Justin, 1 *Apol.* c. 66. The peculiarity of the piece appears in the rejection of the *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* of Luke and Paul in favour of the *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* of Matthew and Mark. The disciples, Hoffmann holds, had no need of the death of Christ, which was necessary only for the unbelief of the hardened multitude. Holtz-

heuer says that he will not waste discussion on this, which he not too severely characterises as a somewhat hysterical attempt to pander to the general cry for something new.

Apart from the interesting statement of views set forth by representative men in recent works, the discussion widens out, under the hand of the lecturer, into an important vindication and resetting of the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine. There is a high spiritual tone maintained throughout the whole treatise. There is in it much to engage and satisfy the student of theological science, and much also to edify and comfort those who are seeking after nourishment for their souls.

Dr Whyte's volume consists of twenty-six lectures on leading characters in the first six books of the Bible. Large crowds were attracted to hear them delivered in Free St George's, Edinburgh, and it is to be hoped that much larger numbers will profit by them as they are now issued in so handsome and convenient a form. What strikes the reader at once is the wonderful freshness and brilliancy of treatment. In many of the lectures what is said is something altogether different from what anyone could have expected, and yet, in most cases, the reader feels that what is said is just what should have been said. There can be no doubt at all that what is said is invariably what it is most needful should be said in these days. Nothing can be more tiresome than the reproduction, in twenty pages, of a story that the biblical historian has given graphically, and in an inimitable way, in two. Dr Whyte never commits this mistake. For the most part all the characteristic details of the Bible narrative are wrought up in a vigorous resetting of the story, so that the whole picture presented proves equally true to the conditions of its original form, and to the facts and realities of present life. The style of treatment in the different lectures varies greatly. In dealing with characters in regard to whom the Bible historian gives ample details—Jacob, Joseph, Moses—the leading or central incidents in their recorded lives are laid hold upon, and lessons for our own time and for our own selves are read very pointedly to us, and these are not read into the old patriarchs' lives, but in the most natural and convincing way read out of them. Two of the most brilliant of the lectures are those on Pharaoh and Balaam. The hardening of Pharaoh and the self-deception of Balaam have never been delineated with such a power of spiritual vivisection. The hardness of Pharaoh, to which the magicians had contributed, but which at last, when they tried, they could themselves make no impression upon, and the cherished covetousness of Balaam, which all his prophetic inspiration, and his wondrously eloquent expres-

sion of it, could not overcome, are among the most powerful and striking things in this powerful and striking volume. The lectures most likely to call forth adverse criticism, and even perhaps to give offence to some, are those on Eve and Ham. In the lecture on Eve the speculation of Behmen, quoted with evident appreciation, as to the probability of some lapse on the part of Adam before the creation of Eve, is not only utterly without any kind of support, but rather aggravates the difficulty by making her who was to repair the evil the vehicle of the temptation to him whose nature had been previously impaired. The somewhat rhapsodical effusion on Ham is a pure romance. As a work of imagination it is most interesting, and its ethical teaching is most impressive. Of the volume as a whole it may candidly be said that in point of the sustaining of the reader's interest, and the vigorous enforcement of the highest matters of Christian faith and practice, it takes easily a first place among the writings of its class.

Life and Light from Above is a very curious medley of a book. It is thoroughly American, not only in its eccentricities of spelling, but also in its modes of thought and expression. The first 140 pp. are occupied with a series of most varied reflections on human life and literature, divided into over eighty short paragraphs, each distinguished by a special heading. The tone is throughout very high, and many extremely good and suggestive ideas are thrown out, in an absolutely unmethodical way. "Pages from a Catalina Journal," pp. 140-173, contain a somewhat similar series of reflections on outward nature and the life of the soul. "Leaves from an Adirondack Journal," pp. 174-212, contain some brilliant descriptions of the Wild West, and the occupations and reflections of a thoughtful man in those vast and awful solitudes. The volume closes, pp. 213-250, with "Soul Voices," a collection of tuneful lyrics, in which, often with rare beauty and poetic power, the most winning expression is given to that somewhat Pantheistic view of nature and life, which has characterised some of the best of New England literature.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, with Introduction and Notes.

By the Rev. A. B. Davidson, LL.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Edinburgh. Cambridge University Press, 1896. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 3s.

The Old Testament and Modern Life.

By Stopford A. Brooke. 8vo, pp. 351. London: Isbister & Company, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, 6s.

No better guide to these three prophets could be wished than Dr Davidson's little book. His commentaries on Job and Ezekiel are perhaps the best in this excellent series, and the present work is equal to its predecessors. There are certain qualities which the writer has accustomed us to expect in his books. In addition to the technical familiarity with all the shades of Hebrew language, grammar, and syntax, there is always a mastery of clear and nervous English, a perfectly trained historical sense, an admirable exegetical tact, a profound insight into the inner workings of the Semitic mind, a Hebrew idealism and Scottish caution, and prevailing all, a subtle and delicate spirit of irony. All these qualities will be found in this little work. The Introductions are full of interesting matter. After carefully examining the data for the different opinions as to the birthplace of Nahum, Dr Davidson concludes that the conflicting traditions leave the point quite uncertain (13). This is characteristically in contrast to Ewald's confidently expressed opinion: "Nahum was from Elgôsh, which is *without doubt* the little town of Algûsh, which is still found on the Tigris." Dr Davidson favours the view that the siege of Nineveh described by Nahum was the final one by Cyaxares and the Medes (608-6), rather than the futile attack by Phraortes (cir. 626) for which Ewald and others contend. The former theory certainly gives more reality and naturalness to the prophet's pictures of the siege. Dr Davidson pronounces on the whole in favour of the integrity of Habakkuk and Zephaniah, in opposition to Kuenen, Stade and other critics, who regard some passages as post-exilic. In the Introduction to Habakkuk he states important facts and principles with regard to subjective criticism. "The literature is far too scanty to enable us to trace the course of religious thought and language with any such certainty as to fix the dates at which particular ideas or expressions arose. . . . The argument that, if similar ideas occur in two passages or two writings, they may

be assigned to the same age, leaves no room for individuality in the different writers" (62). Dr Davidson is always brilliant in his expositions of the *ideas* of the prophets. He says that the prophecy of Nahum "is the voice of the human mind expressing its revolt against the spirit and deeds of the brutal foe of the human race, and might almost come from the heart of any of the oppressed nationalities trodden under the foot of the Assyrian. It is the blood, and the wiles . . . and the spirit of the wild beast that, in the name of mankind, the prophet appeals against." The writer does not suggest a parallel between the Assyrian and the Ottoman empire, but his readers will be reminded by these words that the spirit of the wild beast still lives in the East, and some of the prophet's extraordinarily vivid and vigorous pictures make one instinctively substitute Istamboul for Nineveh: "all that hear the bruit of thy downfall shall clap the hands over thee, for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?" (iii. 19).

In criticism of the text, Dr. Davidson carefully notes the Sept. variants, many of which are simpler and more expressive than the Hebrew readings. He also gladly avails himself of the aid of Assyriology, though he by no means thinks that that science solves everything. A sentence from Esarhaddon's Senjirli inscription, "Memphis, his capital, I took by midday" (so translated by Schrader), suggests a new rendering of Zeph. ii. 4 (and Jer. xv. 8), "They shall drive out Ashdod *by midday*," which is more pointed than the old. The crux of Nahum is Huzzab (ii. 7). Dr. Davidson does not think that Assyriology has thrown any light upon her. His own suggestion that the word may be Hazzab, which from meaning a palanquin may have come to signify also the lady who rode therein, like the word for litter and lady in Arabic, is more plausible than anything else that has been suggested. The German *Frauenzimmer* got its meaning in the same way. Here and there (as Hab iii. 9, of which a hundred different translations have been offered) the text is pronounced so corrupt that "the multiplication of conjectures can serve no good purpose." In his notes the writer evidently aims at being suggestive rather than exhaustive. He does not think that the commentator should do all the reader's thinking. At p. 24 we find this significant remark: "The splendid words 'the clouds are the dust of His feet,' like the others 'the earth is His footstool,' need to be conceived, not explained." The old and best method of exegesis, that of explaining scripture by scripture, is the one most favoured here. But the writer's knowledge of other literatures, particularly of Arabic poetry, furnishes him with many illustrations of Hebrew modes of thought and expression, some of which, like the camel song at p. 77, are rather curious. For a parallel to the sceptical saying in Zeph. v. 12,

"The Lord will not do good, neither will he do evil," recourse is had to the philosophy of M. Renan (117).

Mr Stopford Brooke regards the "noble tales of life," which have gathered round a number of ancient names—Abraham, Hagar, Judah, Moses, Deborah, Samuel, David, Elijah—from a point of view that is more common now than it used to be. He thinks that the events and personages of the narratives are on the whole legendary (10). But he recognises that "the kind of existence, the religious, moral, and social temper of the personages, the human life . . . are all historical enough, even in the early tales" (17). He sees that "the tales are full of humanity, of various characters, of human adventures, temptations; of the natural joys and sorrows of mankind; and all this human life in its relation to God and the soul of man" (18). He believes that the humanity is far more universal than national or particular; and the tales survive, "because they can be made into symbols of human life, into images of the soul" (36). Therefore the writer "ignores them as history, and preaches on them as humanity." Now, as a matter of fact, these tales have been used by every preacher, from St Paul downwards, as parables of human life, giving vivid and concrete expression to religious doctrines and moral ideas. Only the preacher has scarcely faced the question, whether the characters and events are historically or—what may be of greater importance—ideally true? The historical criticism of the most ancient documents (such as J and E) shows that many of the ideas found in these narratives belonged to the age in which they were written, which was often a considerable time, in some cases many centuries, after the events recorded. For our part, we believe that tradition has a good deal more value than this writer allows. Many of the narratives bear evident traces of being a transcript of a vivid oral tradition, and they were probably used in oral religious instruction for centuries before they were committed to writing. But waiving that point—since this writer is really little concerned with matters of criticism—we find these Biblical studies full of interest. The author's verdict as to the value of the stories, which he regards simply as literature, is of great importance, for he is himself a poet of some distinction, and a student of English literature scarcely second to any living. He finds, as Herder found, that viewed simply as literature, these old-world stories are unmatched. Every reader will feel that Mr Brooke has a rare faculty for entering into the inner meaning and spirit of the Scriptures, while critics are made and legion, poets are born and few, and we trust this charming poet-preacher will give us more of these Biblical studies from his own literary point of view.

JAMES STRACHAN.

**A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel
according to St Luke.**

By the Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham, formerly Fellow and Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. lxxxviii. 590. Price, 12s.

ANOTHER instalment of the important undertaking, the *International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments*, for which Dr Driver, Dr Plummer, and Dr Briggs are responsible, will be received with satisfaction. The present makes the fifth of the series as published, and the third of the New Testament section. It is by the diligent hand of one of the English editors. The man to whom any one of the Synoptical Gospels is entrusted in a series like this is to be congratulated. He has a difficult task indeed, and is placed in a position in which much is expected of him. But he has also a great opportunity. The criticism of these Gospels has reached a point and created a condition of things, which make it possible for one who is sufficiently master of the situation to give us something more than the ordinary type of Commentary. He has all the materials necessary for the production of a book with a distinct character and a fresh interest. He can take up his work with the feeling that he has at once the demand and the facilities for a treatment of his subject widely different from that with which we are familiar in Commentaries on the Synoptists. We already possess, it is true, a large number of Commentaries on the Third Gospel, and some of these are of recent date. But they are neither too many nor, generally speaking, quite abreast of the present situation. Two or three might at once be named as Commentaries of a high order, which stand out from the rest, but the great mass are little more than repetitions of each other, and come far short of being adequate to the occasion as things now stand. There is ample room, therefore, for a new Commentary, especially for one which will apply the results of the best criticism, not only to the historical problem, but continuously to the interpretation.

The volume now before us by Dr Plummer recognises what is looked for from a commentator on Luke who writes with a long and important critical movement in his eye. It makes a consistent and intelligent effort to meet what is expected. It does not profess to be in any sense a final exposition of Luke's Gospel, nor does it claim high things for itself. It passes by or notices but slightly a good deal that might be reckoned on in a Commentary which

undertakes to be critical as well as exegetical. This holds good in particular of the problems of the relations in which the Synoptical Gospels stand to each other. But there is a reason for this in the fact that the series is to include, as Dr Plummer intimates, a special Commentary on *The Synopsis of the Four Gospels* by Dr Sanday and Mr W. C. Allen. Even with these omissions the book is superior to most books on Luke in the variety of elements to which it has regard in its expositions. It has many solid qualities which make it a contribution to its subject, and a distinct addition to the exegetical literature of the New Testament. It endeavours to interpret the Third Gospel in the light of those views of its origin and its relations to the other Gospels which have found most acceptance with scholars in our day, and it makes a much nearer approach to the ideal Commentary for the time than can be said to be the case with the recent volume on St Mark's Gospel in the same series.

In its plan this Commentary differs in some things from that adopted by Dr Sanday and Mr Headlam in their Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. It dispenses with the paraphrastic summaries, and in most cases with the separate headings for subsections and special notes. The reader loses little by this. These things may be considerable aids to the student who wishes to follow a more or less reasoned statement, or to get at the connexions and limitations of a doctrinal paragraph. They are of less moment in the case of a narrative writing. Dr Plummer's Commentary, however, has features of its own. It recognises the value of the pseudepigraphical literature for the interpretation of the New Testament, and makes considerable use of it. This is a distinct gain, although the books so used are somewhat limited in number. It remains for future commentators to make all that should be made of this important and comparatively unwrought aid to the understanding of the New Testament writings. The Septuagint, and the Book of Acts, the Latin Versions, and the old English Versions, are laid under constant contribution, and made to yield many happy illustrations of the Evangelist's narrative. Much attention is also given to the marks of Luke's style. His command of Greek is carefully examined. Elaborate tables are given, showing the number of expressions peculiar respectively to Luke himself, to Luke and Paul, to Luke and Hebrews, to Luke and Paul and Hebrews. Lists are given also of terms which may be medical, and a comparison is made between the diction of the Third Gospel and the phraseologies of Matthew and Luke. This is all done with great care. It must have cost much labour. One is almost tempted to regret that it has obtained so large a proportion of space. But it has its value, as Dr Plummer very well explains,

and it yields some very interesting results, which illustrate the versatility of Luke, the richness of his vocabulary, the freedom of his constructions, his fondness for particular words and combinations of words.

One of the most satisfactory sections of this large discussion of questions of style and diction is one which deals with the *medical phraseology* in Luke's writings. This interesting and comparatively new line of inquiry, to which attention was specially directed by a remarkable paper in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1841, is handled here with great good sense. It is one in which the fancy is tempted to run riot, and writers like Dr Plumtree and Dr Hobart, who have taken it up with most zeal and have most felt its attractions, have undoubtedly been drawn into much that is doubtful or exaggerated. Dr Plummer sees how misleading Dr Hobart's elaborate lists are, when they are presented by themselves without regard to the occurrences of the words in the Septuagint (and in other books, perhaps, which Luke may be supposed to have known), and how hazardous it is in many cases to attribute Luke's use of particular terms to his professional training. These lists, therefore, have to be greatly reduced. Dr Plummer points out, however, that we have still a considerable number of words and expressions which survive the test of a comparison with the language of the Septuagint, especially in parts of that Version probably most familiar to Luke. In the case of these, he rightly says, the argument is a cumulative one. "Any two or three instances of coincidences with medical writers may be explained as mere coincidences; but the large number of coincidences renders this explanation unsatisfactory for all of them, especially where the word is either rare in LXX, or not found there at all." We are left, therefore, with a fair number of terms which are best explained as due to the fact that the writer was a physician. The list in *The Gentleman's Magazine* included ἀχλὺς, κραιπάλη, παραλελυμένος, παροξυσμός, συνεχομένη πυρετῶ μεγάλῳ, and ὑδρωπικός. Dr Plummer points out that ἀχλὺς, which occurs only once in the New Testament and not at all in the Septuagint, is repeatedly used by Galen in treating of diseases of the eye; that in medical writings κραιπάλη often denotes the nausea after excess; and that παραλελυμένος, which is used by Luke where the other Gospels have παραλυτικός, is used also by Aristotle, a physician's son, and yet may not be a certain case, as it may be due to the Septuagint, as in Heb. xii. 2. The other terms seem to be clearly medical, the last one, ὑδρωπικός, being distinctly so and peculiar to Luke as far as Biblical Greek is concerned. To these Dr Plummer would add δακτύλῳ προσψαύειν (xi. 46), διὰ τρήματος βελόνης (xviii. 25), ἔσθη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος (viii. 44), ἐστερεώθησαν αἱ βάσεις

αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σφυδρά (Acts x. 11); also (though less certainly) ὁθόνην τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιέμενον (Acts x. 11) and ἀνεκάθισεν (vii. 14; Acts ix. 40). Those who have looked with some care into this matter will appreciate the judgment with which Dr Plummer has handled it; and will agree with him in his conclusions.

The Introduction contains many things which invite remark. The argument in favour of the Lucan authorship is very well stated. With regard to the objection, still urged by Jülicher, from the silence of Papias, reference is made to the passage in the *Hexaëmeron* of Anastasius Sinaiticus, in which "Papias is mentioned as an ancient interpreter, and in which Luke x. 18 is quoted in illustration of an interpretation," the illustration being possibly borrowed from Papias. How hazardous it is, too, to conclude from the absence of Luke's name in the very few fragments of Papias which we possess, that he was "not mentioned in the much larger portions which perished," is very properly pointed out. We miss any criticism of Professor Ramsay's view that Luke was a native of Philippi, and the very man of Macedonia whom Paul saw in his vision (Acts xvi. 9). But with respect to the ancient tradition that Luke belonged by family to the Syrian Antioch, the passage in Eusebius (H.E. iii. 4, 7) is rightly taken not to mean of necessity more than that Luke had a family connexion with that city, but on the other hand not to amount to an assertion that he was not a native of it. And in confirmation of Jerome's statement—*Lucas medicus Antiochensis*, two pertinent facts are noticed. These are—*first*, that only in the case of one of the deacons is the locality to which he belonged mentioned, "Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch" (vi. 5), while other things show us that the writer knew Antioch and was interested in it (xi. 19-27, xiii. 1, xiv. 19, 21, 26, xv. 22, 23, 30, 35, xviii. 22); and *second*, that "of eight narratives of the Russian campaign of 1812, three English, three French, and two Scotch, only the last (Alison and Scott) state that the Russian General, Barclay de Tolly, was of Scotch extraction."

In dealing with the problem of the Sources of Luke's Gospel, Dr Plummer makes a very cautious estimate of the length to which internal evidence will carry us. As to the question whether the Evangelist's information was mainly oral or mainly documentary, he bids us consider how small the difference between the oral and the documentary must be when oral tradition has assumed a stereotyped form. He thinks no certain conclusion is possible as to the amount of material which Luke had at his disposal, but that the probability is that most of it, even most of what is peculiar to the Third Gospel, had taken written form when the Evangelist used it. He holds that the absence of narratives like that of the visit of the Wise

Men, and passages like Matt. xxi. 43, xxiv. 14, &c., as well as the peculiar differences which appear between the First Gospel and the Third, are proof sufficient that Luke did not know Matthew's Gospel, or at least was not familiar with it. As regards the Second Gospel he admits that Luke may have had it "pretty nearly in the form in which we have it, and may include the author of it among the πολλοί (I. 1)." But he is careful to point out at the same time that there are some things (e.g. the omission of Mk. ii. 27, vi. 45—viii. 9, &c.) which are "rather against this." The question of an *Ebionite* source is decidedly negatived. He is of opinion that there is nothing to show that the passages on which that theory is based come from a special source, and he very properly dismisses the whole idea of an *Ebionite* element in Luke, on which writers have spent much misdirected energy, by showing that the protest of the Third Gospel, with all its sympathy for the poor of this world, is against worldliness, not against wealth in itself.

In dealing with the questions of Date and Place, Dr Plummer gives a summary of recent discussions on the relation of Luke to Josephus, and rightly concludes with Sanday, Schürer, and most, that the differences between the two writers are so marked and the resemblances so far from admitting of only one explanation, that we must say that Luke did not know Josephus, or that, if he had read him, he had soon forgotten him. The date which he supports is one between the two extremes of A.D. 63 and A.D. 100, probably A.D. 75-80. Some excellent paragraphs are given to an exposition of the characteristics of the Gospel, and to the question in what degree it is history and not memoirs, and in what sense the qualities of *comprehensiveness, universality, domesticity, literary form*, are to be ascribed to it. In the list of commentaries we miss some that might have found a place, e.g., Riddle's in Schaff's *Popular Commentary*. In the list of Abbreviations we find Cremer's *Lexicon*, but not Thayer's Grimm's *Wilii Clavis*, and Winer's *Grammar*, but not the more scientific work of A. Buttmann.

The strong and useful qualities which belong to the discussions of the literary and historical questions in the Introduction, are seen again in the detailed exegesis, and in the Special Notes. Of the latter there is a considerable number. They deal sometimes with particular terms, e.g., the use of ἐγένετο, the word ἀνάληψις, the phrase δευτεροπρώτῳ; sometimes with larger topics, Demoniac Possession, the Idea of Hades or Sheol in the Old Testament, the Apocalypse of Jesus, the Sermon ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινού, &c. They are never too lengthy, but put the student in possession just of what he requires, giving useful and well-informed digests of the points at issue. The exegesis is not burdened or biassed by appeals to the authority of the Fathers, but is strictly gram-

matical and historical. It would be too much to expect that in every case it will hit the mark. There are some passages which we should interpret differently, and some in which we get less than might be expected. The statement on the title *The Son of Man*, e.g., is scarcely sufficient. More might have been said on the *leprosy* of the Gospels. What is said of the incident in the Temple (ch. ii. 49), and of other passages bearing upon our Lord's consciousness, will be felt, we think, to be short of the reality. The descent of the Spirit on our Lord after His baptism is explained to have had two purposes. (1) To "make Him known to the Baptist, who thenceforward had Divine authority for making Him known to the world," and (2) to "mark the official beginning of the ministry, like the anointing of a King." To us it seems to have been this and more—to have meant the impartation of the gifts necessary for the discharge of His Messianic vocation.

It would be easy, however, to give many instances of just and penetrating interpretation. We might refer, e.g., to the expositions of the Benedictus and the Magnificat, the narratives of Zaccheus and the Purging of the Temple, the notes on the *ἐπιστρέφει καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα*, the Lord's Prayer, the Parable of the Pounds, the visits to Nazareth, &c. One pleasing feature of the book is the large use of historical matter in illustration of Luke's narrative. Excellent examples of the happy introduction of references to contemporary events in secular history will be found in what is said of Archelaus, Tiberius, Lysanias and others.

In one thing in which commentaries, especially those by French and German scholars, are often weak, this book is particularly strong. That is, in all that belongs to the criticism of the text. Dr Plummer has been trained in the historical school of Textual Criticism, and knows both the materials and the principles of the science. Considerable space is given to questions of the Lower Criticism, and they are admirably handled. It would be easy to multiply instances in point. It is enough to mention the excellent note on the reading *εὐδοκίας* in the Gloria, and still more to those on the clause *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον . . . ἐκχυνόμενον* in ch. xxiv. 19b, 20, and the disputed passage in Luke's narrative of the Agony in the Garden (ch. xxii. 43, 44). With regard to the last, Dr Plummer's conclusion is that the widespread omission can be explained neither by excision for doctrinal reasons nor by Lectionary practice; that the passage may be regarded as probably a Western insertion in the text of Luke; and that it may be retained as a "genuine portion of historical tradition."

We have said enough to indicate some of the outstanding merits of Dr Plummer's Commentary. It is distinguished throughout by

learning, sobriety of judgment, and sound exegesis. It is a weighty contribution to the interpretation of the Third Gospel, and will take an honourable place in the series of which it forms part.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Horn's I Dagens Strid og Tidstanker.

Af Dr E. F. B. Horn. Christiania: Hjalmar Biglers Forlag.
Vol. I. I Dagens Strid, pp. 150; Vol. II. Tidstanker, pp. 145.
8vo. Price, 6 kroner 40 öre.

THERE is no more versatile or erudite philosopher and theologian in Norway than Dr Horn. He seems at home in almost every department of thought, and the list of his books is as varied as it is long. The Essays and Lectures that go to make up *I Dagens Strid* (Questions of the Day) and *Tidstanker* (Thoughts for the Times) all owe their existence to certain of the phenomena and fermenting thoughts of the present day. The point in every case lies in the psychological-religious domain. He hopes that the picture of the future he unfolds contains some help towards conciliation and concord.

It is not often we find a writer expressing his religious belief and opinions so scientifically and philosophically as Dr Horn. In one place he writes that he starts from what he regards as the progress in Herbert Spencer, by his drawing attention to the rhythms both in the physical and in the moral life. He considers Spencer's position to be an advance beyond the old positivism, and also beyond Darwinism, which does not reach higher than to look upon existence as a continual struggle between unequal forces in widely different directions (the law of the Parallelogram of Forces). The existence of such a universal law is an occult rhythm, and this rhythm Spencer pointed out and asserted. That, however, does not give us all the help we need. Every rhythmic movement is only possible round a symmetric centre. Leibnitz regards existence as perfectly symmetric. God is the central monad, around which all poorer and imperfect monads symmetrically group themselves. A republic is symmetric in its idea, and is so far an advance, for all the citizens are equal, and one vote is as good as another. But it lacks unity, cohesion around a centre. Such a centre is found in the person of the king in a monarchy. In the religious domain Christ is the centre, the central monad, round which the Churches symmetrically gather; round the Churches again, with a longer radius, the rest of humanity; and round humanity in turn, with longer radius still, the remainder of creation. He draws attention to the fact that Professor Drum-

mond has asserted this symmetric fundamental idea when he considers existence to resemble a huge pyramid, whose base is the whole broad world. This pyramid rises higher in ever narrower circles, as the good and the strong outlive the bad and the weak, the few elect survive the many called, until the highest peak of the pyramid is reached—Jesus Christ. Christ, therefore, is the one towards whom we are to grow up, for He is the symmetric centre. In all his books Horn says he has kept that principle in view, more or less distinctly, and it can be traced in each chapter of the volumes before us. He acknowledges that the old orthodox theology certainly did regard God and Christ as the centre of existence, but it did not place this symmetric idea in connection with rhythms, and thereby in connection with the Parallelogram of Forces. The idea of God as the centre of all things is therefore severed from its connection with the laws of nature. Nature and the laws of nature have for God no validity or existence. He can at any moment act independently of them. So it was thought; and so there arose in the whole theology and in the religious life an affectation that could only be removed by observing the close connection between these categories—Symmetry, Rhythm, Parallelogram of Forces. Horn considers that all he has set forth in his books lies in the line of continuation of the development from positivism and Darwinism (the Parallelogram of Forces), through Herbert Spencer (the Rhythm) to Henry Drummond (the Symmetry). In this way we pass from the materialistic view of life to an idealistic and spiritual. But the latter cannot dis sever itself from the former, as the old orthodox theology allowed. Horn's endeavour, so far as Norwegian theology is concerned, has been to combat the pitiful vagueness and affectation which have resulted from ignorance of the connection between religion and positivism, between spirit and nature; for Norwegian theologians seem to have too much overlooked positivism, or regarded it as an enemy. Darwin and Spencer have been placed on the Scandinavian Lutheran Church's Index Expurg., and even Professor Drummond has been denounced by the orthodox. Horn would like to bring about a mutual understanding between those whose aims are supposed to be the same, but who have been at daggers drawn, instead of seeing eye to eye. He hopes that if his readers should not everywhere find their accustomed dogmas and tenets, they will yet see that there is something left to them after all, and be able to set just the higher value upon what remains.

These two volumes try to answer the question—How shall a Christian culture be secured; how are we to get great Christian personalities who shall be able to give form to the age? Dr Horn, says that "Christianity, the great goal of religion, is the same as that of culture." The image of God consisted in man getting the

power and the command to subdue the earth, to ennoble every living thing. That is fulfilled by religion and culture acting internally and externally respectively. The one cannot for any length of time do without the other. To attain the goal demands an infinitely continued work under more perfect conditions, the richer and richer unfolding of personality, and of the community through personality.

The chief topics treated of in *I Dagens Strid og Tidstanker* are "Progressive Thought," "The influence Luther has had on culture" (a most admirable deliverance), "The Son of Man" (claiming more attention to Christ's humanity), "The Son of God," "Unitarianism," "Spiritualism" (which he thinks distinctly deserving of careful study and undeserving of indiscriminate detraction), "The Descent of Man" (in which he shows that although he does not consider the arboreal ancestry of man quite proved, yet he cannot understand why there is such repugnance to the mere idea that men are only very highly organised monkeys. He thinks that those evolutionists go too far who hold that the transition from brute to man has been so infinitely long and continuous as sufficiently to explain language, reason, self-consciousness as emanating from animal cries and instincts. Horn holds that a new quality in nature frequently suddenly asserts itself, as when water boils at a certain temperature. The succession is not interrupted, but something new comes in. Self-consciousness might have thus suddenly appeared), "Seriousness and Humour," "Björnson's drama *Over Evne*" (i.e. Ultra Vires), "Arne Garborg's *Trætte Mænd*" (i.e. Weary Men), "Thomas Carlyle," and "Henry Drummond."

Horn holds that there is hardly any one who had a keener eye for the characteristic imperfections of the age, or scourged them with greater thoroughness, than Carlyle. "You see in him," he says, "an ethical zeal which has a strengthening and refreshing effect on the reader. To read Carlyle is like mounting a lofty hill amid clear, pure air, and although stiff breezes blow around you, yet you can breathe deeply and see far on every side." However, he feels compelled to draw the line at some of Carlyle's singularities and exaggerations. "It would be an affront to my readers were I to point out what is crooked and unnatural in Carlyle." But it would certainly have been useful to many Norwegians and interesting to us to know to what he specially refers.

The article on Henry Drummond is one of the very best in the volumes. It is distinctly appreciative; it shows an intimate acquaintance with Drummond's works, but is written before Horn had seen *The Ascent of Man*. It is quite apparent that many of Drummond's books have an extensive circulation in Scandinavia, and that several volumes have already appeared dealing in whole or in part with his work and views. Horn stands forth as an apologist for

Drummond, although, as has already been indicated, the orthodox Lutherans in Norway look suspiciously on the teaching of the author of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. He does not deny that there are weak spots in Drummond's teaching, a one-sidedness in his Gospel; for instance, he finds hardly anything about the Atonement, and so little about the Trinity that Drummond's disciples might fall away to Unitarianism. On the whole, however, he thinks that the objections to Drummond's presentation of the truth are due to misunderstandings which might be avoided if readers would regard the writings from the author's own standpoint, and remember that Drummond was not trained as a theologian but as a naturalist. There is one striking objection to Drummond's teaching which Horn rather suggests than makes, viz., that according to that teaching a *historic actual Christ need not have existed or still exist*. He acknowledges that to properly discuss this objection would require a thorough examination of Drummond's religious sentiments and point of view. He reserves the matter for a subsequent occasion, hinting that there is perhaps hardly sufficient material in Drummond's writings yet to allow of a satisfactory conclusion. But any such discussion would be more academical than conclusive, for he adds—"Only this much is certain, that Drummond himself is profoundly convinced of the reality of the personal Christ, even if perhaps the theology he has set forth may leave us in some uncertainty about its ultimate consequences."

There is a freshness and an independence about Horn that are very charming. He has his own opinions and is not to be trammelled by old dogmas; he thinks the old orthodoxy has served its day and generation, and he is prepared to maintain that the Athanasian Creed bears no likeness whatever to the picture of the Trinity set forth in holy writ. Horn's style is generally perspicuous, often epigrammatic, and not seldom genial. A keen intellect is everywhere apparent, but there is here and there a trace of pedantry, especially in *I Dagens Strid*, noticeable in other ways, but chiefly by the use of quotations from various languages without any translation or paraphrase being given. Footnotes have been in other cases given when necessary, and translations of the quotations deserved a place among them. From the tenor of these and other volumes of Horn's we see in him ever the champion of the weak and the oppressed, and we notice that the mantle of his charity is very broad.

It is interesting to us in this country to hear from such a thinker as Dr Horn an acknowledgment like this: "I owe much to English and Scotch philosophers, such as Berkeley, Spencer, Carlyle and Drummond, but especially to the last two. As a consequence it will be found in my teaching not so much that I seek to form

systems of views which can scarcely ever be exhaustive, as that I attempt, mainly by pictures of what is real, to help forward the eternal in the individual." JNO. BEVERIDGE.

Notices.

AN addition of great importance is made to the well-known *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. The original undertaking, which was brought to a successful issue now a good many years ago under the editorship of Drs Donaldson and Roberts, aimed at furnishing the English reader with translations of all the writings of the Fathers of the Christian Church prior to the Council of Nicaea. The scheme was a large and difficult one, and it was carried out in a way that reflected great credit on Scotch enterprise and Scotch scholarship. Within the last few years, however, our knowledge of early Christian literature has been much extended. Remarkable finds have been made in unexpected ways, and works of the greatest interest have come into our hands, the recovery of which had been little more than a dream. It was a happy thought, then, to supplement the great series of translations of the Ante-Nicene Fathers by the preparation of a volume putting the English reader in possession of these newest discoveries. This is what is done for us in the handsome book now issued under the editorial care of the Rev. Allan Menzies, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism in St Mary's College, St Andrews.¹ Opportunity is taken at the same time to give a further instalment of Origen. It was found impracticable to include the voluminous works of the great Alexandrian in the original series. A selection had to be made, and it was limited to a few of his most outstanding writings, the *De Principiis*, the *Contra Celsum*, and others sufficient to make up two volumes. Various things, however, have contributed of late to a revived interest in the theology of Origen, and the publishers have done well in giving in the second division of this volume an additional selection from his writings, consisting of his letter to Gregory, and his Commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and John. The latter have a particular value as examples on a considerable scale of Origen's methods of interpretation. It is the first part of the book, however, that will naturally attract most attention. It begins with the

¹ Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Additional volume, containing early Christian works discovered since the completion of the series, and selections from the Commentaries of Origen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. iv. 533. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

Gospel of Peter, the translation being by Professor Armitage Robinson of Cambridge. A Synoptical Table of the four Canonical Gospels and the *Gospel of Peter*, drawn up by the Rev. Andrew Rutherford, is added. This is followed by Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the translation, which is from the hand of the Rev. Hope W. Hogg, being from the Arabic Text edited by Ciasca in 1888. We are thus placed in the advantageous position of having three versions of the *Diatessaron*—Ciasca's Latin, Mr Hamlyn Hill's translation of that into English, and this independent rendering of the Arabic into English.

Then comes the series of Apocalypses and Romances, including the *Revelation of Peter*, the *Vision of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, all translated by Mr Rutherford; as also the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena*, and the *Narrative of Zosimus*, translated by Mr W. A. Craigie. In addition to all this, we have the *Epistles of Clement*, reprinted from the first volume of the *Ante-Nicene Library*, and completed by the Rev. John Keith from Bryennius's edition of 1875; and a duplicate version of the *Apology of Aristides*, by the Rev. D. M. Kay, the translation from the Greek text as we have it in the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, and the translation of the Syriac text discovered and edited by Professor Rendel Harris, being placed in parallel columns.

Brief Introductions are given to all these writings, sufficient to acquaint the English reader with the essentials of the several subjects. So far as we have yet been able to test it, the work appears to be carefully done. The volume should make an important and welcome addition to the library of many a student.

Bishop Dahle's *Livet efter Döden* has already been noticed in this Journal.¹ We are glad to have it now in an English translation from the hand of one who is well acquainted with Norse. The translation reads so well that one forgets it is a translation, and the book itself is worth introducing to English readers. *Life after Death, and the Future of the Kingdom of God*,² as the title runs, is the work of a man who deserves to be known beyond the limits of his own country. Having consecrated himself to the cause of Missions when a youth of twenty, he was trained for his vocation in the Missionary College at Stavanger and in the University of Christiania, in which latter institution he devoted himself with special zeal to Old Testament and Semitic Studies under Professor Caspari. For some eighteen years he laboured in Madagascar, becoming

¹ Vol. v. p. 294, etc.

² By Bishop Lars Nielsen Dahle, Knight of St Olaf. Translated by the Rev. John Beveridge, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xii. 455, Price, 10s. 6d.

Bishop of the Norwegian Missionary Church there in 1877. Compelled by failing health to leave Madagascar in 1888, he has been engaged at home since then in directing the missionary work of the Norwegian Church. He has written much, not only on questions of popular religious interest, but on Philology, Folk-Lore, Theology, and other subjects. His *Life after Death* is his most considerable effort in the province of Theology, and it is one of the best contributions to Theological literature which have been made by Norwegian divines in recent times. It is written in an easy, flowing, popular style, which carefully avoids all technical language and all the details of scholarship. This makes it a book which all can read with intelligence and profit. It has the disadvantage, however, of leaving us with an inadequate view of the scientific basis of many of its conclusions, in particular in the vital question of the interpretation of important passages of Scripture. The discussion runs in three parts. The first deals with the Future of the Individual; the second, with the Future of God's Kingdom on the Earth; the third with the End. The least satisfactory sections are those which are given to the *Events preparing for the End*, and the *Great Events at the Time of the End*. One grudges the amount of space and pains spent on a multitude of curious questions concerning the millennium, the events which are to take place in the Kingdom of God between the present day and the Judgment, the order in which they are to take place, the intervals by which they are to be separated, the time each of them is to last, the position to be occupied by converted Israel, the last conflict, and the like. It is different with the sections in which such subjects as death, immortality, the resurrection, the judgment, the final issues, are considered. On these Bishop Dahle says much that is to the point. His own theological position is that of a good but not rigid Lutheran. With the exception of some things in Part Second and a measured kind of inclination towards modern spiritualism, the discussions are, generally speaking, as sober as they are reverent. They aim, too, at being strictly Biblical, at keeping "a clear distinction between what is actually revealed to us in Scripture, what is only hinted at, and what is simply the result of more or less ingenious human speculation."

In connection with the Luther Quater-Centenary in 1884, Principal Wace, along with Professor Buchheim, published a volume on *The First Principles of the Reformation, or The Primary Works of Luther*. The publication was a seasonable one, and the reception given it was so far a test of the Protestant spirit of the English people. It is certainly not less but much more necessary now even than it was then, to bring home again to the English mind the great evangelical truths which made the pulse of the German Reformation. It is a thing to be grateful for, therefore, that we

have now another publication of the same kind, but with enlarged contents, issued by the same editors, under the title of *Luther's Primary Works*.¹ In addition to the three classical treatises of the critical year 1520, the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, Concerning Christian Liberty*, and *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, the volume includes Luther's *Short Catechism*, his *Greater Catechism*, and the *Ninety-five Theses*. Two *Essays* of very considerable interest are given in an Appendix, one by Dr Wace on *The Primary Principles of Luther's Life and Teaching*, and another by Dr Buchheim on *The Political Course of the Reformation in Germany (1517-1546)*. The translations are executed with the utmost care, and deserve all praise. It is not only that they are faithful. They give us a remarkably good idea of the wonderful style of the originals. The Editors express the hope that "this attempt to let the voice of the great Reformer be heard more clearly in England may, for various reasons, be opportune at the present time, and that it may assist to the better apprehension of those cardinal principles on which, alike in England and in Germany, true 'Christian Liberty' can alone be securely based." That it is "opportune" admits of little doubt. May the further hope of its usefulness in helping the English people to stand for the "Christian Liberty" which made both Germany and England great in the sixteenth century, be amply realised!

The Articles of the English Church have been the subject of several treatises of recent date. Quite lately we have had the *Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England* by Dr Maclear and Mr W. W. Williams, and the first volume of the Rev. E. C. Gibson's *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England explained*. We have now another contribution to the same subject from the pen of the Rev. E. Tyrrell Green, M.A.² The book is the result of studies prosecuted by the writer in the discharge of his professional duties as Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew in St David's College, Lampeter. It aims at giving a "historical and doctrinal exposition in the light of contemporary documents." Its plan, therefore, is to compare the English Articles with other Symbols belonging to the same period. Each Article is presented both in the English version and in the Latin; its source is next investigated; its object is declared; and each of its clauses is then expounded, the Scripture proof being also summarily stated. A sketch of the formularies which were issued during the course of

¹ Translated into English, edited, with Theological and Historical Essays, by Henry Wace, D.D., etc., and C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D., etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 492. Price, 7s. 6d.

² *The Thirty-Nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation*. London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 456. Price, 10s. 6d.

the English Reformation is prefixed. The volume closes with a series of Appendices, giving a Table of Confessions of Faith, a Comparison of the Bishop's Book and King's Book, Extracts showing the change in Cranmer's opinions, the text of the first fifteen Articles as revised by the Westminster Assembly, the text of Bishop Geste's Letter on Article XXVIII, the text of the Irish Articles of 1615, and translations of passages quoted from documents. The author makes every effort to give the historical meaning of the Articles, the historical facts of their composition, and the points in which they differ from the corresponding definitions of other Churches, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. He has not succeeded, we think, in doing justice to the Calvinistic formularies in every point. But his exposition is in general both fair and well-founded. The objective side of Christ's work is fully recognised, though it is not stated with complete precision. "His sacrifice," it is said, "accomplished something for us before it was presented to us as an object of faith; it effected something for mankind (1 John ii. 2). The subjective impression on man's heart is an after-thing, following upon faith in that eternal work." There is a disposition to claim for the doctrine of the Intermediate State a position which Scripture itself does not give it. The book has a place of its own among works of the same kind. It will make a handy and useful student's manual on its subject.

Mr J. M. Rigg of Lincoln's Inn has completed what has evidently been a work of love by the publication of his *St Anselm of Canterbury: A Chapter in the History of Religion*.¹ We have already an abundant literature on the great Churchman and his most important works, the *Cur Deus Homo* above all. Mr Rigg has used most of these earlier writings, though not all. He refers to the *Lives or Studies* by Möhler, Montalembert, Rémusat, Charma, Church, Croset-Mouchet, Mr Martin Rule, and Père Ragey. This is a good list, but by no means a complete one. The works by Veder, Franck, and Hasse, *e.g.*, are unnoticed, and there is no evidence of sufficient acquaintance with the treatment which Anselm has received at the hands of philosophical and theological authorities like Ritter, Prantl, Braniss, Erdmann, and Baur. Full advantage, however, has been taken of the writings of men like Milman, Freeman, Gregorovius, and Giesebrecht in constructing the historical background. Anselm's own letters, Eadmer's *Historia* and *De Vita*, the old Chronicles, and other ancient sources have been consulted, some of them evidently with much care. The result is a vivid portraiture of the man and his times, his relations with Lanfranc, Henry I. and others, his work as a teacher and thinker, his struggles, his troubles, and the closing peace. The narrative and descriptive sections, espe-

¹ London: Methuen & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. 294. Price, 7s. 6d.

cially the accounts of Anselm's active life, and the conditions of Church and State, are the best parts of the book. Those dealing with his philosophy and theology, though sufficiently interesting, are less satisfactory. The volume is written in an engaging style, and can claim a place of its own in the large literature of its subject.

Three parts of the fourth volume of the excellent series of *Texts and Studies* are now to hand. The first deals with *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentaries*.¹ It is a study which we owe to the prizes offered by the late Bishop Lightfoot to the Junior Clergy of Durham. It ventures into ground which Waterland made his own, and grapples with questions which have exercised many acute minds. It first states the positions held respectively by Waterland, Swainson, Lumby, Harnack, Ommaney, and Heurtley. It then gives an account of the manuscripts and testimonies of the eighth and ninth centuries, the early commentaries, the special question of the form of the text in the Fortunatus Commentary, and the evidence external and internal for the date and authorship. Then follow the Texts with a series of additional Notes and a good Index. The book is an exceedingly creditable study. Mr Burn is an acute critic of the two-portion theory and its underlying assumptions. His conclusions are generally in favour of the main points in the great argument by which Waterland sought to establish the positions that the *Quicumque* was drawn up by Hilary for the use of the Gallican clergy, was in the hands of Vincentius Lerinensis before 434, became famous enough by the year 570 to be commented on like the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and had the admired name of Athanasius attached to it some time before 670.

The second part of this fourth volume is the equally careful work of a specialist in Coptic,² Mr Forbes Robinson of Christ's College, Cambridge. It is a difficult task that has been assigned him, and the literature to which he introduces us is curious, not to say often grotesque. Mr Robinson claims some importance, however, for it, on account of the peculiarities of its form, its strongly-marked features, and the period in our Lord's life to which it refers. For while the Gospel Apocrypha in other languages "deal almost exclusively," as Mr Robinson reminds us, "with the history of our Lord's Infancy and Passion, or with the lives of Mary and Joseph," the Coptic Apocrypha refer to the period of the Ministry. The texts and translations contained in this volume are those of Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, Bohairic Accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary, and a Bohairic Account of the Death of

¹ By A. E. Burn, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. xlix. 68. Price, 5s. net.

² Coptic Apocryphal Gospels. Translations, together with the texts of some of them. Cambridge University Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 264. Price, 9s. net.

Joseph. Other Sahidic Fragments are also given, and Explanatory Notes are added. The book has much in it that will be of interest to others besides Coptic students. Mr Robinson deserves our thanks for his painstaking work in an unfamiliar field.

The third part of the same volume is of a different kind, and brings us into the province of the Textual Critic. It is a Study of *The Old Latin and the Itala*,¹ by Mr F. C. Burkitt, M.A. In connexion with his main subject Mr Burkitt gives us a number of things for which scholars will be heartily grateful. He republishes the St Gallen fragments of Jeremiah from the manuscript, Tischendorf's transcript being both inaccurate and difficult to get at. He gives the literary history of the book of Job in Latin, and restates the evidence for the use of the Septuagint version of Daniel in the early Latin Church. He gives also important notes on the "Western" interpolations in the Gospels, St Augustine and Felix the Manichee, the Gospel text in the *De Consensu*, the preservation of Augustine's text in extant MSS. of the New Testament, and other matters of special interest to the critic. A concise account, too, is furnished of the Old Latin, its manuscripts, the "African" and "European" texts of the Gospels, and the great interpolations found in early Latin texts. All this is done in a careful and scholarly fashion, without needless parade of learning. The thing of greatest interest, however, is the attempt to revive the old explanation of the *Itala* of Augustine which identified it with the Vulgate. If Mr Burkitt were successful in this, we should have to alter our ideas of the composition of the New Testament in the African Church of the fifth century. What then are his arguments? Among other things he points to the fact that, when Felix the Manichee appeared for trial at Hippo in 404 A.D., Augustine read out to him the New Testament account of the coming of the Holy Spirit as contained in Luke and Acts; that the passages so selected are contained *in extenso* in our MSS. of Augustine *Contra Felicem*; and that the one from Luke proves to be pure Vulgate, while the one from Acts is in the text of Cyprian—"the very oldest form of the African known to us." From this he concludes that the codex of the Gospels used by Augustine was a Vulgate codex, while that of Acts was an Old Latin codex; and that thus we have reason to say that "by 404 A.D. the Gospels were read at Hippo from the Vulgate, while in some other books of the Bible such as the Acts, the unrevised Old Latin was still publicly used." He also collects a large body of evidence showing that the text of the *De Consensu* was based exclusively on the Vulgate, and he gives a number of reasons for not taking the term "*Itala*" as the designation of a particular Old Latin text. The various lines of argument used by Mr Burkitt, it must be

¹ Cambridge University Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. viii. 96. Price, 3s. net.
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admitted, have some weight. They are worked out with great ability, and the evidence taken from the *De Consensu* itself is of special significance. The question, nevertheless, can scarcely be taken as settled. For one thing, Mr Burkitt gives no satisfactory reason why Augustine should use the particular term *Italia*, if he had nothing in view but the Vulgate. He has also to admit that his argument holds good only for the text of the Gospels in Augustine's later works, and that the extant evidence tends to show only that "during Augustine's Episcopate, from about 400 A.D. onwards, the Church at Hippo read the Gospels from Jerome's version, though for the Acts it retained a very pure form of the Old African Latin." The number of Augustine's works to which he appeals is only three, all written a little before or after 400 A.D. The question of the condition of the texts in these writings does not seem to be sufficiently considered.

It is pleasant to see that by the enterprise of Oxford scholarship the important series of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* is being continued. Each of the previous volumes contained more than one paper of permanent worth. The fourth volume,¹ which is now before us, is also one to which scholars will be glad to refer. It has more than the others had, however, that is addressed to the specialist. The opening paper, which is by Canon Hicks of Manchester, deals with *St Paul and Hellenism*. It is brief and sprightly. It gives a remarkably compact and telling account of what Hellenism meant in respect of fusion of races, unity of languages, union of cities in a great monarchy, and religious toleration and comprehension; of the time it took to realise these ideas; and of the significance of Hellenism in its bearing upon the Jews. It is equally interesting in what it says of Paul's relation to Hellenism. It seems to us, however, to exaggerate the Hellenic element in Paul, especially as regards his teaching and his methods of exposition. To say, *e.g.*, that 1 Cor. iv. 8 reminds one of "Stoic phrases about the philosopher king," that Paul has much that is Aristotelian in his logic, and that 1 Cor. xiii. recalls the "description of the virtues in the *Nicomachean Ethics*" appears to us little less than extraordinary. Professor Ramsay follows with what will be to many the most interesting contribution in the volume, a paper on *The "Galatia" of St Paul and the Galatic Territory of Acts*. It gives a clear and forcible restatement of the case in favour of the South Galatian theory, taking up the criticisms and counter-arguments of other scholars, especially those of Schürer, Chase, and Zöckler. It is so well put that one reads and feels convinced.

¹ Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism, by Members of the University of Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. 324. Price, 12s. 6d.

Yet the considerations which are urged on the other side, especially some of the points in Schürer's replies, make themselves felt again, and leave one still in a suspense of judgment. Professor Ramsay has won many converts to his view ; and students who do not regard the question as finally settled must admit not only that they have had much to learn from his investigations, but that the South Galatian view has been raised to a position which it never had before. The time is come when some third party should summarise the two great lines of argument, and give a judicial estimate of the case as between Professor Ramsay with his followers and Professor Schürer with his. The third paper is on the *Acta Pilati*, and is by one eminently qualified for the task which it undertakes. It gives this curious Apocryphon in both the Greek text and the Latin, with brief explanatory footnotes and digests of various readings. In a learned dissertation prefixed to the texts Mr Conybeare deals with the question of the two recensions of the *Acta*, and adduces some strong reasons for regarding the one known as B as a later recension or overworking of the one called A. On the subject of the antiquity of the *Acta*, he speaks of Bishop Lightfoot's judgment as hasty, and thinks that the evidence of the fragment *De Latrone* ascribed to Aristides, together with the testimony of Justin and Tertullian, may bring it as far back as A.D. 130-150. The fourth and fifth papers are both of a very elaborate order. One is by Mr F. B. Bussell, on the *Purpose of the World-Process and the Problem of Evil as explained in the Clementine and Lactantian Writings in a System of Subordinate Dualism*. It discusses in a very learned way the question of the personality of God and His interest in the world—a question for which Mr Bussell, however, claims too much when he asserts it to have been the "main point at issue in the Ante-Nicene controversies and the cardinal doctrine of the Fathers in the first three centuries." The closing paper is by Mr E. W. Watson, on *The Style and Language of St Cyprian*. It is a paper on which a vast amount of pains must have been spent. It makes an exhaustive investigation of Cyprian's style in rhythm, alliteration, symmetry, the use of tropes, plays upon words, &c. It compares the writer also with Tertullian, Apuleius, and others. It is a laborious and valuable piece of work done by a specialist for specialists.

*The Hope of Israel*¹ is the title given to a volume in which the Rev. F. H. Woods, B.D., reviews the argument from Prophecy. The book consists of a series of Warburtonian Lectures delivered in Lincoln's Inn Chapel in the years 1890-94. It is a republication of these Lectures as they appeared in *The Expository Times* in 1893-95, under the title of *Hebrew Prophecy and Modern Criticism*. The

¹ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 218. Price, 3s. 6d.

author claims no more for his volume than that it may be accepted as a step in the direction of such a restatement of the argument from Old Testament Prophecy as the needs of the time require. That it is this at least may be frankly granted. Mr Woods has a just appreciation of the difficulty of the task. He has made a contribution to its discharge which, while very far from complete, will have its use. He gives a good popular statement of the critical view of Prophecy, the modifications of old ideas of the nature of the Prophetic word and its fulfilment, and the value of Prophecy as an aid to Christian faith. More than this it neither professes to do nor can be said to have effected. But this it does in an intelligent, candid, and instructive manner. It will help the understanding and relieve the difficulties of those to whom questions of the kind are still comparatively strange.

The useful commentary on the *Synoptical Gospels*,¹ contributed by Professor Nösgen of Rostock to Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, has reached its second edition. It has been carefully revised throughout in the light of the large literature which has appeared since its first issue. It has also been improved in some things belonging to plan as well as to execution. Each of the three Gospels is separately treated, Professor Nösgen finding it impracticable to work the three into a single exegesis. But all needless repetition is avoided. Much attention is given to the ideas which lie at the foundation of each of the three Gospels, but a sharper distinction is kept up between this part of the work and the detailed grammatical interpretation. The Synoptical problem in its most recent phases is stated and examined with admirable brevity and precision in the Introduction. A Table of Synoptical parallels is appended, indicating the relations in which the narratives stand to each other, and the measure of their unity. Otherwise this edition retains all the essential features of the former. It is a painstaking piece of work, which will be of use to many readers, and specially valued by those who are in agreement with the author's general principles.

Professor Carl Heinrich Cornill's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*,² which formed the first part of the excellent *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*, has been already favourably noticed in this Journal.³ That it has met the needs of a large class is sufficiently shown by the fact that it is now in its fourth edition. It is a book which may not always carry us with it in its conclu-

¹ München, Beck, 1897. Lex. 8vo, pp. xiv. 447. Price, M. 6.

² Dritte und vierte völlig neugearbeitete Auflage. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xvi. 359. Price, M. 5.

³ The first edition in vol. ii., p. 31 ; the second in vol. iii., p. 97.

sions. But it certainly exhibits wide and exact acquaintance with its subject, and may be relied on for its digests of facts. It is the kind of compact, well-ordered statement of the literary questions of the Old Testament Scriptures which the student will be glad to have beside him. In this new issue the recent literature has been worked up, and the matter carefully revised.

A small publication which will well repay careful study comes in the form of a reprint of a suggestive paper on the Pauline doctrine of *The Righteousness of God*,¹ which was contributed by Professor G. Schnedermann of Leipzig to the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*.

A volume on *The Apocatastasis*,² by S. W. Koelle, Dr Ph., is called by its author an "anticipated chapter" from a larger work on *The Goal of the Universe, how attained*. It states in a clear and decided tone the usual arguments in favour of the doctrine of a universal restitution, and attempts to repel the usual objections urged against that doctrine from Scripture and from reason.

With the view of helping students in the study of New Testament Introduction, Herr Wilhelm Vollert of the Gymnasium in Gera has prepared a series of Tables³ which should be of much use. They are constructed on the plan of giving, under each book of the New Testament, a *vidimus* of fact and opinion as regards author, destination, characteristics, and historical testimony. An Appendix gives the Synoptic parallels, Luke being taken as basis. A chart is also added, showing in the case of each of the New Testament writings, the manuscripts applicable to it. The whole is done with care, and in a conservative spirit.

The edition of *The Book of Genesis*,⁴ prepared by Professor G. Woosung Wade of St David's College, Lampeter, should be found of use by English readers who wish to have some knowledge of the findings of recent criticism. It gives a translation based upon the Authorised Version, and so printed as to indicate the parts of the narrative that belong to each of the main documents or sources affirmed by criticism. It gives also an introduction, dealing in a clear and informing way with the literary analysis, the question of mythical elements, and the patriarchal history. The materials have been drawn with much industry from the writings of most of our best critics, especially those of Delitzsch, Kuenen, Dillmann, and Driver.

¹ Der israelitische Hintergrund in der Lehre des Apostels Paulus von der Gerechtigkeit Gottes aus Glauben. Leipzig: Deichert. 8vo, pp. 16. Price, M.0.50.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 60.

³ Tabellen zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. 8vo, pp. 55. Price, M.1.40.

⁴ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 264. Price, 6s.

We have a further instalment of the very valuable series of *Old South Leaflets*,¹ which are being issued by the Directors of Old South Studies. The series amounts already to 74 numbers. The republications now to hand include some which are of special interest, e.g. No. 66, "Winthrop's Little Speech on Liberty"; No. 67, Cotton Mather's "The Bostonian Ebenezer"; No. 71, Columbus's "Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella."

A lecture is published by Professor Gustav Krüger of Giessen on the Origin of the New Testament.² It gives a concise and popular statement of those points in the history which may be regarded, in the judgment of most, as scientifically established.

A thesis on *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek*³ comes from Clyde W. Votaw, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago. It is based mainly upon the text of the Codex Vaticanus for both the Septuagint and the New Testament. It classifies in a useful way the various usages of the mood, and provides charts of these as they occur in the various books of the New Testament.

In *Jesus the Poet*⁴ the Rev. J. Reid Howat gives us a series of readings on the metaphors and similes uttered by our Lord in the Gospels. We could have wished a better title for the book, but the studies are in good taste, always practically helpful, and often felicitously expressed. The most of them found on our Lord's words as given in Matthew. From Mark we have only one, on *The Clear Fire* (ch. ix. 49). In many cases the titles of the readings are very happy, e.g. *Branching Light* (Matt. v. 14), *Love in Two Letters* (Matt. vi. 12), *Fleece and Fang* (Matt. vii. 15). In some cases they are rather far-fetched, e.g. *Germiphobia* (Matt. xvi. 6). The readings are all commendably brief and pointed. They will be found interesting and edifying.

Professor Herkless, of the University of St Andrews, contributes a volume on *Richard Cameron*⁵ to the *Famous Scots* series. He has had a somewhat difficult task; for, while the "Lion of the Covenant" is one of the most impressive figures in one of the most stirring passages in the religious history of Scotland, the materials for a biography are scanty. Professor Herkless has made the most of what is to be got from the registers of his own University, the Wodrow MSS., the session records of Falkland, and other sources. He has produced a very good book, well written,

¹ Boston, Mass.

² Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments. Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896. 8vo, pp. 26. Price, M.0.60.

³ Chicago (published by the Author), 1896. 8vo, pp. 59.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 279. Price, 6s.

⁵ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 152. Price, 1s. 6d.

and doing justice to its subject both in its narrative and in its estimates.

A lecture on the *Old Testament*¹ comes from Professor Th. Beyer of Neustettin. It is strictly conservative in its general attitude to questions of Old Testament criticism, is of an earnest spirit, popularly written, and directed specially against the positions of critics like Cornill.

A trenchant contribution is made to the controversy regarding *Cardinal Manning*² by Stanley Roamer. The most important things in the Letters, Diaries, Journals, and Autobiographical Notes published in Mr Purcell's recent *Life* are reproduced here, presented in their due connections, and made the basis of a formidable indictment.

We have pleasure in reporting another and most welcome instalment of Professor H. Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*.³ This part embraces the Preaching of Jesus on the Law, on God and Man, and on the Kingdom of God. It deals also with the Messianic Consciousness of Jesus, and contains acute discussions on the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which more must be said hereafter.

A volume of sermons from Mr A. S. Tipple is always welcome : it is sure to have a character of its own. The fifteen discourses which make the collection, to which the title *The Admiring Guest*⁴ (from the subject of the first of the series) is given, are equal to any that Mr Tipple has yet published. Occasionally we detect a little of the strained in them, as in one on *Jesus and the Three Births*. But they are as a whole of another kind — carefully thought out, admirably expressed, and showing many fine touches. Particularly noteworthy are those on *Witnessing to the Truth* and on *The Close of the Year*. In a small volume entitled *Experience*,⁵ the Rev. Wilford Richmond gives us what he terms *A Chapter of Prolegomena*, in which he shows cause why the question, *Can we know reality?* is not met with an initial "No." This makes the bulk of the book. In two shorter sections some indication is given of the philosophy which the writer has in view. The book is a collection of thoughts in defence of the possibility of attaining speculative truth, and is meant to prepare the way for a fuller treatment of the logical and metaphysical questions.

¹ Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Zeugnisses Christi. Berlin : Wiegandt & Grieben, 1897. 8vo, pp. 48.

² London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 283. Price,

³ Fünfte und sechste Lieferung. Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. Pp. 145-288 and 241-288. Price, M.3.

⁴ London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 225. Price, 5s.

⁵ London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Pp. 64. Price, 2s.

We have also to notice the second and third parts of the fifteenth volume of Holtzmann's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*¹ by which all students are so greatly helped ; an interesting sermon by Professor H. E. Ryle of Cambridge on *Physical Science and the First Chapter of Genesis* ;² a small volume on *The Book of Daniel*,³ by P. W. Grant, the object of which is to show that, the eleventh chapter being regarded as a late interpretation of the eighth, chapters x. 1-20 and xii. 1-13 are seen to be a connected whole, while the entire book is better appreciated and its early date established ; a treatise on *The Art of Extempore Speaking*,⁴ in which the Rev. Harold Ford, Rector of Monyask, writes with much good sense on the principles of pulpit and platform oratory ; *Laureates of the Cross*,⁵ a series of carefully composed sermons on the *Service of Man, Penitence, the Church as Student, the Mirror of Sin* (as illustrated by the cases of Paul, Augustine, Jerome, Thomas à Kempis, Mary), with a concluding discourse on *Christus Consummator* ; the *Quiet Thoughts of a Quiet Thinker*,⁶ consisting of extracts from the diaries of the Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., of Corsock, with an introduction by Professor Thomas M. Lindsay—a volume well worth publishing, full of devout, sober, and sometimes penetrating reflections on many religious questions ; an able, instructive, and admirably illustrated volume on *The Natural History of the Year*,⁷ written for young people by a very competent hand ; a fourth edition of the Archdeacon of London's forcible pamphlet, *Points at issue between the Church of England and the Church of Rome* ;⁸ the seventh volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*,⁹ as rich as ever in matter intended to help preachers and teachers in their principal work, and conducted by Messrs Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory, than whom it would be difficult to find two men better qualified for the editing of a magazine of the kind ; a volume by the Rev. Fred-

¹ Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, &c. Braunschweig, Schwetschke ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 157-358. Price, M.7. Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, &c. Pp. 359-478. Price, M.4.

² London : Macmillan, 1896. 8vo, pp. 19. 1s. net.

³ London : Snow & Co. Pp. 40. Price, 6d.

⁴ London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 104. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁵ By the Rev. Aubrey N. St John Mildmay, M.A., Assistant Curate of St Mary's, Beverley. London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 9.

⁶ Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 228. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

⁷ By J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., F.R.S.E. London : Andrew Melrose. Imp. 16mo, pp. 288. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁸ By Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London : Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 124. Price, 6d.

⁹ London : C. H. Kelly, 1896. 8vo, pp. 580. 5s.

erick B. Cowe, consisting of a collection of *Sermons to Boys and Girls*¹—bright, brief, pointed, and attractive both in subjects and in style; an Advent Course of Sermons by the Rev. F. H. Carlisle, on *The Four Last Things*,² dealing in a sober and reverent way with the great mysteries of death, judgment, heaven, and hell; a vigorous pamphlet on *The Claims of Rome*,³ by Samuel Smith, M.P.; a collection of addresses to children, highly appropriate both in subject and in style, by the Rev. J. T. Levens, M.A., under the title of *Clean Hands*; ⁴ a series of papers on *The Sunday School and its Relations*,⁵ in which some useful and appreciative things are said by Dr Dods, Dr Simon, the Revs. Hugh Black, George Jackson, A. R. Buckland, and A. R. Henderson, on what the Sunday School should be to the Home, the Church, the Business of Life and other subjects; a collection of *Gems of Illustrations*,⁶ well chosen and arranged, by the Rev. George Coates; a very readable tale, *The Dead Prior*, by C. Dudley Lampen,⁷ the point of which is in the closing chapters on *Satisfaction and Restitution*; an interesting volume by W. J. Wintle, on *The Story of Florence Nightingale, the heroine of the Crimea*; ⁸ a new and improved version of the German tale, *The Basket of Flowers*,⁹ a small book which has deservedly won a great popularity in the Fatherland and elsewhere; a new and cheaper edition of Mr Charles L. Marson's *The Following of Christ*¹⁰—a series of carefully selected readings from modern authors of all kinds, already noticed with favour in this Journal (Oct. 1895, p. 419); a brief collection of *Meditations on Faith and Practice*,¹¹ by Clare Langton, useful but in no way striking; a well-written tale, *Stephen, a Soldier of the Cross*,¹² with a good tone in it, by the hand that gave us *Titus*; a *First Reader in New Testament Greek*,¹³ by Mr James Hope Moulton, giving a series of well selected exercises which form a very useful

¹ Digging Ditches. London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 158. 1s. 6d.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 77. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1896. 8vo, pp. 56. Price, 3d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 151.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Union, 1896. Fcp. 8vo, pp. 79. Price, 1s.

⁶ London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Pp. vi. 248.

⁷ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 221.

⁸ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 1s.

⁹ Illustrated by A. Scott Rankin. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price, 1s.

¹⁰ With a short Preface by Rev. Canon Scott Holland. London: Elliot Stock, 1820. Pp. xiii. 199. Price,

¹¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Pp. 47.

¹² By Florence Morse Kingsley. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 270. Price, 3s. 6d.

¹³ London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 40. Price, 6d. net.

supplement to the excellent *Introduction to the New Testament Greek*, published by the same author in the autumn of 1895; a second, and improved edition of Professor Orelli's commentary on the *Twelve Minor Prophets*,¹ a good representative of the series to which it belongs, especially in the concentration of the exposition on the larger features of the prophetic message and the essentials of the interpretation.

Among other articles in the October number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* we have one on the *Third Book of Maccabees*, in which Mr I. Abrahams works out an argument in support of "a stronger belief in the historical genuineness of certain parts of the narrative." Mr Conybeare gives his second paper on *Christian Demonology*, dealing at length with the beliefs of Origen and Cyril of Jerusalem; with the evidence of Jewish literature on the subject as exhibited in the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the writings of Philo and Josephus, the Old Testament Scriptures, Tobit, the Talmud, &c.; as also, and very fully, with the evidence of Pagan writers, Plutarch, Apuleius, Pausanias, Porphyry, Philostratus, Lucian, &c. In the same number we have also a paper by the Rev. H. W. Hogg on the word *Amen*, in which the various usages of the term in the Old Testament and the New Testament, in the Temple, the Synagogue, and the Christian Church, are carefully examined and classified.

Among contributions of special interest which appear in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, we notice one by Mr H. W. Mengedocht in the fifth and sixth parts of vol. viii. It is a transliteration and translation of the text of the *Black Obelisk*—the monument of black marble found at Kurkh, Nimroud, and now in the British Museum. This remarkable text, which was published by Layard in 1851 and again by Winckler in 1893, records the genealogy of Shalmanezzer II., his wars with the Hittite Kings in Syria, with the Aramaean tribes in North Mesopotamia, and with certain rebel princes in Babylonia. Among other things which make it of great interest to students of scripture is the fact that the relief panels which adorn the centre part of each face of the section show the Israelite Embassy bearing the submission and tribute of Jehu, which were received in Shalmanezzer's eighteenth year, B.C. 841. In the sixth part of the same volume we have a no less important contribution by Mr. W. St Chad Boscawen on the new inscription discovered by Dr Victor Scheil in the Mound of Mujelibeh, which is identified as the "Coronation Decree" of Nabonidus (B.C. 555-538). Such portions of the text as are of general interest are translated, and comments are to follow in a subsequent paper.

¹ Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. (Strack u. Zöckler's Kurzgefasster Kommentar.) München: Beck, 1896. Lex. 8vo, pp. vi. 224. Price, M.3.50.

The text refers to a number of events of great consequence—Sennacherib's invasion of Babylonia in B.C. 694 and his murder in B.C. 681, the Median invasion of Assyria, the accession of Labasi-Kudur, the coronation of Nabonidus, the dreams of Nabonidus, the restoration of the Temple of Harran, and the date of the Medo-Scythian invasion, B.C. 609. In addition to a number of articles on methods of public worship, on the nature of church music, modern religious art, and the like, recent numbers of the *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst*, conducted by Professors Spitta and Smend of Strassburg, contain several contributions of more general interest. Among these we refer our readers specially to a study of Paul Gerhardt in the fifth number, which gives a useful classification of his hymns, with a careful estimate of his importance in the history of hymnology, and his place in the lyric poetry of Germany. In the sixth number there are two brief but excellent papers of the same kind. In one of these Friedrich Spitta writes appreciatively of the work of the late Friedrich Wergner of Heilsbronn in church music; in the other Professor Karl Budde deals with the rhythmical difficulties in Luther's hymns. The seventh number of the same magazine contains a paper by Professor Förster on Joachim Paul, the author of the hymn "Zion, gib dich nur zufrieden," and articles on choirs and other subjects by Spitta, Lehmann, &c.

In an interesting paper on *Augustin's Conversion*, contributed to the first number of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* for 1897, Lic. theol. R. Schmidt examines the question raised by Harnack regarding the complete trustworthiness of the account which Augustin's *Confessions* give of the crisis in his life. He reaches the conclusion that there is little to correct or question in the picture drawn by Augustin himself, and that in the main point (the extraordinary mental change by which he found God in Christ) the account given in the *Confessions* stands the test of criticism. In the same number Professor Kaftan publishes an Address, which is by no means easy to follow, delivered in Eisenach in October last on the *Relation of the Evangelical Faith to the Logos-doctrine*; and Professor Chapuis gives an elaborate discussion, historical and dogmatic, of the question whether Christ is to be worshipped as God the Father is worshipped. He comes to this conclusion—Christus non adorandus, Christus sequendus—es giebt kein schöneres Ave als dieses.

Record of Select Literature.**I.—OLD TESTAMENT.**

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Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie von Spinoza bis auf die Gegenwart.

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Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage.

Von Otto Pfeiderer. Berlin: Reimer, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 761. Price, 10s. 6d.

It is now nearly thirty years since Professor Pfeiderer published his first work on the Philosophy of Religion. Of that work we retain a kindly recollection, and might possibly judge it with a more partial mind than even its author himself; for at a time when we needed direction and stimulus in these studies it gave what we needed. But while it was a predecessor, it can hardly be regarded as the ancestor of the present work; for the Professor ten years later issued a work maturer and more elaborate, which was the first edition of the one now before us. Ever since 1868, when he dedicated, on the centenary of Schleiermacher's birth, his book on Religion to the famous Tübingen *Stift*, the subject he there handled, and still handles, has been cultivated assiduously by many minds and approached from many sides. In no department has enquiry been more active, or has the related literature grown more extensively, or have problems of more vital interest been discussed. On this field theories have succeeded each other with amazing rapidity, and investigations needed to illustrate or to refute the theories have been conducted with extraordinary ability and thoroughness. The year before Pfeiderer's book on Religion appeared Max Müller's *Chips* were issued. They marked the beginning of popular interest, at least so far as England is concerned, in Comparative Mythology and Religion. But it was interest rather than knowledge that Max Müller created. His Solar Mythology held the field for a while, but was doomed to perish through having its inherent weakness disclosed by the rigorous and developed application it received from the hands of disciples who were more enthusiastic than enlightened. The theory that, by means of a more or less conjectural philology, could with some appearance of reason be so applied as to translate the names and adventures of certain deities into myths of the dawn or of the sky, became more than a trifle absurd when applied to Homeric heroes and their histories or to the person and doctrines of Buddha. The

application made it evident that the interpretation of the Solar Mythology was even more than its creation a feat of the imagination; and an imagination that was very scornful of the ordinary probabilities that guide life or of the intellectual processes that conduct to solid discovery. In the hands, if not of its inventor, yet of its most distinguished and eloquent exponent, it became a system or method of interpretation which was a kind of intellectual kaleidoscope, where "Sciences" changed their names without changing their substance, or appeared, disappeared, or re-appeared without bringing us any nearer to the knowledge either of primitive man or of the later steps in the History of Religion. And so we have had "The Science of Language," "The Science of Religion," "The Science of Thought," and "The Science of Mythology"; but these Sciences are, while varied in name, yet hardly varied in form and not at all in essence. On the whole they represent more the art of dealing in a particular or rather peculiar way with language at a given stage of its life—possibly a wholly imaginary stage—than a science that helps us to the interpretation either of thought or religion.

In 1865 (*i.e.* two years before the *Chips* appeared) two notable books were published—M'Lennan's *Primitive Marriage* and Tylor's *Researches in the Early History of Mankind*. These two books marked the beginning of an order of studies destined to exercise great influence on both the Philosophy and History of Religion. They called attention from language and thought to custom and institution. They asked us to consider the significance of the simpler and more primitive order of society for the more complex and civilised. In 1869 and 1870 M'Lennan's most stimulating and suggestive papers on "Totemism" appeared, and in 1871 Tylor's classical book on "Primitive Culture." Tylor by his doctrines of "survival" and of "animism," and his wonderful analysis at once of the faculties and tendencies of primitive man, of his language, of his implements and mental processes, supplied us with a theory of the birth of religion and its growth from its rudest stages, that appeared to have the merit of actuality, the realism of a system created by minute observation, the most extensive induction, and a marvellous faculty of reading the ideas and institutions of a stage of culture which was at once most remote from our own and yet present in our civilisation, social order and laws. Mr M'Lennan's researches into what seemed the most curious and arbitrary of savage customs helped us to enter by a new and rational way into the processes of the primitive mind, and to interpret what had seemed most arbitrary and irrational in certain of its customs and beliefs.

Mr Herbert Spencer, who cannot, of course, be regarded as the pupil of either of these two, embodied in his *Principles of*

Sociology (1876) the fruits of exhaustive reading, conducted for him, if not by him; and by means of the material thus collected he attempted to frame a theory both as to the origin and as to the development of religion which was more remarkable for its ingenuity than for its verisimilitude. He traced the genesis of the idea of ghosts, associated the idea with death and the rites connected with burial; and then proceeded to deduce the most sacred and permanent customs of Religion from ancestor worship. Robertson Smith, largely influenced by John M'Lennan, especially by his theory of the place and significance of totems, seized in his own department upon institutions and customs as the permanent elements in religion, and therefore as the best representations of what in it was primitive and characteristic. Mind changed, but institutions survived; and the theories, including the mythologies, which justified or explained the institutions, changed with mind. His interesting application of M'Lennan's theory to the interpretation of survivals in Hebraism, and his extension of the anthropological standpoint and method in his researches into the institutions and customs of Semitic religions in particular and such rites as sacrifice in general, made an epoch in this field of inquiry. Since his enquiries, we have had, among many others, Dr Andrew Lang in the field of Folk-lore and myth; and Dr J. G. Frazer in the sphere of custom and belief, pursuing researches into primitive religion and thought, with this as the total result, that the study of religion has become more anthropological than historical, more ethnological than philosophical. So much is this the case that neither history nor philosophy can begin its work until it has reckoned with anthropology. In other words, an attitude of mind has been created which feels that no theory as to the origin of religion can be satisfactory which does not regard savage customs and beliefs, or attempt to explain their genesis, and accept for all that follows illustration and confirmation at their hands.

Now it is an extraordinary test of a man's power to have concerned himself throughout this whole period with the history and philosophy of religion, and yet to be able to deal with it on the extensive scale adopted by Pfleiderer, in the works now before us. His mode of approach was, indeed, very different from that of the enquirers we have just named. He came to the question from the ideal side; from the discussions into the idea and origin of religion, which had been, as it were, naturalised in the German Chair. In this last edition he has attempted to appropriate some of the results and methods of the newer realism, though it would be too much to say with complete success. I think, indeed, the time has come when a change both of method and point of view would be dis-

tinctly advantageous. The long and successful career of anthropology has created the opportunity for a more ideal philosophy of religion. It is becoming ever more apparent that the interpretation of savage customs by civilised men is, as a rule, a most violent and arbitrary proceeding. Methods of interpretation have a curious tidal movement, the flood sets now towards solar or now towards animal, and, again, towards floral or arboreal, mythology, and as soon as the tide has risen it straightway begins to ebb. It is thought that now the fetish and now the totem holds the key to the religions, and it is forgotten that the key is man, and man not in his lowest, but in his highest and most developed state. For it has become evident that the gaps in the anthropological method are many and great; with it, as with evolution, the manipulation of living forms is easy, the difficulty is to find the forms to manipulate. The beginning does less to explain the end than the end to explain the beginning; and so the philosophical enquirer will work downward as well as upward, not forgetting that what perishes is as significant as what survives, for both have their common factor in the force which works our progress. What anthropology, therefore, can explain ought to be frankly recognised, but what it cannot ought to be no less frankly indicated and emphasised. Its literature, too, calls for criticism. There is nothing that so needs to be sifted as, for example, much of the evidence upon which Dr Frazer's "Golden Bough" proceeds. There is, indeed, no literature that requires to be handled with more discrimination and critical caution than that which deals with primitive belief and custom. Scepticism as to the traveller or the ethnographer who describes the savage, as to his sources and his knowledge of them, is here the very beginning of wisdom and the condition of science.

But while it is still necessary to investigate and study early institutions and usages, yet it is no less necessary to emphasise the point, that if ideas change while customs continue—customs have meaning only so far as they are read through ideas, and express something to the mind that observes them. In the history of religion, the changed idea more than the abiding custom is the significant thing; and an idealism which can bring man as the real factor of belief, into relation with the conditions that determine the forms his belief assumes, is clearly the enquiry that has promise for the question which is fundamental to the philosophy of religion. The abundance of material on the phenomenal side of the enquiry threatens to extinguish the problems that belong to the metaphysical; but only as the issue raised by metaphysics is defined and the factors needed for its solution ascertained, will there be that relation between enquiry and thought which is the basis of all established science.

It is from this point of view—the value of the metaphysical and ideal for the phenomenological and pragmatic enquiry—that Pfleiderer's work needs to be examined. It falls into two main divisions marked by his two volumes. The one is concerned with the History of the Philosophy of Religion, the other is concerned with the Philosophy of Religion itself. We shall notice these in succession.

Pfleiderer correctly enough says that the Philosophy of Religion, in its strict and only proper sense, is the systematic and scientific investigation and knowledge of the whole of the phenomena which in the life of mankind constitute religion. So defined, it is on the one side a scientific enquiry into the actual phenomena or facts represented by religion; on the other it is a philosophical attempt so to read these as to find a reason for their being, the order of their succession and the process of their development; in a word, to explain the birth, growth, and function of religion in the life alike of the individual and of the race. Thus the history of the Philosophy of Religion ought to be as much concerned with historical enquiry as with speculative thought. The historical enquiry into the phenomena, with the view to the discovery of their order and succession, is as much a part of the philosophy of religion as speculation concerning the causes, the idea and the end of religion itself. But neither from the historical nor from the philosophical side can Pfleiderer's work be described as exact or exhaustive. I do not understand, *e.g.*, why he begins his history where he does. It is not possible to admit, even according to his own definition, that the Philosophy of Religion is the latest of all philosophical disciplines, except in a sense that would make the greater part of his own history superfluous and even irrelevant. I do not know why he should seek the seeds and suggestions towards such a philosophy in Meister Eckhart and pass over Scotus Erigena, who was, judged according to Pfleiderer's own principles, a much more significant figure. Nor do I understand why the *Theologia Germanica* should be selected for analysis, and Raymond de Sabunde be forgotten; or why Jacob Boehme should receive such fit and kindly consideration, and Pico of Mirandola be left severely alone. It seems to me as if the history ought to have begun much earlier or else much later; with our own century or else with classical philosophy. There is, of course, much interesting and even modern speculation as to the origin and nature of religion in Lucretius. There is also in Plato a whole world of interesting speculation as to the behaviour of religion in history, its place in the state, the action of laws upon it and of it upon peoples. The interpretation of classical mythology is not a purely modern discipline, either in philology or philosophy. It was the favourite

field where the Stoic applied his method of allegorical interpretation, in order that he might find in the most gruesome or grotesque stories of the gods the wisdom of the ancients; and it was also the field where the Epicurean, prosaic then as now, applied his Euhemerism in order to show how belief rose out of misunderstood or faded history. But still more important was the action upon the thought concerned with religion of two parallel though dissimilar causes:—the Roman Empire with its fusion of many beliefs, creating a syncretism both in worship and in thought; and Christianity, introducing a universal religion without the bonds of place or the limitations of states or peoples. The inevitable fact that Christianity was a missionary religion, faced by a multitude of local or exclusive cults, compelled the Christians to philosophise as to whence these local cults had come, or as to why they had become exclusive, as to what they were and what they signified, and as to why their own religion was universal and divine, and as to how the local and the universal stood related to each other. And so we have both in the Apologists and in the Theology of Alexandria the germs of philosophical speculation as to the origin, the development and the inter-relations of religions. Then certainly the *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine ought to have come into the history of the Philosophy of Religion; and the reason of his attitude, so positive to what may be termed the ideal in the old religions, and so negative to all that was institutional in them, should have been explored and investigated. And it is no less significant that the rise of the Philosophy of Religion in modern times was associated with the emancipation of the idea of religion from the institution which, by claiming to incorporate and realise the idea, so localised and lowered the religion. This, indeed, would involve the study, which is of such value to the philosophic treatment of religion, of the mutual relations of the idea and the institution, and of their power to modify and even transform each other. But it would be this study on a higher plane and under more favourable conditions than is afforded by the lower religions. And so I should have liked to see Professor Pfeiderer enquire first into the speculative effects in this field of the Renaissance, with its glorification of the long dead but now rediscovered classical world, especially as regards its art, literature and ethics; secondly, the mental changes caused by exploration and the discovery of the vastness of the world, with the immense variety of its peoples and religions, both east and west; and thirdly, the intellectual consequences of the Reformation, with its detachment of the idea of Religion from a special institution or Church. These three things were coincident and consentaneous; and tended to create the conditions, somewhat akin to those which existed in the early Christian

centuries, which made the Philosophy of Religion not only possible but necessary. If he had approached his subject from this wider and more philosophic survey, his history would have conducted him to far more satisfactory and important results than he reaches by drawing the arbitrary line which makes him begin with Spinoza, and discover principles in Spinoza which he indeed accepted, but was by no means the first to formulate and enforce.

So far as it is a history, his book has worth only as it concerns the philosophy of religion in Germany. If we place Spinoza in this catalogue,—and though he was no German, yet it is through Germany that he has found his way into modern thought,—then we are confronted with this curious result, in a book of 712 pages three-fourths are occupied with German contributions to the philosophy, while the other fourth serves for all the rest of the world. If facts had corresponded to this treatment, it would only have signified the greater thoroughness and seriousness of the German mind in dealing with these subjects. But facts and treatment do not correspond; the limits are drawn by the hand of Professor Pfleiderer, and even within the limits he has so arbitrarily fixed, the omissions are serious and significant. He has recognised that the question was historical as well as philosophical, and that attempts to deal with the history of religions really belong, were it only as supplying material, to the history of philosophical thought concerning them. On this ground we should have expected some account of the *Theologia Gentilis et Physiologia Christiana* of G. J. Vossius, in which he attempts to discover and to define the relation of ancient religions to the Jewish and the Christian faiths. Also of great importance, as indicating the attitude of mind caused by the problems raised by contact with an ancient yet still living religion, are the researches of the Jesuit missionaries in China—especially those of Intorcetta, Rougeмонт, and their associates into the Religion and Philosophy of Confucius. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, indeed, finds a reference, but curiously out of place, and without any sense of what he owed to Vossius, who indeed supplied him with almost all the material for his *De religione Gentilium*. The remarkable movement which is known as the School of the Cambridge Platonists, should also have been noticed, especially as it did so much to exhibit the Christian affinities of the higher philosophic thought of the ancient world. And amongst the names of Englishmen who contributed not a little to educating the mind of their day both in the knowledge of ethnic religions and the idea of natural religion—the names of Alexander Ross, of Theophilus Gale, and Bishop Wilkins, ought most certainly to have been found. Ross's book was translated into several European languages, as Cudworth was translated into

Latin and extensively annotated by Mosheim, while Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* had, in the very idea of it, something of the modern comparative method.

Still more arbitrary is the mode in which Professor Pfeleiderer deals with what he calls English Deism. He speaks of Lord Herbert as an empiricist, when, as a simple matter of fact, it was against his doctrine of innate ideas that Locke directed the full force of his empirical polemic. Under the same head he brings Hobbes, Locke, and Hume. Hobbes indeed deserved a much more exhaustive treatment than he here receives; and one thing we may note, his special influence on Spinoza, who was indeed, in the region of historical, political and social thought, distinctly his disciple. But Hobbes does not belong either in the order of time or of thought to what is properly called English Deism. As little does Locke, who indeed may have supplied it with a philosophical basis; but one of the things that distressed his closing years was the use the deists began to make of his philosophy. And here Spinoza ought to have come in as in a sense, especially in the department which gave its historical character to deism, even more influential than Locke. The anonymous translation of his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* lies before me bearing date 1689, and it forecasts, as it were, the very line in historical conception and discussion which deism followed, which is much more than can be said of any work by Locke. Hume, again, is in the strict sense not an English deist; he is a pure sceptic. No single piece of writing—not even his famous Essay on Miracles—belongs to deistic literature properly so called. He did not so much stand within the circle of deism as above it. His philosophy was more fatal to the deistic notion of religion than even Butler's Analogy; and may really have done more to discredit it and bring its reign to an end. And his genius saw that abstract discussions were in this field highly useless, and so he gave in his *Natural History of Religion* the most brilliant example that the eighteenth century has of a scientific theory as to the historical rise and growth of religious belief and custom.

But more remarkable than the sketchy and misleading account of English speculation and thought is the total absence of all reference to French. Certainly one is surprised to find eminent names in the seventeenth century omitted, but what we cannot discover the reason for is this—that with a chapter given up to English deism there is no reference whatever to the cognate, but in this field even more significant, French thought. There is no English deist that can be compared for literary, historical, and philosophical interest to Voltaire; and no writer of the century whose positive ideas and critical method can equal his in intrinsic

interest for the student of the action of ideas and institutions in religion. Rousseau's speculation, too, as to the position and function of religion in the State, also called for notice. Diderot for one reason, and Montesquieu for another, claim here the attention of the historian. Turgot, too, was more than an economist; he was also a philosopher, who formulated laws as to the forces that governed the evolution of society, and who said something as to the comparative merits of heathen and Christian civilisation and the services religion had rendered to mankind. And there were minor men—Dupuis for example—who not only discussed the origin of all the cults, but did it with a view to discovering and determining what was universal religion. In our own century, besides the names of those who are here most inadequately treated, there are others who ought to have been passed in review, as in its earlier Benjamin Constant, and in its later Charles Renouvier. The remarkable quality of French thought, its cultivation of history, its love of the concrete in religion, would have been exactly the proper corrective to the often *à priori* and abstract speculation of the German philosophers who are here treated in so much detail.

One regrets to think, from various indications, that Pfleiderer himself has too seldom gone to the sources, and has rather been content to follow the path beaten by travellers before him. To attempt correction in matters of detail, whenever he steps outside the familiar lines drawn by the usages of the German Chair, would be endless. When he speaks of John Stuart Mill finding his chief opponent in the Scotch philosopher, William Hamilton, he falls into almost as grotesque a blunder as when, in the index to the second volume, one is referred to John Stuart and James Mill, and finds the actual reference to be in two cases to a living scholar, to L. H. Mills, who has concerned himself with the Zend Avesta. We are, however, far from saying that Pfleiderer's account of German philosophy has the defects which we have indicated in the other parts of his book. He is here more on his own ground, and is, as a rule, interesting, though I should not like to say throughout satisfactory. There are a great many points in his interpretation of Spinoza with which I should disagree, notably in the account of the sources of his philosophy, of his relation to Descartes, of his attitude to historical religion, especially as regards Christianity and its founder, and of what may be termed his contribution to the modern scientific conception of nature. The exposition and criticism of Leibnitz also seem to need in several important respects qualification. But, on the whole, I can frankly say, that to the English student wishful to know German speculation on religion between Kant and Hegel, his work may be

commended ; especially as, so far as it relates to this, it can still be found substantially unchanged in the English translation.

The later volume on the Philosophy of Religion deserves higher commendation. It has been more thoroughly worked over and adapted to the present state of thought. But it suffers from its relation to the prior volume, and in a twofold way. The two have not been sufficiently well woven together, and both the author's and reader's mind is too full of the older speculative interpretation of religion to do full justice to the question as it is now conceived. There is, too, in the later volume, recurrence of matter from the earlier ; and discussions which the earlier ought to have made superfluous, add to the bulk without adding to the weight of the later work. It falls into four sections, and discusses the historical development of religion, the essence or idea of religion, its evolution in thought and in worship. Now, the chapter which I feel to be, from the point of view of philosophy, the most defective, is the first, dealing with the Beginnings of Religion. This is a philosophical question, though it is one that historical and anthropological enquiry may greatly simplify and define. It has, of course, by the anthropological discussions noticed in the opening of this paper, been directly raised, and by certain investigators attempted to be solved along the lines marked out by ethnography. The question as to the oldest and lowest forms of belief is quite distinct from the question as to its origin. Enquiries in this field tend to run into grooves which favour the adoption and advocacy of one-sided hypotheses. Religion is conceived now as a creation of the secondary appetites or passions, now as due to mistaken inferences, now as springing from the phenomena of sleep and dreams ; and the enquirer does not seem to feel that the cause of a phenomenon which is as universal and permanent as man, cannot be a mere occasional or fortuitous force, but one as common and constant as the phenomenon it would explain. As to its earlier forms, now totemism, now ancestor worship, now the figurative speech which becomes a solar mythology, now the family meal, in which God and men mutually partake, which becomes sacrifice and ritual, obtain a vogue, and grow into a sort of reigning fashion. But these questions of origin and of oldest forms need to be kept essentially distinct, and the time has come when a useful analysis of the psychological factors of religion may be attempted anew. But this will have to be done much more carefully and scientifically than has yet been attempted. No single form, whether solar mythology or totemism, is sufficient to express the whole of the complex phenomena we term primitive religion, and no psychology which confines itself to the faculty or chance which may be equal to the causation of the supposed oldest form, will suffice as a philosophy

of the origin. And these two problems will have to be studied with a larger sense of the significance both of place and time. The mind that creates the form is conditioned by its environment, and study of environment, natural, geographical, ethnological, chronological, becomes a necessary condition of formulating the question for discussion. But investigations into the conditions that create the primitive forms only accentuate the need of enquiry into the sources or causes of the ideas which compel expression or make for themselves, out of these primitive forms, natural bodies in which to live. But for this enquiry developed man and developed religion are much more significant than primitive. And what we feel, speaking in general touching Pfleiderer's treatment, is simply this, that while he has briefly sketched the theories as to the beginnings of religion, he has not fundamentally worked out his own philosophy and applied it to the solution of the problems they raise. Anthropological enquiry has made the question very different to-day from what it was when it shaped itself before the minds of Kant, Schleiermacher, and Hegel; but the fundamental problem as they conceived it remains, and needs re-discussion in view of our larger knowledge and vaster conception of nature, history, and man.

This is a very general criticism, but it affects Professor Pfleiderer's work throughout. He has failed to bring his philosophy into relation with his history of religion, and his history of religion into organic connection with the collective life of man. He begins too late, ends too soon, and moves within too circumscribed an area; in other words, his historical development of religion is conceived within too narrow lines. He illustrates by special types, but he does no more. And I feel that where the facts are so multitudinous, and the difficulty of grouping and co-ordination so immense, it is too adventurous a thing for any single scholar, within a single chapter, to deal with the Semitic or Indo-European or Christian religions. It tempts to the most dangerous of all things in enquiries of this kind, a series of judgments or deductions that claim to be scientific or philosophical, but cannot be what they claim to be, because of the inadequacy of the knowledge on which they are based. With the analysis of religious ideas and forms of worship I have much more sympathy, and am able to speak with much more appreciation.

For my own part, I feel how gravely difficult are the problems here raised, and how much we need the sobriety that comes of large experience, patient thought, extended and detailed enquiry. For the stimulus Pfleiderer has given to many minds—my own included—I am grateful; but all the more must I express the feeling that, while his work is a good introduction to the Philo-

sophy of Religion as the Chairs of Germany have known it, it is not an adequate contribution to the subject as it lives in the knowledge and for the mind of the present. A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.

By John Theodore Merz. Vol. I.: Introduction, and Scientific Thought, Part I. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Son, 1896. 8vo, pp. xiv. 458. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

THE task which Mr Merz proposes to accomplish in the work of which this volume is the first instalment is one of great magnitude and difficulty. The nineteenth century has been one of unexampled activity in all departments of human life and thought, and the historian of its intellectual progress would need to possess a large capacity for research in order to collect the materials necessary for his undertaking, an unusually systematic mind to classify these, and a discriminating judgment to appreciate the proper perspective in which the constituent units of the material should be viewed.

The century opened when Europe was still in the throes of the convulsions which followed the French Revolution; in its course many political changes have taken place which have more than once materially altered the map of the world; and now at its close it is too soon to predict whether or no, in the present condition of international unrest, it will end without another upheaval of still greater violence and more far-reaching consequences. Changes of equal extent and importance have taken place in the currents of human thought during this period, the future effects of which it is impossible to forecast; but, from the tendencies which are most conspicuous at the present day, one may without much risk hazard a prophecy as to the prevalent spirit with which the twentieth century will open.

In his Introduction Mr Merz sets forth the general scheme of the work, in which he proposes to review the progress of thought in the spheres of science, philosophy and religion. This is followed in the first volume by the first part of the history of the scientific thought of the century. In the succeeding volumes he promises to give the second part of the study of scientific thought, together with the detailed history of the philosophical and the religious thought of the period. From the sample given we have reason to anticipate that the work will be one of great value. The style is clear and intelligible, even when dealing with matters of intricate detail; the

order of thought is that of a master of method, and the prodigious assemblages of facts and dates are correctly given. The plan of relegating to footnotes the great mass of explanatory, biographical, and literary details, makes it easier to follow the continuous unfolding of the main argument in the text; but the very fulness of the notes is in itself something of a distraction, and the reader who wishes to grasp the whole meaning of the text will require to read each section at least twice, at first taking the text continuously so as to master the line of thought, and then reading it along with the notes at their respective points of reference.

This portion of the book, at least, will repay such careful perusal, and, on the whole, it promises to be one of the most suggestive books of the year.

The object of the author is to pourtray the history of thought, taking the word in its widest sense, during the century. He abstains from defining the word, but uses it so as to cover the whole range of human intellectual activities, not only those which are systematic and methodical, but those which, being unmethodical, lie outside the range of strict scientific treatment, such as the departments of poetic, artistic, literary and religious thought. He does not profess to give a history of the results of the thought, but it is scarcely possible to divorce the history of the processes from that of the results, as indeed is seen in the chapter on the Atomic view of Nature. Thought he describes as the scaffolding by which man erects for himself the fabric of science, of art, of society and of religion. In the end, the scaffolding is removed, and the results are all that are visible to the next generation. In this sense, Mr Merz believes that the history of thought can be accurately written only by the contemporary historian who can trace the method whereby the framework of the thought has been put together, while, as yet, the structure of it is in view or in memory.

The history of thought is thus, in one sense more, in another less, than the history of philosophy. They differ both in method and content. In the conception of these distinctions, our author practically adopts the limitation of philosophy as given by Lotze; indeed the influence of that great thinker is to be detected in many parts of the book.

The progress of the thought in the century has been twofold, in extension and in condensation. In the first respect, its growth has been in most directions greater than that in any century, at least since the age of Pericles, but the second has perhaps been the most notable feature in this period. The tendency has been to bring things that were disjunct and scattered under central laws; and in most of the philosophical systems of the time there are unifying conceptions, such as the *Humanity* of Comte, the *Social*

Organism of Spencer, the *Microcosm* of Lotze. This unifying principle lies at the back of the cycle of growth and development, and the knowledge of it helps in the appreciation of the value and significance belonging to man and human life in the great whole of Nature.

In carrying out this programme, Mr Merz restricts himself to the three great nations of Western Europe. This limitation is of little moment in the part before us, the more especially as he refers incidentally to Scandinavian, Dutch and American Thought in the cases in which they possess any special individuality. If the progress of intellectual activity fulfil its present promises, the historian who, at the end of the next century, essays to cover the whole ground, will find it needful to extend the purview of his works so as to include not only Russia, Italy and Scandinavia, but also Japan and America, as independent elements.

Fortunately, however, there is the prospect of a change in the direction of freer inter-communication of thought making itself manifest in many branches of learning. As long as Latin was the universal medium of intellectual exchange, students and universities were in touch one with another; but when, with the eighteenth century, the use of the national language, as the vehicle in which the results of intellectual work were recorded, became the rule in each country, the cosmopolitanism of learning came to an end. Of late the linguistic difficulty has become intensified owing to the aspirations of each smaller nationality after a national independence and a national literature. But side by side with this increase of a polyglot literature there is growing up a more perfect system of scientific and literary inter-communication, through the medium of periodic records of the progress of thought in each department throughout all the world, conveyed in one or other of the two languages which every serious student requires to know.

In the three opening chapters the author traces the growth and development of the scientific spirit in France, in Germany, and in Britain respectively, during the first half of the century. He begins with France, as at the opening of the period the scientific spirit and scientific methods were more systematically cultivated there than elsewhere. This was especially due to the fostering influence of the Academy, and particularly to the great mathematicians of that body who, by the introduction of exact methods, gave to science its accuracy and precision. The literary men of France were at the period likewise sufficiently affected by the spirit of the preceding century of "*Aufklärung*" to use their influence in popularising scientific discovery. It is refreshing in this section to read Mr Merz's appreciative notice of Cuvier, who has been of late years (on account of his opposition to theories of transformation)

treated with rather scant courtesy by the popular writers on Zoology.

In Germany the development of the University system provided a national machinery for the promotion of thought and the cultivation of learning. During the eighteenth, and the early years of the nineteenth century, philosophy and classical knowledge were the subjects which dominated all the rest in these schools. The scope of their researches was expressed by the word *Wissenschaft*, a term to which there is scarcely an exact equivalent in English or French, and which includes all the products of intellectual activity, except perhaps those connected with the handicrafts.

At first the atmosphere of the German Universities was unfavourable to the introduction of the exact methods which had come into use in France; but by and by, especially on account of the needs of the Medical Faculty in each University, and under the influence of Humboldt, J. Müller, Gauss and Weber, the method of detailed research was introduced as a supplement to the courses on *Naturphilosophie*, which had, under the influence of Oken and Schelling, been formerly predominant.

The rapid growth of the practical sciences and of the system of laboratory research in Germany when once established was due to the existence of the extensive University machinery upon which it was engrafted, and to the fact that those who superintended the researches were themselves teachers; and the combination of the pre-existing philosophic spirit with the experimental methods of research contributed to the rapid development of scientific thought in the German-speaking countries.

The case of Britain (which Mr Merz calls England) was different during the first half of the century. It was an Englishman's work that underlay all the exact science of France, but except perhaps in the one case of Newton, the scientific influence of Britain at the beginning of the century was comparatively small. There was no national encouragement offered to foster the scientific spirit, or to further scientific investigation in England. Nay, what was still worse, owing to the national disposition to grumble, and the prevalence of personal jealousies, Englishmen were always foremost in depreciating English science, and Mr Merz has an abundant choice of the literature of disparagement from which to quote. There was no active national central organisation like the French Academy to unite the scattered workers. The two great Universities were asleep, and the Royal Society was inactive. While this state of things had its effect in stimulating the individualism of those who, in spite of discouragement, prosecuted scientific researches, yet it hindered the diffusion of an interest in

science or in its results. And so it came to pass that while great germinal ideas and researches were originated in Britain, yet Englishmen have been among the last to give the credit to their fellow-countrymen. Lavoisier was set up against Black, Priestley, and Cavendish; Champollion against Young; Gay Lussac against Dalton; and Leverrier against Adams. These are but types of this general anti-patriotic attitude, which has too often been assumed by English writers.

This is fortunately to a considerable extent a thing of the past, but we are as yet far behind our neighbours in the national encouragement of research. Professor Petrie has done a great work in Egypt in spite of the British occupation, and those who have come in contact with the local administration there know how much greater would have been the facilities afforded had he been a Frenchman. Owing to the fact that until comparatively of late years English translations of French text-books have been used in many departments of knowledge, even yet our countrymen do not always get the credit that they deserve for their work, and while it would be undesirable to copy the practice of the French in eliminating, as far as possible, all foreign names from the history of science, yet it would only be fair that our countrymen should get whatever honour is really their due. To such an extent has this system of describing each science as essentially French been carried, that I have seen in a small handbook of practical mechanics in use in French schools an account of the history of the steam engine without any mention of the names of Newcomen or Watt. On the whole, however, there is of late years a marked improvement in the accuracy and fulness of British bibliography in scientific works, which in these respects now can compare favourably even with those of our German contemporaries.

Mr Merz sums up the relations of the three countries in the epigrammatic phrases that France has produced the greatest number of perfect works, Germany the greatest mass of scientific research, and Britain the greatest number of germinal ideas. This may be true of the first half of the century, but within the last three decades the products of German thought have in perfection as well as in bulk certainly surpassed those of France.

The two chapters which make up the rest of the volume are devoted to the development of the lines of scientific thought which centre around the works of Newton and Dalton. The chapter on the Astronomical view of Nature consists of an examination of the influence of the mathematical method of research, which, starting from the work of Newton, and developed by that of the eminent mathematicians who have followed him, has fostered the tendency

to reduce all conceptions of the mechanics of nature—cosmical, molar and molecular—to gravitation.

The development of this idea and of many physical researches and speculations of a cognate character are carefully discussed, and the confusion arising from confounding the description of phenomenal changes with the real explanations of these changes is pointed out, showing that we must at present content ourselves with the conception that these general laws are expression of facts without attempting any metaphysical explanation of them.

Whether the fundamental ideas of space which underlie these mathematical principles are equally true in immeasurably small or immeasurably large magnitudes has been called in question by Riemann. This subject, which has been also discussed by Clifford, opens up an interesting field for speculation. Such a view, however, would require us to alter our fundamental conception of space, for it seems hard to get out of the difficulty which Lotze has clearly stated, that a system of places which was otherwise formed in any one of its parts than in another would contradict its own conception, and would not be a neutral background for the manifold relations of what was to be arranged in it. It would be in itself a special formation, a multiplicity extended in n directions, instead of the n -dimensional multiplicity of extension.

From the Astronomical Mr Merz passes to the Atomic view of Nature, and he shows that here, as in the former case, modern scientific thought has taken an old vague philosophical idea, and formulated it anew in consonance with the results of experiment. The progress of this idea is traced from Dalton's first draft of the Atomic theory, through the realisation of Wollaston's prophetic suggestion of the arrangement of atoms, up to the received view of the organisation of atoms into complex radicles, and the most modern forms of the theories of valency and atomicities. In spite of the increase of our knowledge of the intimate constitution of matter, Mr Merz contends that even in its most recently developed form the Atomic theory has not yet reached the position of an established universal law comparable with the Newtonian formula of gravitation. In all the numerous problems which have presented themselves in connexion with modern investigations as to the ultimate structural constitution of matter, there is to be recognised the fundamental difference between statistical summaries of facts and definite historical knowledge of process. The Atomic view gives no information concerning the nature of the differences of the elements, and affords no insight into the nature of the forces on which the formation or destruction of chemical compounds depend; that is, it gives us no real knowledge as to the nature of chemical affinity. Mr Merz concludes that the

Atomic view is therefore at best a convenient resting-place similar to that which Newton found in physical astronomy, and on which have been established the Astronomical view of nature.

The hypothesis of Prout, lately revived as the "protyle" theory by Crookes, is mentioned, but rejected on the ground of the accurate and elaborate investigation of Stas, who has proved that the simplicity required by the hypothesis to exist in the ratios of atomic weights cannot be verified by experiment.

The mechanical, physical, biological, statistical and psychophysical aspects of nature, and the development of the mathematical thought of the century, are to form the second part of this section of the subject; and to the author's treatment of these important branches those who have studied this volume cannot fail to look forward with lively interest.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

An Introduction to the History of Religion.

By Frank Byron Jevons, M.A., Litt.D., Classical Tutor in the University of Durham. London: Methuen & Co., 1896; 8vo, pp. 443. Price, 10s. 6d.

DR JEVONS has done a work of unspeakable service to students of religion and its history. The literature of the subject is so immense, so inaccessible to ordinary readers, scattered in so many different kinds of publications, that it is impossible to become acquainted with it all. The works of the acknowledged masters, such as Tylor, Lang, Waitz, Robertson Smith, Frazer, are also largely beyond the reach of most students, and a condensed summary of their results is a great boon. Not that the work of Dr Jevons is a mere summary, it is no doubt largely based on the results won by these and other workers, but it is also an independent study, and contains the fruit of original investigation. He has discussed the whole question with great lucidity, and in a manner so clear and methodical as to give us a luminous conception of the achievements of anthropology and its method as applied to religion and its history. Whether we agree with the anthropologists or differ from them, it is a great gain to have a clear statement of what they mean, and of what they have done. It is also a gain to have so lucid a statement of the beliefs of the primitive mind, and of the various ways in which that mind strove to express its sense of the unseen power on which it felt its dependence, and of the means it devised to maintain or to restore the friendly relations with these powers. This volume enables us to accomplish this great end, and for this service hearty thanks are due to Dr Jevons.

The Introductory chapter sets forth the method of study and research to be used in this investigation, and states the problem to be solved. The method is the Comparative, which has been so fruitful of results in allied fields of work. This method assumes that all religions have something in common, and that they may be compared with one another, but it assumes also that they differ from each other, and therefore they admit of comparison. There are religious customs and institutions; what these were and are may be ascertained, and have already been largely ascertained, and there is a vast quantity of material ready for the application of the comparative method. It is assumed also that religions have been evolved. Many object to the thought that religion has been evolved. In answering this objection Dr Jevons gives a description of evolution so important generally that we quote it. "The validity of this reasoning all depends upon the tacit assumption that evolution is the same thing as progress, whereas in point of fact evolution is universal, but progress is very rare—the civilised peoples of the earth are less numerous than the semi-civilised and uncivilised—and of the civilised themselves, the progressive peoples are a minority. Institutions not only grow, but decay also, and decay as well as growth is a process of evolution. Florid art is evolved out of something simpler, but is not therefore superior to it. The Roman Empire was evolved out of the Roman Republic, and was merely a degeneration from it. The polytheism of Virgil is no better, as religion, than that of Homer; the polytheism of late Brahminism is certainly worse than that of the earlier periods. Therefore to say that the only evolution in religion—except that which is on the lines of the Bible—is an evolution of error, may be quite true and yet not show that the idea of evolution is inapplicable to heathen religions. Their evolution may well have been, from the religious point of view, one long process of degeneration. Progress is certainly as exceptional in religion as in other things, and where it takes place must be due to exceptional causes. The study of heathen religions, therefore, on evolutionary principles, may throw some light on true religion; if we can ascertain the reasons why they have failed to advance, we shall be better able to appreciate the reasons to which progress is really due" (pp. 5-6). It is well to have a statement of the meaning which our author attaches to evolution, for many speak as if it were synonymous with progress, and a good deal of opposition arises from that misunderstanding.

After the Introduction, from which the quotation is taken, Dr Jevons gives an outline of the subject, which prepares us for the task of mastering his great argument. Starting from the fact that

"the savage imagines that even lifeless things are animated by a will, a personality, a spirit like his own," he proceeds to set forth the savage idea of the Supernatural, and after discussing the question of the relation of magic to Religion, gives us a lucid description of Sympathetic Magic. This leads on to the means by which savage men seek to establish friendly relations with some of the supernatural powers. As they seem to themselves to be in friendly relations with the souls of the departed, this leads our author to set forth the savage view of life and death. What is the relation of the living to the dead? One of friendship, or of enmity, or of both? It is not necessary to say at this stage, as contact with the mourner is, in both cases, tabooed. Taboo is the conviction that there are certain things which must be avoided, and here there is a chapter on the relation of Taboo to morality and religion. As natural things have a personality like his own, so also he thinks that they, like man, are grouped in various ways, and he must make alliance with them. He makes a blood covenant between a human kind and an animal species. This is Totemism. Totemism accounts for animal worship, for the altar and for the idol, for animal sacrifice and the sacramental meal. Up to this point our author has dealt with the worship to which the individual is admitted because he was a member of the tribe which had a blood-covenant with a totem-species "if the individual wished to commend himself specially to supernatural protection, there are two ways in which he might do so, one illicit and one licit. He might address himself to one of the supernatural powers which had no friendly relations with his own tribe or any other—which was no 'god'—and this was in itself a suspicious way of proceeding, which the community resented, and if harm came of it, visited with punishment. This is Fetichism. Or he might with the approval of the community, and by the intermediation of the priest, place his family or himself under the immediate protection of the community's gods. In any case, however, licit or illicit, the ritual adopted was copied from that observed by the community in approaching its gods." This is fully described in the chapter on Family Gods and Guardian Spirits. Growing out of this, as the family grew into the clan, is the practice of ancestor-worship. In a similar manner we are led on to the consideration of Tree and Plant worship, of Nature worship, of Syncretism and Polytheism, of Mythology, of Priesthood, of the next life, of the transmigration of souls, of the Mysteries. Then there is an important discussion of Monotheism, and the book ends with a description of the evolution of belief. Such is an outline of the weighty discussion contained in this remarkable book. To read it with comfort one must be acquainted

with the phraseology of the anthropological school. The technical terms of that school abound on almost every page. We meet such words as taboo, totemism, and many others of the same order, and it would be helpful if we had read Robertson Smith, M'Lennan, Lang, or Tylor. It may, however, be well if we began with Jevons and then proceeded to read the others; he has put into lucid order the rather scattered, and somewhat disjointed facts and speculations of the anthropological school. Never before had these speculations appeared to us to be so luminous, and so reasonable as they now appear in these pages. These ancient beliefs of man are seen to have played a great part in laying the foundations on which the fabric of civilised society is built up. Taboo may seem to us to be utterly irrational, and no doubt is so, but here we see that it was the means of impressing the mind of early man with the thought that there were some things which he must not do. As Robertson Smith says, "The restrictions on individual licence which are due to respect for a known and friendly power allied to man, however trivial and absurd they may appear to us in their details, contain within them germinant principles of social progress and moral order."

Indeed, the valuable quality in this book, which distinguishes it from most other books dealing with the history of religions, is the way in which the rational meaning and the good in primitive beliefs are disentangled from their irrational settings, and placed in such a light as to show in them the germs of rational order and progress. In one chapter the author sets himself to show forth the principles of logic on which the savage acts, even in the formation of irrational conclusions. He has no difficulty in showing that a savage uses the Method of agreement, the Method of difference, and the Method of concomitant variations. The description is both amusing and instructive. Dr Jevons does not, as some do, gather together as many instances of irrational belief as possible, use them as illustrations of the irrationality of all religious belief, and leap to the conclusion that belief in any supernatural power is superstitious and unscientific. Rather every widespread religious belief is regarded as evidence of the religious needs of man, needs which must be met and satisfied in a true and adequate religious system. Can this be said of Totemism? Let Dr Jevons answer. "If it is in love and not in fear that religion in any true sense of the word has its origin, it is none the less true that fear—not of irrational dangers, but of deserved punishment—is essential to the moral and religious education of man; it is 'the fear of the Lord' that is the beginning of wisdom. That the lowest savages are a perpetual prey to irrational terror, and believe sickness and death to be

unnatural and to be the work in all cases of evil spirits, is matter of common knowledge. It was inevitable, therefore, that the supernatural ally of a human kin should continue to exercise this power of causing disease and death. But whereas the belief that disease is due to evil spirits is fatal not only to a right understanding of the action of natural causes and to all intellectual progress, but also prevents fear from becoming an instrument in the moral education of man, the ascription of sickness to a friendly power has a different result. This action on his part, his departure from the usually benevolent behaviour shown by him to his own people, can only be explained by the assumption that he has been in some way offended by them. The possible modes of offence are known; they are such as have been mentioned in the last paragraph, and though they at first include many which religion, as it advances, sets aside by a process of 'supernatural selection,' they include offences which we recognise to be immoral, and on the checking of which the further progress of morality depended. But in that, the earliest stage of society, unless the restrictions which we see to be irrational had been enforced, neither could these have been enforced which really contained the germs of morality" (pp. 109, 110).

Had we space we might trace the argument of our author from one chapter to another and see what use he makes of the vast mass of material gathered to his hand. Not that in all cases we agree with him. Sometimes he advances a historical statement and does not give the evidence on which it is based, as when he states that a revival of religion among the Northern Semites spread into the neighbouring states of Greece. We should like to see the evidence for that statement. Again, we should have liked more detailed evidence for his statements regarding the Eleusinian Mysteries. There are also other points open to remark. In particular we should like some discussion of the assumption made by him without remark that savages imagine that even lifeless things are animated by a will, a personality, a spirit, like their own. We know that the assumption is made almost universally by the anthropological school. Mr Herbert Spencer, who is never referred to in this book, is the only one who does not make the assumption, he explains the assumption in accordance with his theory of ghosts. Some explanation is certainly needed. The higher animals distinguish between the living and the non-living. A rook can distinguish between a man with a gun and a man without a gun. They can also distinguish between Sunday and Saturday. Is man more stupid than the higher animals? Under the stern teaching of the struggle for existence he must distinguish between the living and the non-living, and, if he seems to attribute

personality to lifeless things, it must be because he has some fancied reasons for so doing. It seems that he attributes, not to all living things, but only to some. Why? An answer to this question would give us an insight into the working of the savage mind which we have not yet obtained.

The two chapters on Monotheism and the Evolution of Belief form a worthy conclusion to a remarkable book. He comes to the conclusion—one, too, warranted by the facts—“that it was only among one people that this simple and amorphous monotheism was developed into something higher, and everywhere else degenerated into the grosser form of animal-worship.” Evolution in religion was universal, in one people evolution became progress. As regards the evolution of belief we shall quote the last paragraph. “Sacrifice and the sacramental meal which followed on it are institutions which are or have been universal. The sacramental meal, wherever it exists, testifies to man’s desire for the closest union with his god, and to his consciousness of the fact that it is upon such union alone that right social relations with his fellow-man can be set. But before there can be a sacramental meal there must be a sacrifice. That is to say, the whole human race for thousands of years has been educated to the conception that it was only through a divine sacrifice that perfect union with God was possible for man. At times the sacramental conception of sacrifice appeared to be about to degenerate into the gift theory; but then in the sixth century B.C. the sacramental conception woke into new life, this time in the form of a search for a perfect sacrifice—a search which led Clement and Cyprian to try all the mysteries of Greece in vain. But of all the great religions of the world it is the Christian Church alone which is so far heir of all the ages as to fulfil the dumb, dim expectation of mankind; in it alone the sacramental meal commemorates by ordinance of its founder the divine sacrifice which is a propitiation for the sins of all mankind.”

JAMES IVERACH.

Contemporary Theology and Theism.

By *R. W. Wenley, M.A., D.Phil., D.Sc., Senior Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 208. Price, 4s. 6d.

As of many others, so of Dr Wenley, it may be said that his first is as yet his best. His book on the *Aspects of Pessimism* is not equal, either in thought or style, to his book on *Socrates and Christ*. This last was a most promising book, and indicated possibilities which have not yet been realised. Nor does the

present work rise to the height then attained by him. His style is far from lucid, and the arrangement of his material is not happy. He speaks somewhat largely, generalises too widely, and sometimes makes statements which are too sweeping. But there is work in his book, and abundant evidence of thought and study. He has read widely and has reflected on what he has read. There is material for a good book here, though it is somewhat marred by the mode of presentation.

Dr Wenley has approached theology from the philosophical side, and his main interest is philosophical. He is really in the front rank of philosophical thinkers, and every statement bearing on philosophy bears the mark of thorough knowledge and of accurate discrimination. He has been trained, and has trained himself in philosophy. The theological part of his book is not on the same high level. It is somewhat amateurish. Contemporary theology is not adequately represented by the speculative school and the school of Ritschl. There are other writers worthy of consideration, and other tendencies unnoticed by him. It is somewhat unfortunate for a book to have a larger title than the contents warrant.

Taking the book and its contents as they stand, we may say that the statement of the theological situation is good as far as it goes. that is to say, it is good as far as appertains to the speculative-school and the followers of Ritschl. His statement of the assumptions and positions of the speculative school is full and fair, and his criticism of them able and helpful. This is a work for which he is well qualified. He seems to have been once under the influence of Hegel and his British followers, and to have fought his way out of it into clearer light. He knows the strength and weakness of that tendency in philosophy, and he speaks of it with knowledge and power. His statement of Ritschl's position in theology is fair, though there are elements in that theology to which justice is not done. A reaction against the dominance of Hegelianism was a historical necessity, and this reaction went on under the guidance of Ritschl. Like all reactions it went too far, and Dr Wenley has done good service in pointing out the weakness of the system of Ritschl. But the criticism of Ritschl ought to have been couched in different terms. Ritschl was far too great a man, too great a thinker, and his influence on the thought and life of his generation too extensive, to permit anyone to speak of him and his work as is done in these pages. Ritschl deserves respectful treatment, and his great service to historical theology ought to be thankfully acknowledged. The last chapters, on the theistic problem, are good. They are well put, and set forth in an adequate manner the present state of the question.

JAMES IVERACH.

Religious Faith : An Essay in the Philosophy of Religion.

By the Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A., author of "The Theory of Inference," &c. London: Kegan Paul, 1896. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 337. Price, 12s.

The Theory of Inference was noticed in this *Review* in January 1895; *Natural and Supernatural Morals* in October 1891.

The volume before us contains two parts. Book I., on "The Meaning of Faith," discusses the Biblical usage, on the assumption that we may hope to find in all the N.T.—by the way, what about the O.T. ?—"fragments of a true theology," each fragment "capable of being harmonized with all the rest," so that we shall have a revealed philosophy of religion, satisfactory to heart and intellect in regions beyond the scope of human discovery. The leading result is, that (religious) "faith" is used in the N.T. mainly for *three different things*; 1st, faith in the supreme God; 2ndly, justifying faith in Jesus Christ—which is said to justify, because it leads to actual inherent righteousness, in contrast with O.T. faith in God, which is merely imputed for righteousness—and which normally issues in Baptism and the entrance into the Church "or Kingdom of God"; 3rdly, a faith of attachment to the risen Christ, only possible to the baptized Christian.

Some of this exegesis is unquestionably wrong, and the whole procedure is extremely slight. Mr Hughes has allowed his intellectual bias and his church bias to lead him where they will. True or false, the doctrine of a threefold faith is not a revealed philosophy; at the best, it is a "philosophical"—i.e., logical—manipulation of revealed materials, and is scarcely intelligible till Mr Hughes has explained himself at length in Book II.

This, on "the Philosophy of Faith," is much more suggestive and stimulating.

Reason, as Kant especially has shown, can infer from nature only a *limited* God. (The statement of Kant's position seems not quite accurate.) An *infinite* God is a thought beyond the range of the human mind, till revelation inserts it. And thus we may maintain a modified form of the ontological argument; since the idea of God has come to our limited minds, the great Original of which it tells must exist, must have directly revealed it. But the leading theistic proof is a moral proof. Natural ethics declare merely what is fitting; the full conception of duty introduces us to supernatural ethics; for man's knowledge of himself as personal depends on his knowledge of a personal God, and the thought of duty always brings with it a conscious and individual revelation of God, to whom our service is due. Our freewill also depends

on our relation to God. For will is threefold ; there is the determined will, which acts out a decision ; there is the relatively free will, which decides, but which is swayed by character ; and, above both, there is the intelligent will, which, by yielding to Divine discipline, can acquire a new and better character. This action of the intelligent will, in response to the individual revelation of conscience, constitutes or implies faith No. 1. Next, if we do God's will, we know of Christ's doctrine, that it is Divine ; and, if we know the infinite God in conscience, we possess the one decisive answer to difficulties regarding miracle. The character of Christ gives special weight to His words ; yet after all faith or disbelief in the Christian gospel is morally conditioned—faith No. 2. Similarly, on accepting baptism and church authority, we enter a mystical fellowship with Christ's glorified humanity—faith No. 3. All these kinds of faith include their own relevant dogmas.

The last two chapters criticise Dr Martineau and Principal Caird, as writers who, in different ways, try to explain religious faith by the workings of human nature itself. Some of the criticism is strong, and much of it subtle.

As a whole, the discussion inherits from its English predecessors, and breaks new ground. Butler taught that religious faith rests on probability. Newman—not in the Anglican *University Sermons*, to which here at least Mr Hughes confines his reference, but in the *Grammar of Assent*—coined the word *Illation* to denote those subtle processes of implicit inference which defy logical analysis and verbal statement. Mr Hughes, who is reasonably distrustful of appeals from consciousness to subconscious processes, has boldly altered the meaning of *Illation*, and uses it, in a special contrast with *Induction*, the instrument for detecting natural law, as applying to probable evidence, and to regions of thought where predispositions weigh heavily. Whatever we think of these logical doctrines, the recognition that God is known by His self-revelation is a sound religious truth ; and the establishment of harmony between Free Will and Divine action is admirable.

But these views of the *evidence* on which faith proceeds assume a view of the *nature* of faith itself. Faith is intellectual assent, to this or to that, *plus*—a vague something more. In other words, what Prof. Bruce has called the doctrinaire view of revelation may be assumed as axiomatically true. Is that reasonable ? Should not a treatise on religious faith discuss its nature before proceeding to assort its kinds ? Other followers of Kant have treated faith as a "practical certainty," and have found much comfort in the phrase "value judgment." Ritschl has his own

(not less interesting—or doubtful) doctrine of “supernatural” morals; Kaftan is as markedly nominalist as Newman, more so than Mr Hughes. It was not necessary to agree with these Germans; but would it not have been well to consider what they have advanced? Again, many have distinguished between religious truth and theological dogma. Since Schleiermacher it has been a commonplace that experience is primary, dogma secondary and approximate. Even Newman has something corresponding to this. Again, Maurice, Erskine, Campbell, Ewing have urged that Christian faith is a response to light recognised as light. Mr Hughes makes room for that once, in his interesting if precarious account of faith in God, as resting on a moral experience. Is there nothing similar in faith towards Christ? Having begun in the spirit, are we perfected by submission to dogma? Lastly, will any evangelical Christian grant that justifying faith means assent, *plus*—the outward ordinance of wonder-working Baptism?

Apart from criticisms of detail—though not unconnected with them—one feels a difficulty in the large—though not unusual—assumptions of Mr Hughes' method. Surely it need not be true that every distinction in thought corresponds to an irreducible, fundamental difference in reality. If I draw pencil lines across the map of England, I have not intersected the country with deep channels and unfathomable gulfs. If I suppose that the country is so intersected, I am gravely misled. I have only subdivided a subject for purposes of study; the hand or the mind that made the black marks can erase them again. Take it to be true that natural ethics are one thing, and supernatural ethics another; that there are three kinds of will, three principal kinds of faith, and so forth; does this enumeration conclude the task of philosophy? Nay, more; even if the various factors and forces are exhibited in a system of reciprocal relations determining each other from the outside, can that possibly be an adequate or final account of them? Motives, says Mr Hughes, are “closely analogous to the forces of mechanics.” What if it is the inveterate bias of the interpreter that insists upon discovering, everywhere and in all things—mechanism?

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

**The Nicene Creed : A Manual for the use of Candidates
for Holy Orders.**

By J. J. Lias, M.A., Rector of East Bergholt, Chancellor of Llandaff Cathedral, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff ; Author of "Principles of Biblical Criticism," "The Atonement," &c. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 439. Price, 6s.

MR LIAS has chosen a subject of perennial interest, which, in spite of Pearson's great work, cannot be said to have exhausted itself. Certain it is, that as fresh controversies spring up, they must be met and refuted by new methods. In this sense Pearson on the Creed is very much out of date. In spite of all that indiscriminate praise lavished on it by college lecturers, it is still true, though in another sense of the term, that the "very dust of his writings are gold." May we not say with Ulysses—

" We give a little dust o'ergilt,
More laud than gold o'er dusted."

In any case, the dust and the rust have lain thick for two centuries on these venerable pages. On the very front of the discussion the contrast stares us in the face. Pearson, who stands at the parting of ways when the old Puritan type was dissolving and the new Latitudinarian school was in course of formation, sets out with a conception of God the Father Almighty, which is antique and out of date. The old transcendent Deity which passed unchallenged in Pearson's day has been replaced by a new conception of a Deity immanent in his works—the centre of all force as well as the fountain head of all being. Mr Lias has been careful to note this contrast—but it is well for theological students to know all that it amounts to. If theology is in any sense the knowledge of God, surely then to know Him as He is must amount to a new theology. The contrast of old and new is scarcely emphasized to the extent that we should desire. The new Deism and the old are such very different things that we are scarcely surprised to find Pearson out of date. The term "sovereignty," which connects all that we include in the old conception of God, seems unmeaning to those who think of God as the centre of force and the fountain of Being. By Him all things consist. Not only is He before all things, He claims priority of time as His own, but He is above all, i.e., all things spring from Him as effects from their causes. Personality is a term with unfortunately so many limitations encrusted around it that it has to be used with the utmost caution of God. The use of the term the "Absolute" does not get us out of the difficulty,

as Mr Lias well points out in reply to Herbert Spencer in his *First Principles*.

Mr Spencer has deduced the conclusion "that God is unknowable and must therefore be dismissed from our thoughts as a Being of whom no conceptions are possible. This creed has received the name of Agnosticism for its confession of ignorance concerning the Being of God." But as Mr Lias goes on to point out with much acumen: "As Mr Spencer shows in the course of the same argument that force, matter, space, time, individual existence, are equally unthinkable with God, it may be a question whether the 'unthinkability' of abstract ideas does not point rather to some inherent weakness in the science of metaphysics, which as yet it has been unable to conceive, than to our absolute incapacity to know anything about God. But however this may be, one thing must be regarded as certain, that this conception of God as identified with one or more of our own abstract conceptions of Him is one that cannot possibly be accepted. The God whom the Scriptures reveal to us is no mere metaphysical abstraction, but a living Being, an active force, an unceasing energy. He is not the 'Absolute,' for that term indicates one who is incapable of relation, whereas we can only conceive of God through His relation to us. He is not the Infinite, because our conception of infinity must include evil as well as good; and with evil He has not and cannot have anything in common. He is not the 'Unconditioned' because the revealed doctrine concerning Him describes His essential nature as including certain attributes which of necessity condition His action, for He is represented as essentially love, goodness, justice, wisdom and truth."

The above extract illustrates our point, that with changed aspects of theology the old defences become obsolete. It is disappointing to turn to Cudworth for instance, and to find how antiquated and unmeaning are his replies to the old forms of materialism. Hylozoism, for instance—only the term itself is uncouth, and seems as pointless as the balista and battering rams of the old siege operations. When we turn to that much discussed point in modern thought, the Divine Personality, we see much light thrown on it by Mr Lias' remarks on the subject of the Trinity. From the old Deistic standpoint it must be admitted that it is impossible any longer to predicate Personality of the Deity. Here Mr Lias' remarks are very much to the point. We speak of God as a Person, and are accustomed to speak of Father, Son and Spirit as the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. But let us pause and analyse the meaning of the word Person. The word, as Mr Lias remarks, had originally involved in it no conception of a centre of will, such as we now understand by the word *Personality*. The original

meaning is apparently *appearance*, something we can look upon. Thus the word when referred to the Blessed Trinity "would, at first sight, seem to have the interpretation *appearances*—modes of viewing the Godhead from a human standpoint. But here again the inadequacy of language as a vehicle of thought displays itself. We must not suppose, he goes on to remark, with the ancient Sabellians that these so-called Persons can be simply resolved into human modes of apprehension of the nature and work of the Divine Being. The Persons in the Blessed Trinity are revealed to us in Scripture and in the Catholic Creeds as eternal distinctions existing in the Godhead itself, and not simply in our modes of apprehending it. Though Father, Son and Spirit, as we shall presently see, are revealed to us as One in essence, yet they are also revealed as being in some senses eternally distinct from each other. The three Persons in the Trinity have but one nature and one will. The Persons of the Trinity, as Hooker remarks, are not three particular substances to whom one general nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance which *itself is particular*."

Then to sum up the question of personality in God, it is intensified and, so to speak, fixed for ever as soon as we profess faith in a Triune God. It is more than three Persons (*persona* in the sense of a mask worn by a player), it is three substances, and as co-substantial can never be mixed or confounded. The relationship of Father to Son, and of Son to Spirit, is integral and indissoluble. We never can confound the Person any more than the work of either of these three Persons. Deism may lose the sense of personality in God, and so easily lapse into Pantheism, as it is constantly in danger of doing; but this is never the case with the devout believer in the Trinity as co-operant in the whole plan of redemption.

On the subject of the Double Procession Mr Lias has some suggestive remarks. It is well known that the *filioque* clause sprang up in the West when the reaction against the over dominant Arianism was most sharply felt. In 589 King Recared of Spain, who had just abjured Arianism, inserted the word *filioque* in his copy of the Nicene Creed. Thence the phrase passed to France; but the sixth General Council held at Constantinople in 682 paid no regard to it, but recited the Creed as it had been handed down. In 809, however, the Emperor Charles the Great, who had assumed the title of Emperor of the West, presumed to play the part of Constantine, and at a Council held at Aachen the new phrase of the Double Procession was formulated and supported by the authority of the ancient Fathers. The decrees of the Council were sent to the Pope, Leo III., for his confirmation. To this the Pope replied in language of great moderation. He

prudently shrank from opposing the mighty Karl, at the same time he hinted that nothing should be added to or taken from the Creed but by the decision of a General Council. He also threw doubt on the wisdom of tampering with a single phrase in a Creed which was accepted by the Universal Church. The question belonged to the deeper and more subtle mysteries of our holy faith (*sacræ fidei altiora mysteria subtiliora sacramenta*) and should be reserved for the consideration of those who were capable of entering into them. "To bring matters to a point, the Pope caused the Creed to be engraved on two silver shields *without* the clause Charles had proposed to insert, and he had it hung up in the most conspicuous place in his church (*pro cautelâ orthodoxæ fidei*) as he puts it." In this the Pope was no doubt speaking *ex cathedrâ*, especially as he was supported by the decision of a predecessor. But to sum up this tedious controversy—when the strife between East and West became sharp and embittered there followed as a result of opposition that as the East inflexibly adhered to the old formula, so the West having at first only admitted the Double Procession at last formulated it by admission into her Creed. Here the intruding clause having once gained a foothold made good its ground, and at last it became the flag under which the West fought out its controversies with the East.

So matters remained for centuries. The chasm between East and West only widened as time went on. It was only when the revolt against the Vatican decrees in 1870 sprang up that there came a new turn of affairs. The Old Catholic party drew up a formula of concord from the works of the great schoolman of the East, John of Damascus, and in revising the offices of the Roman Church they struck out the *filioque* clause altogether from the Nicene Creed, while the Old Catholics of Germany have bracketed it as an unauthorised addition. This courageous decision on the part of the Old Catholics may be said to be the first step towards a formal reunion between East and West. The formula of concord, however, was intended to meet the case of those who had inherited the *filioque* clause and who do not see their way after so long a time to withdraw it. The ground of jealousy of the Eastern Church against the hyper-orthodox innovation of the West seems to be reasonable if we only bear in mind the conception of God as the one ἀρχή. Are we not in danger of Dualism if we admit even in thought that there is more than one fountain of Being—the Eternal Father, of whom are all things and by whom are all things.

But we need not discuss at further length the standing ground of controversy between East and West—nor have we the smallest doubt that as soon as a real desire for reconciliation between the two sundered branches of Christendom springs up, this *filioque*

clause will not be allowed to stand in the way of a real reunion of Christendom. As soon as the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace begins to be shed abroad in men's hearts, these liturgical differences will roll off by themselves and take themselves away as the mists of night gather around the mountain side and melt away in the light of the morning sun.

But we have said enough of Mr Lias' book. As a manual for divinity students it is a useful handbook, and may safely be described as a recast of Pearson and up to date. We cannot help regretting that, having done so much for the student, Mr Lias had not taken one step further. Such an outline of the history of the Creeds as that which the late Professor Harvey has given us would be more instructive even than the exposition *seriatim* of the several clauses of the Creed. We may trace in the Creeds the evolution of Christian doctrine. There is a ring of old controversies in the very phrases in use; "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God" could only have arisen in the desire to controvert the bye-ends of the Arian and semi-Arian which alike impaired the full glory of the Person of Christ. These scars of battle are in all our Creeds, and as the age grows later so the strife waxes louder and the tone becomes more stiff and dogmatic. So we are called to contend earnestly for a faith delivered once for all to the saints. Our dislike of dogmatism must never push us into forgetting the importance of a definite form of sound words. As a valuable help to the intelligent student, we welcome the work of Mr Lias. He has read into the old Confession much of the new lights of modern thought, and so has put into our hands a work fully up to date, as he stands on the old paths and considers the new.

J. B. HEARD.

The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, Chapters i.-xxxix.

With Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. J. Skinner, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Presbyterian College, London. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1896. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. lxxix. 295. Price, 4s.

THIS volume of the Cambridge Bible is terse, definite, and lucid, to an extent only possible to an author who is master of his subject and has taken great pains. We trust that this work may not be the only fruit of the labour spent on Isaiah i.-xxxix. The Cambridge Bible was apparently intended at the outset to provide elementary hand-books for school use. But the editor put the

books into the hands of some of the most distinguished English Old Testament scholars. Naturally, therefore, the circulation has by no means been confined to schoolboys, and the authors, finding that their readers embraced more advanced students, have provided much that only such students can understand. Hence the present, like many other volumes, is a compromise. In concession to the school-room, it mars the usefulness and clearness of the notes, by printing as its text the Authorised Version in the traditional arrangement; while, by way of atonement to the student, a small but appreciable portion of the notes deals with points of Hebrew grammar and etymology, unintelligible to English readers. We will not waste our sympathies on the latter, they probably enjoy a flavour of mysterious scholarship. But Hebrew students, while grateful for these small mercies, will feel that they are never even supposed to be adequate; and will wish that Dr Skinner would use the material he has collected to provide a text-book on Isaiah for their benefit. Then the present volume might be more closely adapted to the needs of those who know no Hebrew.

We must congratulate our author on the comparatively simple views he has attained as to the utterances and teaching of Isaiah. Stated in his firm, authoritative fashion, they have a coherence that goes far to be convincing, especially as the accent of authority is not dogmatic or obtrusive, but unconscious.

Dr Skinner, indeed, regards the complete book of Isaiah as the result of a long and complex series of editings, which cannot now be traced in detail, and which cannot be proved to have closed before the beginning of the second century, B.C. But he accepts the division of i.-xxxix. into four parts; (*A*) i.-xii.; (*B*) xiii.-xxvii.; (*C*) xxviii.-xxxv.; (*D*) xxxvi.-xxxix. *A*, *B* and *C* once circulated as separate books, while *D*, of course, is a historical appendix, mainly taken from Kings. Apart from short interpolations, the main body of *A*, *B* and *C* is, in each case, Isaiah's own work; but while they were still circulating as separate collections, non-Isaianic matter was added to each by way of appendix; and, in one case, such matter was placed at the beginning of a collection; and, in one, even inserted in the middle—at any rate, probably. Thus, in *A*, i.—xi. 9 is Isaiah, xi. 10—xii. a non-Isaianic appendix; in *B*, xiv. 24—xx., xxii.—xxiii. 14 are Isaiah; while foreign matter has been added at the beginning, xiii.—xiv. 23, at the end, xxiii. 15—xxvii., and “probably” in the middle, xxi.; in *C*, xxviii.—xxxii. is Isaiah, xxxiii.-xxxv. a non-Isaianic appendix. His position is thus akin to that of Prof. Driver and the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith. Our author's views as to what portions of these chapters are Isaiah's work determine the data for a theory of the prophet's teaching; and his acceptance of a large body of utterances involves large and

full conceptions of the teaching. For instance, the ascription to Isaiah of the great Messianic passages, ii. 2-4, iv. 2-6, ix. 1-7, xi. 1-9, obviously credits the prophet with a very striking doctrine of the Messiah. In other ways, too, Dr Skinner credits Isaiah with a theology much more advanced than that which many scholars are willing to recognise in a pre-exilic author. Dr Skinner regards Isaiah as consciously and definitely a monotheist, in the fullest and strictest sense, *e.g.*, on xxxi. 3 he writes: "What separated him (Isaiah) from his hearers was the conviction that there is but one Divine Person, and one spiritual power in the universe, viz., Jehovah and His moral government as revealed in the consciousness of the prophet." Other characteristic doctrines are—the exclusive holiness of Jehovah, *i.e.*, His unique deity; His "glory," *i.e.*, nature as the expression and symbol of His majesty; that history is the unfolding and realisation of Jehovah's purpose for humanity; the necessity that Israel must live by faith in order to attain salvation; and the Messianic faith that Zion is inviolable, and will ultimately be the home of the Remnant, the purged and purified Israel, under the rule of a Righteous King. Isaiah has also much in common with Amos, Hosea and Micah.

Few scholars will claim for Isaiah the passages which Dr Skinner rejects; but a glance at the appendix to Dr Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* will show that the latter is far less liberal than Dr Skinner; as are also such critics as Duham and Cornill—with differences, of course, as to degree and detail. Whatever may be the ultimate decision—if any is ever arrived at—as to the analysis of the book of Isaiah, many students would do well to pause at the position assumed in this volume, and adopt it as a working hypothesis. Even if it proves to be only a halting-place on the way to a more accurate criticism, the time and thought spent in putting it to the test will enable them to give a reason for the faith in which they finally repose.

W. H. BENNETT.

The Age of Hildebrand.

By Marvin R. Vincent, D.D. (Eras of the Christian Church Series, Edited by John Fulton, D.D., LL.D.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 457. Price, 6s.

The Age of the Great Western Schism.

By Clinton Locke, D.D. (Eras of the Christian Church.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 314. Price, 6s.

DR VINCENT'S volume is one of what promises to be an exceedingly useful series of books on "The Eras of the Christian Church."

They are designed to be a set of "popular monographs, giving, so to speak, a bird's-eye view of the most important epochs of the life of the Church," and specially suited to readers who are not in a position to make a profound study of ecclesiastical history. The present volume treats not only of Hildebrand and his arrogant design of making the Papacy supreme over the State as well as over the Church, but also of the bold attempt of Boniface VIII. to absorb the power of the Empire into the Papacy, the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, the Crusades, the Scholastic philosophy and theology, the conditions of monastic and clerical life, the beginnings of the modern national spirit, the establishment and progress of Universities. Here assuredly is an extensive programme, large and difficult enough to try the metal of any writer, but we are bound to say that in our judgment the author seems to avail himself of the best authorities, and to handle his material in an able, careful and interesting manner. The book is well written; the interest of the reader is arrested at the beginning and held throughout, and what appears a fair and well-considered representation of the facts is given. The career of Hildebrand, and his relations with Henry IV. of Germany, lend themselves to graphic and even dramatic narrative, of which we have a shining example in Sir James Stephen's memorable article on Hildebrand in his *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*. If one misses here the masterly breadth of treatment and the irresistible spell of graphic narrative with which Sir James Stephen carries his reader forward, the lack of these qualities is in some measure compensated for by the conscientious care with which, at critical points where difference of opinion exists, the evidence is weighed, and a conclusion cautiously reached.

In a work which so adequately fulfils its main purpose it may be thought invidious to notice slight defects, but the best service which a critic can do the writer of a good book is to point out where, in his judgment, it might be improved. For one thing, the reference to the development of the papal power, and to the moral degradation in the papacy which preceded the time of Hildebrand, in the introductory chapter, is much too meagre to be satisfactory. It would have been better to curtail a little elsewhere, if necessary, in order to lay before the reader a fuller and more exact statement of the successive stages in the growth of the papacy, and of the events and influences which contributed to it. Perhaps, too, the unwary reader might get a wrong impression from the way in which, at one point, the matter is put. "The Roman Church," Dr Vincent says, "began as early as the second century to assert a certain precedence, not of the Bishop but of the Church, and this tendency was stimulated by the removal of the imperial

seat to Constantinople in 330; only the ground of the claim was shifted since the prospect of a rival city made it expedient to base it on the descent of the Church from St Peter rather than on the superior importance of the city" (p. 5). But was not the alleged descent of the Church from St Peter made the ground of the claim long before 330? Is not the idea of the Roman Episcopate of Peter abroad in the third century, as in the "*Chronicle of Hippolytus*" (see Lightfoot's *St Clement of Rome*, i. 264) and in Cyprian, who calls the Roman See "the chair of Peter" and the *locus Petri* (Cypr. Ep. 59. 14; 58. 8)? Historians generally are agreed that the legend of the Petrine Episcopate of Rome originated in, or at least was promoted by, the pseudo-Clementine fictions, before the end of the second century.

Sometimes again (to refer to another point) the patience of the reader is tried, and the interest of the narrative impaired by the intrusion of matters rather external to it. The interesting story of Thomas à Becket, for example, is a good deal interrupted in this way; or at least a little additional expenditure of artistic skill might have fitted it better into the general history, and given more unity to it. These, however, are minor matters.

Very just, we think, is the picture given of Hildebrand (p. 119 *sq.*) as an ecclesiastic who "arose above the moral level of his age only on the side of the grosser vices," but whose "ideals of veracity, justice and charity were those of a secular mediæval despot." Our author hesitates about saying that "in him principle was habitually subordinated to policy." He might have said with a good conscience that it was often so. Thus, in one instance, Gregory sacrificed both his own personal convictions and his friend Berengar into the bargain. Even in the prosecution of his main purpose, the assertion of the supremacy of the papal power, he repeatedly sacrificed his principle to convenience. He temporised in his dealings with Philip of France, who was hardly less steeped in dissoluteness and in simony than Henry. William the Conqueror of England and Robert the Conqueror of Sicily were equally cruel and simoniacal, but the holy vicar of heaven, who wanted their assistance, had no angry menaces for them, no exhortations to repentance. On the contrary, he winked at their iniquities, and overflowed with expressions of goodwill. He temporised no less in his relations with Henry IV. himself. He sent the crown to Rudolf with his benediction, and encouraged him to expect his support; but seeing that Henry was recovering his power, and foreseeing a desperate civil conflict, in which thousands of lives would be sacrificed and seas of blood spilt, and the possible triumph of Henry, the cunning old man delays, writes ambiguous letters to the rivals, and anticipates the determination of the Vicar

of Bray to be on the winning side. At length "a voice from heaven" came to him, guiding him to a decision; but "the voice from heaven" was strangely silent till the news reached him of Henry's defeat by Rudolf. When his intimate friend, Cardinal Peter Damiani, who knew him well, called him playfully in a letter "Sanctus Satanas," the joke was too perilously near the mark to be relished by Gregory. Not playfully, but with scathing sarcasm, Sir James Stephen says with special reference to Gregory (we quote only from memory): "Nature gave horns to bulls; to aspiring and belligerent churchmen she gave dissimulation and artifice."

With regard to Becket's struggle with Henry II. we think the view given by Dr Vincent much nearer the truth than that of Wakeman in his recent *History of the Church of England*. According to the latter, Becket was fighting for the liberties of the Church and of the English people, and he died as "a witness to the right of the Church to independence of the civil power, an advocate of liberty against overweening authority." It seems to us more correct to say with Dr Vincent that Becket was "the representative of the Gregorian ecclesiasticism," that he was an advocate of "overweening" ecclesiastical authority, of a spiritual despotism that would have made the papal power supreme over the State, and England a slave to it. Such a slavery would have been even more odious than that caused by the rule of an absolute king. Altogether, the volume before us, which has been sent from the press in admirable external garb, is an excellent piece of work.

"We have to consider in this volume," says the author of *The Age of the Great Western Schism*, "the tremendous blow that the papal pretensions received; the prestige which the papacy lost by the transference of the seat of its power to Avignon; the vast consequences of the great Western schism; the noble efforts of the Councils of Basel and Pisa and Constance to reform the Church; the lives of Wyclif and of Huss; and with these great questions others of less importance, such as the mysterious episode of the ruin of the Templars, the terrors of the Black Death, the story of the Flagellants, the career of Rienzi, and the victory of national languages over the Latin tongue." The book is written with considerable life and vigour of style, and has undoubtedly the quality of being readable. It thus fairly realizes the aim of the series to which it belongs, which is that they should be "popular monographs." Mostly, though not always, pains appear to have been taken by the writer in the ascertainment of his facts. He mentions several historians to whom he is indebted, but seems to

depend chiefly on Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, and Milman's *Latin Christianity*; and he succeeds in weaving his material into an easy and flowing narrative. The book, however, is generally on a lower level than the volume just noticed, both as regards the research and the style. We have seldom come across a work by an American writer which has so many peculiarities of phrase to which we are unaccustomed on this side the Atlantic. The form "did not have" occurs constantly where we are content with "had": Clement "did not have even the slight merit of hiding his immorality" (p. 28); "the Pope did not have to contend" (p. 31); "he did not have long to wait" (p. 57); "it did not have the evil effect" (p. 75). Such flowers of speech as "everything was all arranged" (p. 12); "the king determined to *down* the gigantic spectre which threatened his very life" (p. 16); "the university would not *hear to* it" (p. 36); "the Pope's partisans would not *hear to* that" (p. 163); Rienzi's "mother took in washing to *help pay* the family expenses" (p. 49); "it is a melancholy *exhibit* of what made a saint in those days" (p. 76); "they would *illy* tolerate" (p. 83); "his Cardinals fondly hoped that the schism would *finish*, and that the world would," &c. (p. 105); "the Pope commenced *dickering* with Ladislas" (p. 145); "the police were well organized, and before a riot could *materialize*, peace and order were restored"—such forms of expression are too strange to our ears to be altogether agreeable. The giving of bribes is "the greasing of palms," and Cardinals who have a difficulty in making up their minds, or who maintain a neutral attitude, are "on the fence." We doubt if such *outré* and slang phraseology would be employed by good writers, or recognised as good English in the United States; and we are pretty confident that to say that "everywhere it (the Black Death) found all things swept and garnished for it, for sanitation was unknown, the habits of the populace filthy, the laws of contagion scarcely outlined even, except by a few of the learned" (p. 60), would be regarded anywhere as a remarkable and somewhat mixed metaphor. But there are graver faults than these.

Wyclif, Huss and the Waldenses get scant justice at the hands of our author, who shows an incapacity in appreciating them and their work which would be mysterious only that he naïvely betrays the reason of his lack of sympathy. "He (Wyclif) seems to have entirely mistaken the nature of the Church. . . . He recognised only the two orders of priest and deacon; in fine, he was a Predestinarian in religion, a Presbyterian in church government, and almost a Zwinglian in his late views of the Eucharist." Is not this enough to disturb the equanimity of any well-ordered mind? How could Wyclif be otherwise than revolutionary? And did not

his revolutionary sentiments bear fruit in the peasants' war? "When the English peasants under John Ball attempted to reduce it (Wyclif's revolutionary doctrine) to practice, it so disgusted the great mass of Englishmen that they disregarded generally Wyclif's teaching; and it forms a complete explanation of the entire and total neglect into which Wyclifism fell in England" (217). Here is quite a medley of errors. Lechler has, we think, conclusively shown that neither Wyclif nor his philosophical doctrine with regard to property, had anything to do with the peasants' revolt (see his *John Wycliffe*, English translation by Dr Lorimer, pp. 371-378). As to the allegation that Wyclifism fell into "entire and total neglect" in England, it is singularly at variance with the facts. According to the testimony even of Wyclif's opponents, half the population of England had become Lollards, or followers of Wyclif, twenty years after his death. His bitter adversary, Knighton, says, "you could scarcely meet two persons in the road but one of them would be a disciple of Wyclif." And his disciples embraced several persons from the higher ranks of Society, and many of them, including Lord Cobham, were hanged or burned as heretics. After an interval of fifty years the burnings were again resumed, and in 1511, at the dawn of the Reformation, we know from a letter of Erasmus that they were still proceeding. At the instance of the Council of Constance Wycliffe's body was dug up fifty-four years after his death, and its ashes thrown into the river Swift; Fuller's quaint and memorable saying with regard to which should have saved our author from such a blunder: "This brook conveyed them into Avon, Avon into the Severn, the Severn unto the narrow Seas, they into the main ocean. And the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over."

JAMES HERON.

The Age of the Crusades.

*By James M. Ludlow, D.D. (Eras of the Christian Church.)
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Extra crown 8vo,
pp. 389. Price, 6s.*

It is pleasant to have the age of the Crusades recognized in a series of handbooks of Church History as an Era of the Christian Church. They have suffered neglect too long at the hands of our historians. Too religious a movement for the merely secular writer, too wide to demand exhaustive treatment in the histories of the separate nations, too crude in their aspirations and defective in their methods for the purposes of spiritual edification, leaving

behind no residue of reasoned doctrine and but little of ecclesiastical organisation, they have been noticed by the historians of these departments with interest and often with wonder, and then handed over to others. So the historian who shall devote his strength to them is still to come. Yet the recent increase of works on this subject seems to presage his appearance; and the growing sense of the "Unity of History," especially of secular and sacred history makes the times more ripe. He will have a worthy task—a vast movement to which every western Christian land yields its means and its best minds, gathering strength from deep and subtle spiritual aspirations, sustained through six generations as the great effort of the Christian world, and affecting the whole field of human thought and life with far-reaching results.

All this makes a difficult subject for a handbook. This one is a piece of faithful work. The "inquiry into the conditions of life and thought which facilitated or prompted the great movement" is the discreet distillation of extensive reading; the "results of the crusades" are, though shortly, fairly stated; the long and tangled story is well mapped out under its separate heads, and the due proportion between them, very unlike some kindred works, is particularly well observed. The honest labour of the book has left few subjects untouched, and having short chapters, short and simple sentences, and clear, concise forms of expression, it is a good guide. Yet it is no mere skeleton, for the story is told with sufficient fulness to make it readable.

But while it describes the enthusiasm of the Crusades, it does not infect the reader with it. He who writes the coming history must go deeper into their less tangible spiritual roots, must better realise the pictorial element which is so large a factor with the rude and childish mind, must have more sympathy with imperfect ideals, and must be abler to make the leading characters live, for however rude, ill-regulated, and inconsistent they were, they were full of what all men feel is life. We miss some notice of the Latin kingdom which the Crusaders kept going in Palestine for eighty-eight years. As in one sense the definite object of the enterprise, and the successfully attained object, apart from its being the best sample of a state organised with a free hand upon the best theories of the day, and apart from its very ecclesiastical character, its arrangements and the means for its maintenance deserved a short chapter.

Some notice might also have been taken of the profound change in the conduct of the Crusades which was introduced by the adoption of the sea route. There is a confusing variation of the numbers attached to the different expeditions, some writers counting seven, others eight, and others nine. Dr Ludlow counts eight, and this

seems to give the best representation of the facts. According to this scheme the Crusade which resulted in the Latin kingdom at Constantinople was not the fifth but the fourth.

To the English, which on the whole is good, some exception must be taken. "Practicalise," "zealotry," "contestant," though not accepted words, have been used by English writers, but what about "addubbed" and "enthused"? To this last, Webster's Dictionary, not too severe upon Americanisms, attaches the word "*slang*." And what has Sigurd the Crusader done that he should be made unrecognisable by old acquaintances in the guise of Sigur, which is no misprint, for it reappears in the same form in the index. Such blots as these, are, however, rare in this useful and welcome book.

ALEXANDER MILLER.

The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

The Books of the Chronicles. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text printed in colours, exhibiting the composite structure of the Book, with notes by R. Kittel, D.D., Professor in the University of Breslau. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 81. Price, 6s. net.

PROFESSOR KITTEL, in the valuable articles which he has contributed to *Studien und Kritiken*—I refer particularly to his useful contribution in 1892 on the critical problems of Judges and Samuel—has shown himself to be one of the more cautious among the comparatively younger Old Testament scholars of Germany. Those who have carefully studied his *History of the Hebrews* will expect sobriety of judgment, wide erudition and scholarly accuracy in any work produced by this author. Those who come to the present edition of the Books of Chronicles, contributed to the series of Sacred Books of the O.T., edited by Dr Haupt, will naturally anticipate solid work, and in this they will not be disappointed. Evident care and critical skill have been exercised in the literary analysis of this late portion of Hebrew literature, the earlier sections being vividly presented to the eye in *red*, as distinguished from the later Midrashic passages. In the valuable notes appended to the volume minute philological accuracy is the distinctive characteristic. Especially upon the forms of the proper names, which crowd the Hebrew text, we have many excellent and instructive notes containing abundant references to literature—an admirable feature which marks this work like the author's *Geschichte der Hebräer*. Thus, in 1 Chron. ii. 40-41,

and viii. 34, we have an apposite citation from CIS., while at the beginning of the notes a long and interesting discussion on קין elicits some interesting facts respecting the actual pronunciation of Hebrew vowels and diphthongs as illustrated by Greek transcription. In some cases the Assyriological expert comes to the aid of the Hebrew commentator, as in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7. On this passage we infer that Dr Haupt is the author of the bracketed note in which a wealth of illustration (including the well-known equivalence *tērtu* = תִּרְה), is devoted in almost excessive abundance to prove that ê is interchangeable with ô, so that עִלּוּם maybe עוּלּוּם = עוּלָם.

The note on 2 Chron. iii. 1 makes us regret that we do not already possess the corresponding edition of 1 Kings "in colours" of the S.B.O.T. series by Professors Schwally and Socin. This would enable us to elucidate the complex architectural details of 1 Kings vi. foll., with their recurring obscurities and textual corruptions. But we must wait in patience, and, meanwhile, take due note of Professor Kittel's remark, that "the text of the Book of Kings, which served the chronicler as a basis for his work, resembled the present Massoretic text of Kings much more closely than it resembled the original autograph of the historical documents."

On one special point (2 Chron. i. 16) we feel compelled to express our dissent from the conclusions of our author. We consider that he pays far too much deference to the opinions of that ingenious and indefatigable Assyriologist and Old Testament scholar, Dr Hugo Winckler, in the long note which has been appended to elucidate the enigmatical reading מִפְּצָרִים וּמִקְנָא סַחֲרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ מִקְנָא (comp. 1 Kings x. 28). Kamphausen's suggested solution of the textual problem in 1 Kings x. 28, which is followed by Kautzsch in this passage, appears to us safer than Kittel's proposal to transpose and read . . . וּסַחֲרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ מִקְנָא מִקְנָא, "the king's traders getting every time a troop," which seems to us far fetched and cumbrous. Nor does the LXX reading *θεκουε* or the variant *καὶ ἐκ κωα* furnish any satisfactory clue. Winckler's suggestion of Kuê in East Cilicia, originally propounded in 1892 (*A.T.-liche Unters.* i. p. 172), loses force now that he has changed his view respecting *mât muşri*, and placed the latter in North Arabia (near Edom), instead of Northern Syria (*Altorient. Forschungen*, p. 25 foll.). Dr Winckler's theory, which endeavours to establish the identification of this Assyr. *mât Muşri*, with the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם in many O.T. passages, must be approached with caution, though its application to Gen. xvi. 1 (comp. Gen. xxi. 9) has a certain verisimilitude. As for Dr Winckler's contention that Egypt was not capable of breeding horses, the evidence he quotes is very far from decisive.

The citation from Erman in the footnote of *A.T.-liche Unters.*, p. 173, hardly supports the author's argument. Moreover, it is quite possible that horses were imported into Egypt, and specially trained for use with chariots. We know, from Sir Gardner Wilkinson's pages, that chariots were manufactured in Egypt, and the export of both chariots and horses into Judea in the days of Solomon, when close dynastic relations subsisted between the two kingdoms (1 Kings iii. 1) must be regarded as antecedently far from improbable.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

Die Religiös-Sittliche Weltanschauung des Buches der Sprüche in ihrem inneren Zusammenhange.

Dargestellt von D. Phil. Richard Pfeiffer, Ev. Pfarrer in Sulzbach. Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 264. Price, M.5.

EXEGETICAL literature on the book of Proverbs is scanty. In German the commentaries worth consulting might almost be numbered on the fingers of one hand; in English, if we exclude translations, it may be safe to say that the number is smaller still. The commentaries which have been written upon the book appear for the most part in a series, as if hardly any one had been drawn to expound it for its own sake. The scarcity of good monographs points in the same direction. Dr Pfeiffer therefore has the field largely free before him when he undertakes to describe the ethico-religious view of God and the world exhibited in this portion of Scripture. His introduction is brief. In it he sketches, too hastily as it seems to us, his view of the construction of "Proverbs" and the probable dates of its various parts. When an author protests in his opening sentences against current critical theories of development in Old Testament religion and opposes to them his own examination of a particular period, he should make the foundations of his structure as secure as possible. The passing references to Cornill, König, and Bickell, do not adequately deal with the chief arguments for differing views of the book of Proverbs, and this section of the book is scanty and insufficient. We say this the more freely, because in the main we agree with the critical position of the author and not with the scholars above cited. Dr Pfeiffer's case might have been strengthened, had he devoted twenty pages to his introduction instead of five.

The body of the work is divided into three parts, which deal respectively with the conception of God characteristic of "Pro-

verbs," the significance of "Wisdom" described in it, and its ethical teaching. Each of these parts is subdivided into sections, which deal with such cardinal subjects as the aspects of the Divine character portrayed in this portion of Scripture, the historical development of the "Chokma" idea, the moral teaching of Wisdom in relation to individual conduct, and to family and social life, and the view taken in "Proverbs" of rewards and punishments, in which is naturally included a discussion of the question whether the book contains any hints of a life beyond the grave. The whole treatise forms a very complete examination of the subject of which it treats, and is a useful contribution to Biblical theology. Schultz and Oehler, in their general works on Old Testament theology, have described from different points of view the subject undertaken by Dr Pfeiffer, but it well deserves the separate and more extended study which it receives in this interesting monograph. Dr Pfeiffer writes clearly, reasons fairly, expounds soberly, and draws his conclusions judiciously. If in this brief notice we dwell more on points of difference than of agreement, this is the way of critics, and must not be understood to detract from a very hearty appreciation of the book as a whole.

One thing surprises us, that the author has not given more attention to the relation of the various collections of proverbs to one another, especially as indicated by the repetition of the same proverb in different forms. It is but occasionally, as for example in pp. 67-74, that he hints at a development which he himself describes as a relation like that between bud and flower. The fact that many critics are all too keen to discern "development" where it does not exist, need not blind more conservative writers to obvious marks of growth. And in Proverbs, especially, the lines of demarcation between sections lie upon the surface and the occurrence of duplicate proverbial sayings demands examination. Of course in collections of miscellaneous proverbs, where the question of authorship is almost necessarily excluded and dates can only be approximately fixed, generalisations as to "development" need to be cautiously made. But while Dr Pfeiffer writes very interestingly on the advance discernible in chs. i.-ix., he misses, as we think, points which a closer examination would have brought out. His view of the compilation of the whole book is as follows. Taking the notice of ch. xxv. 1 as a fixed starting point, and the time of Hezekiah as *terminus ad quem* for the formation of the second collection (xxv.-xxxix.), the preceding collection (x. 1—xxii. 16) naturally falls earlier; but Pfeiffer says very little concerning the *terminus a quo* or the extent to which proverbs from Solomon's own time may be found in the

group called by his name. Chs. i.-ix. the author holds to be pre-exilic, written probably during the later monarchy; the section xxii. 17—xxiv. 22 is to be joined with this, ch. xxiv. 23-34 forming a short appendix. The Agur sayings are later than chs. xxv.-xxix., and may be compared with the book of Job, while the two parts of ch. xxxi.—the Lemuel section and the acrostic in praise of the Virtuous Woman—belong also to the pre-exilic period, but to a late portion of it. It will be seen that Dr Pfeiffer is a moderate conservative in his views of dates and composition, and we could wish that he had devoted a little more space to the historical side of his subject, and thus strengthened his sound arguments against the advocates of a later date. No English works are named in the bibliography. Cheyne's *Job and Solomon* should surely have found a place in it, and the author would have done his work more completely if he had considered some of the points raised by the English critic.

A detailed examination of the *Welt-Anschauung* of Proverbs as described by our author is impossible. Two or three examples may illustrate his point of view. He lays stress upon the use of the name Jahve, and unfolds its connotation at some length. He says very suggestively (p. 14) that a right understanding of the meaning of this name is the best protection against naturalistic caricatures of religious development in Israel. He does not, however, sufficiently meet the objections of those who make the very loftiness and spirituality characteristic of the "Jehovah" of Proverbs an evidence of comparatively late date. Very fully and excellently does Dr Pfeiffer shew that this name indicates no mere Force of nature, but a free and absolute Personality, absolute in power, in intelligence, and in moral operation. The deeply religious aspect of "Proverbs"—the remark is true in all sections of the book, though in varying degree—has usually been under-estimated. Canon Cheyne only reflects a prevailing view when he says, "It is not clear to me that these wise men were preoccupied by religion;" the "tone of the secular proverbs is not from a Christian point of view an elevated one;" the "ethical principle is prudential;" these writers "are clearly not in the van of religious thought." These surely are surface-views. There is a sense in which such language might be justified; but a closer study of "Proverbs" shews the profoundly religious basis of its whole ethical structure, and some of these wise men utter deep, sonorous spiritual notes worthy of the loftiest prophetism. It is one of the excellences of Dr Pfeiffer's book that he gives due weight to this element without exaggerating it.

The view taken of Wisdom is conditioned by the view given of God. Pfeiffer's exposition of the Chokma idea—see especially p.

95—is interesting. It is described as the Thought of the world as a finite being, existing through, in, and for God, a Thought which has become objective for the Divine Spirit who sees in Wisdom as in a mirror His own eternal idea reflected. The relation of the Hebrew Chokma to Socratic and Greek philosophy generally is well brought out on p. 114 foll., the religious faith implied in the former being strongly emphasized. The most interesting part of the volume, but that which least lends itself to treatment in a review, deals with the application of wisdom to the details of personal, family, and social life. The mine of suggestive teaching on these points contained in Proverbs is well worked by our author. Here his exegetical faculty comes into play. The pages are nowhere overloaded with minute details, but the author's discussion of the obscure passages in which "Proverbs" abounds is conducted with great skill and judgment. The separate notes on the often-discussed difficulties of ch. xxx. 4 (p. 24) and viii. 22 (p. 37) are good samples of this. The scattered remarks on exegesis are often full of insight; and, while Dr Pfeiffer is in the main conservative in relation to the text, here and there he ventures a happy conjectural emendation.

One of the subjects which most fully call out this exegetical faculty is the question whether Proverbs contains any allusion to immortality. Ewald and Delitzsch have been followed by some English writers in their contention that some proverbs necessarily imply a hope of life beyond the grave. It may be open to discussion whether x. 25, "the righteous is an everlasting foundation," xi. 4, "righteousness delivereth from death," xii. 28, "in the path of righteousness there is no death," xiv. 32, "the righteous hath hope in his death," and some similar utterances warrant this conclusion. Dr Pfeiffer subjects them to careful examination—the discussion of text and interpretation of xii. 28 on p. 244 foll. furnishes a good specimen of expository skill—and also the passages in which *Sheol* occurs. He comes to the conclusion that no hope of future reward animated "the wise" in their pursuit of wisdom, but that the typically Jewish view which limited the moral and spiritual horizon to the present life is taken for granted throughout. In this he appears to us to be right, though in the case of one or two passages we hesitate, and we very heartily agree with the protest which the author makes against the view that the ethical tone of the book, on this supposition, is low and unspiritual. The conditions of the Jewish dispensation must be taken into the account. The ethical value of "prudential" or "utilitarian" considerations varies with that *Welt-Anschauung* which, in the case of the *Chakamim*, it is the object of our author to describe. A world governed by a righteous and gracious God, in which the upright

would sooner or later be rewarded—though sometimes adversity might be sent as fatherly chastisement—is in itself an elevating conception, and a man who believed he was living in such a world and had no revelation of any other, could hardly do better than regulate his life by that fear of Jehovah which was the beginning of wisdom and the secret of all worldly well-being. If some of the proverbs are found to deal with comparatively trivial details, and others with underlying spiritual principles, that is only what might be expected in such a collection of collections of various utterances upon the most various subjects. "There are diversities of operations, but the same Spirit" is a saying which finds illustration in the Old Testament as well as in the New; its application to the book of Proverbs is one of the chief features of Dr Pfeiffer's thoughtful and interesting volume.

W. T. DAVISON.

Christianity and Idealism.

By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Publications of the Philosophical Union of the University of California. Edited by G. H. Howison, LL.D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy. Vol. II. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Pp. xxxviii. 216. Price, 5s. net.

THE members of the philosophical school which Professor Watson ornaments commonly attain marked success in works of the character of "Christianity and Idealism." Indeed it has often been suggested that only when they take us up into an exceeding high mountain, and show us all the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof, can they properly be said to succeed. However this may be, Professor Watson's new book is an admirable specimen of the art of extracting the essence from multitudinous facts without troubling about the many problems that lie embedded in them. The Hegelian attitude is preserved throughout, but the author, for the most part, rids himself of the formal machinery incident to the categories, and usually with happy results.

Of course procedure of this kind invariably reminds one of the defects of its excellencies. To consider the historical connection between Morality and Religion; the pre-Christian evolution of Greek and Jewish Ideals; the Christian Ideal and its mediæval development; the nature of Idealism; the relation of Idealism to Agnosticism and to the special sciences; and the relation of Christianity to Idealistic Philosophy in the compass of some 200 widely-printed pages, is an impossible task for any man, and with most

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would inevitably lead to scrappiness or to mere snapshot generalities. Professor Watson is not in such hopeless case, and the charm of his work centres in the rapid presentation of results of wide reading and lengthened reflection, the processes being all the while suppressed. As has been said, defects are inseparable from the method. They are present most prominently in the chapter on the Jewish Ideal. Here the old fallacy that the essence of Judaism is to be found in the law reappears in an exaggerated form—exaggerated by the apparent absoluteness of the deliverance. Prophetism, not in what it did, but in the statement of the ideal that it failed to embody, constitutes the Jewish contribution to religious thought. And, apart from this view, the essential relation of Christianity to Judaism cannot be adequately set forth. So, naturally, it is missed in what follows. Professor Watson's account of the Christian Ideal is remarkable, not merely for the absence of any reference to the Incarnation—which, as a fact, not a doctrine, is not covered by his prefatory exclusion of doctrine—but also for complete forgetfulness that the Incarnation takes its place in religious evolution as the characteristic contribution of Christianity, because here the ideal of Prophetism became actual. Similar reasons, one can gather, lead to the objection (201) against regarding God as personal. I am free to confess that on this question Professor Watson seems to me unfaithful to his own principles. If Idealism be true, as I conclude it is, and if it be carried out to its only logical conclusions, is it possible for man to envisage God otherwise than as a person? It might indeed be urged that, as Professor Watson's whole tendency is to show that Hegel was not Hegelian enough, so here he is not sufficiently himself. The remarks in Professor Howison's Introductory Note (xiv. *sq.*) are full of interest in this connection.

On the other hand, good points abound. The prefatory account of Idealism (xxvi. *sq.*) is admirable. The exposition of the Greek Ideal (chap. ii.) could not well be better within similar compass; it once more suggests the immense superiority of the Idealistic interpretation—*e.g.*, in Mr Edward Caird and Hegel himself—in connection with the civilisation for which it has most affinity, over an estimate of the Jews, which makes them "foolishness." The criticisms of Mr A. J. Balfour and of Mr F. H. Bradley (122 *sq.* and 138 *sq.*) seem to me to be conclusive, and they are as timely as masterly. The treatment of recent mathematical speculations (161 *sq.*) is most instructive, and the contention for Teleology in the light of Darwinism (182 *sq.*) raises some ultimate problems with eminent skill. The book is so clearly written that no one can have difficulty in mastering it. And as it everywhere discusses questions of living and vital importance, its perusal is to be

strongly recommended. The larger work along similar lines which Professor Watson half promises will be eagerly awaited by all who desire to learn the processes whereby the conclusions presented in this little volume have been reached. R. M. WENLEY.

Human Activity. Philosophical Ethics.

Das menschliche Handeln. Philosophische Ethik von A. Dorner, D.D., Professor an der Universität Königsberg. Berlin: Mitscher u. Röstel, 1895. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 737. Price, M.12.

THE present work, as the author tells us in his preface, forms a sort of parallel to one published in 1887, entitled "Human Knowing" (*Das menschliche Erkennen*). The earlier work supplies the general psychological and metaphysical presuppositions of the present one; indeed, a considerable part of the treatise now to be noticed is little more than an expansion, with modifications, of a section of that on "Human Knowing." As it will clearly be impossible, in the space at my disposal, to give detailed account of Dr Dorner's ethical system as a whole, much more to discuss his views of the various psychological and metaphysical, theoretical and practical, moral and religious, problems on which he touches in his massive work, I must restrict myself in the main to a brief sketch of prominent features, and one or two critical remarks thereon.

First, however, it will be well to summarise the Table of Contents.

In an introductory chapter a preliminary account is given of the conception, the task, and the scope of Philosophical Ethics. The discussion proper is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with the presuppositions of Ethics; the second with the System of Ethics, in other words, with the system of human action. Under the head of Presuppositions are included: I. Phenomenology of the moral consciousness, which again falls into two sections—the *first*, or psychological one, occupied with the Ethical Intelligence and Ethical Feeling and Will; the *second*, with the chief stages of the genesis of the moral life in the consciousness of humanity, or the various ethical Ideals, which constitute three great stages, described respectively as the Eudæmonistic Ideal, the abstract Ethics of the unconditioned Ought or Formal Ethics, and the Union of absolute Ethics with the doctrine of the Good and Eudæmony: II. Metaphysical presuppositions of Ethics: III. Religious presupposition of Ethics.

The Second or Systematic part is divided into two sections—the first sketching the general features of systematic Ethics; and the second, treating agreeably to custom, of Special Ethics, *i.e.*, of Duties, Virtue and Good.

I venture to think that Dr Dorner's exposition of his system would have gained in clearness if he had proceeded constructively. He seems, on the contrary, rather to have set it forth as it grew in his own mind. The habit of introducing important momenta and considerations either incidentally or in the course of criticisms of other writers is also rather confusing, besides occasioning not a few repetitions, which might otherwise have been avoided. In part, perhaps, he has but fallen in with a method not uncommon in Germany. Its writers on philosophical, and especially theological subjects, are accustomed to allow themselves to wind in and out of subjects, letting the course which they take be largely determined by the authors with whom they reckon, even at the risk of appearing to advance rather spirally than in a straight line. Foreigners, therefore, are perhaps scarcely justified in making it a matter of critical remark. Still, as some of our own younger thinkers seem, in this, as in other respects, to be treading in the steps of their German teachers, it may not be quite out of place to note the peculiarity.

It will conduce to a readier appreciation of Dr Dorner's position if I proceed constructively and begin with a reference to the cosmological basis of his system as set forth in the section entitled "Metaphysical presuppositions of Ethics."

That he should go back to a cosmology is quite in order. Ethical systems, as a matter of fact, always are conditioned by a view of the constitution of the world as a whole, if not consciously yet unconsciously,—too frequently the latter.

But to proceed. The author posits, or I might say postulates, a world, the constituent factors of which are at first in a state of disorder or "disharmony"; which state is to be converted into one of harmony. What is true of the world-system in its entirety, is true also of the co-ordinate or subordinate systems, down even to the great human system and the individuals by which it is constituted. They are all characterised by disharmony, and are all meant to be harmonised.

This initial disharmony is designed to be converted into harmony by the agency of the "World-substances" or "World-potences" themselves, which are the subjects of the disorder, either in themselves or in their relations to each other.

All the "World-potences" or "World-substances" are both "real atoms" and "rational"; but whilst, in some, rationality shows itself solely in the fact that within universal law the direction of their

particular movements can be modified by atoms which are able to act for ends, *i.e.*, which conform to a teleology external to themselves ; in others, "rationality rises to self-consciousness, to the capability of an inner activity of thought and volition, which is able to influence the more mechanical activity of their fellow-atoms" (p. 247). These latter are designated "finite, earthly spirits," also "human monads" (p. 245). Being "*real atoms*" as well as "reason," they can act not only on and in themselves, but on the real atoms which are controlled by the mechanical order of the world, and thus also modify that order.

The "monads" naturally share the disharmony of the world to which they belong ; but on them is devolved the function of establishing order, not only in themselves, but also in the world. As the author says : "The more rational they become, the more will everything be embraced by this harmony. First, the lesser totalities, then the larger ones, till at last the whole of humanity, *in conjunction with its earthly natural environment*, will be reduced to order and harmony" (p. 252).

This is a bold speculation ; one, too, which, as I venture to think, logically involves conclusions fatal to positions on which the writer elsewhere lays great stress. The essence of the speculation, however, rare as it is, deserves serious attention, though it might be presented in a more congruous and self-commending form.

Regarded from this point of view, the history of the world as a whole may be spoken of as a moral process, though in the stricter sense the history of humanity alone merits that designation.

But what is the guarantee of the realisation of the harmony for which the world-system is destined ? If the world and its highest factors are initially in a state of discord, what ground can there be for expecting or reckoning confidently on a change ? Dualism seems rather suggested—essential and eternal dualism. Nay, more, unless the possibility is guaranteed, moral activity, remarks the author, will be impossible.

The guarantee in question is supplied by the fact that both nature and spirit have one source, namely, an absolute being, who is himself moral and therefore personal ; who has so constituted spirit and nature that they shall act and react on each other ; and whose design and purpose is, that the moral law shall eventually prevail, and thus harmony reign in the world (p. 148).

This purpose is expressed in the very constitution of the factors of the world, notwithstanding the disharmony of their initial state. We see it in the orderliness of nature, which is a prophecy of higher harmony. We see it in the impulse towards—and, as it may be termed, the "essential will" for—unity and harmony which characterises the "human monad" in its rational aspect. We see it

further in the fact that an ideal is interwoven with the reason, which, as it gradually dawns on man, requires and impels him to put forth efforts for its realisation—the realisation which is the very harmony unto which he and the world have been created.

Approaching the question from the world-side, these latter form the guarantee—in the view of some ethical writers the *sole* guarantee, if there be any at all. They are the advocates, implicit or explicit, of what is termed *morale independante*. In the earlier parts of Dr Dorner's work many statements occur from which one might not unfairly conclude that his aim was to establish the ethical autonomy of man and the world. But in the section from which I have just been quoting this impression is, in a sense, corrected.

Approaching the question from the side of the origin of the world, the guarantee, as stated, is the Absolute Being.

The recognition of this guarantee—twofold in form, one in reality—safeguards us both against the dualism which seems suggested by the initial state of the world, especially if it be conceived as necessary; and against its anti-ethical influence.

The moral harmony for which the world is destined—if it is to deserve the name—must be produced by the subjects thereof; and if they themselves are to produce it, they must, although actually in disharmony, yet be essentially fitted for and capable of producing it. This point of view, which the author terms the teleological one, is regarded by him as a sufficient rebutment of the objection that his theory is dualistic.

In the human monads, the general disharmony of the world takes the form of a struggle, first, amongst the various impulses, feelings and sensibilities which constitute what may be termed their lower nature; and secondly, between this lower nature and the reason. When the Ego awakes to self-consciousness, it finds itself face to face with conflict, which it has to pacify, and with a "chaos" out of which it has to bring an order and harmony that shall be the realisation of its own pre-ordained, yea, also self-prescribed ideal.

The process by which, according to Dr Dorner, this is effected may be briefly described as follows.

It is the outcome of the co-operation of two factors—one, the practical reason or ethical intelligence; the other, "the will."

The first thing necessary is that the Ego should, as it were, rise out of its actual, given condition to a consciousness of the harmony or ideal it has to realise. The establishment thereof in the world below man, so far as it does not depend on him, is effected naturally, automatically, unconsciously; in him it is to be effected consciously. He has first to know what he has to do. The ideal immanent in man's reason, to which reference was made, reveals itself to him

—that is, to his “Ethical intelligence”—by some such steps as the following:—First, individual acts are seen to be obligatory or forbidden, either before or after performance, or whilst being performed; next, groups of actions are formed, of which certain moral characteristics are predicated; then the idea of duty or right, or of moral obligation, is grasped by itself, apart from particular concrete cases; and finally, it is seen that duty or right embraces every mode of human activity, and that human activities constitute a great whole,—a *living*, not a mechanical whole. Every glimpse thus gained of moral obligation is a glimpse of the *ideal*; every enlargement of the groups of duties which are recognised brings the Ego nearer to the vision of the ideal; but the actual envisagement of the ideal, *as the ideal*, is marked by the dawn of the conception of “totality,” for the “ideal claims to compass the entire life; that a place be found in it, and that it provide a place, for every human activity; and that there shall be no activity which conflicts with another, but that all shall contribute to the harmony, fulness, and good of the whole.” This insight is, of course, only gradually gained, and it is the great function of Ethics to hasten its progress to completeness by sketching the outline of the ideal in its unity, harmony, and concrete totality. In the accomplishment of this task the ethical intelligence avails itself of the assistance of the categories,—as the author explains in the work on “*Das menschliche Erkennen*,” to which reference was previously made.

But another factor besides the ethical intelligence has to co-operate in the process under consideration, namely, “the will.” The nature of the will and the function it discharges are more particularly set forth in the section entitled “*Der sittliche Wille*.”

The harmony to be brought about does not, as asceticism supposes, signify that the impulses and feelings are to be suppressed; nor even that they are to be played off against each other; but their subordination to ethical ends. This is involved in the fundamental assumption that it is the goal of the world; though it is also indicated by the fact that impulses or feelings which grow into passions tend to suppress each other, that is, to the production of a certain kind of unity.

The co-operation of the will in the establishment of harmony is evoked, or, if not exactly evoked, begins with the awakening of what the author calls the *Ich-Gefühl*, the general nature of which will be seen from the following account of the *role* which it plays. “The moment the Ego becomes conscious of its practical intelligence it is stirred by a sense of the value thereof. This feeling is one of pleasure. At the same time the disharmony between its lower nature and the moral law, of which it is also conscious, gives

rise to discontent, and this in turn calls forth efforts for the removal of the cause, that is, positively stated, for the establishment of harmony. These efforts are further stimulated by the satisfaction that results from the ensuing harmony" (p. 92). The dissatisfaction in question may not at first be purely moral; but it becomes more and more so with the growth of the ethical intelligence.

Before further describing how, according to Dr Dorner, harmony is established between the *Triebleben* or lower nature, and the *Vernunft* with its claims or ideal, I must briefly refer to the position he himself takes up relatively to the "will." His general use of the term and references to the self-activity of the Ego, throughout a great part of his work, are of the kind that is characteristic of advocates of its freedom; not such as are consistent with determinism. Yet he avows himself a determinist, and subjects the conception of free-will or freedom of choice to what is meant to be a trenchant criticism. The conception, however, of free-will or freedom of choice which he criticises is surely one that is rarely entertained, at all events by modern intelligent writers. The following are some of his representations. "It is a new force;" "man is in such a state of equilibrium that he is able to decide either for the moral intelligence on the one side or the *Triebleben* on the other, in a purely and absolutely capricious way; and such choice alone is free;" "the ego, as will, can *make itself* (!) completely independent of the two sides of itself, and then decide capriciously;" "freedom of choice implies an Ego which hovers in a sovereign way over all its own interests, between which and the ethical or moral there is no affinity, the two being foreign to each other;" "though the possession of freedom is ordinarily assumed for the purpose of accounting for the existence of evil, inasmuch as caprice, *quod* caprice, has the right to decide as it chooses, a purely capricious decision for evil would not be evil"; "to blame the Ego for deciding capriciously would be to lay on it the obligation of submitting to a command that is altogether external and foreign to its nature—an obedience which at the best would be purely legal, not ethical." He further objects, that if freedom of choice, of course, as just defined, was possessed and exercised at the beginning, it must continue to be possessed to the end, because it is inconceivable that such a power should be done away with by exercise, as is frequently implied, if not explicitly maintained. The conclusion is naturally at last reached that freedom of choice is untenable;—a conclusion obviously inevitable from such premises.

As the author himself, however, observes, this leaves us face to face with two questions which need answering—first, how the idea

of such freedom can have arisen? and second, how, without freedom, the process under consideration can be carried through?

The answer to the first question is in substance—that it is a *mistake* due to the fact that when the Ego becomes aware on the one hand, of the disorder which it harbours within itself; and on the other, of the demand for order issuing from its own reason; and finds by experience that, at one time, impulse gains the victory, at another, law or duty;—it seems to itself, looking at itself, as it is apt to do, in the abstract to be in the presence of possibilities between which it is both able and bound to choose. In reality, the wavering between obedience to duty and bondage to impulse is the result of the varying strength of one or the other motive or inducement. So that the whole question is simply one of “*genügende Motivation*”—adequate Motivation—and there is no need whatever of the assumption of free will in the sense of freedom of choice (p. 109).

The real condition of moral progress is, therefore, advance in moral intelligence—in other words, the attainment of fuller insight into the nature of the task to be accomplished by the Ego; though concomitantly the power to realise what the reason prescribes to the Ego also increases. This is all the more the case as every failure to conform to the ideal which is revealing itself gives rise to a stronger and more painful sense of discrepancy and discord.

When at last the point is reached at which the moral law is grasped in its distinctness, purity, necessity and unconditional validity, the Ego, for the sake of maintaining its own unity, once and for ever, consciously allies itself therewith, and thus becomes of set purpose, though at first only in principle, what from the first it was in itself essentially—to wit, a good Ground-will (*Grundwille*), a bottomly good will.

To the objection that this is to represent the Ego as dragging itself out of the slough by its own queue, he replies, “the Ego must be regarded from the teleological point of view,” which he explains as follows:—“In point of fact, the Ego is originally and essentially a unity, with the mission of reducing to order a manifold of impulses, feelings, sensibilities. It is involved in its moral nature—to wit, in the fact that it may not remain what it primarily is, but is under obligation to constitute itself by its own act that which it is designed to be, that it should not be able to realise itself as rational and teleological, till the moral intelligence is fully awake. “The act by which man wills to be one with the ideal of his reason, though the full concrete realisation of what he wills may be long delayed, is the *creative moment* which distinguishes the human spirit from nature.” He then begins to discharge the primal and most essential duty of his nature as rational—namely,

that of organising the self as given (*gegeben*), into the self which is pre-figured in the immanent ideal of his practical reason.

Dr Dorner's effort to secure a moral process by means of a will that is not free is marked by a subtlety and vigour which I have scarcely even indicated; yet it is not a success. In point of fact, too, he unwittingly at the last smuggles in the very freedom with which he had sought to dispense.

"Naturam expellas furca
Tamen usque recurret."

* The whole of his elaborate argument is nullified by the phrase just quoted, namely "*einschöpferisches Moment*,"—a *creative moment*. For a creative act or element or factor, or however else the difficult German term "*Moment*" may be rendered—what is that but the very free act of choice at which he boggles as inexplicable and untenable? A "*creative Moment*" in a process, which depends solely on "*adequate motivation*," that is, on the relative strength of certain impulses, found by man in himself when the practical reason awakes; which he is not to suppress; between which he cannot choose; and for the control of which he cannot appeal to any power outside himself, is surely very like that refuge of logicians at their wits' end, namely, the "*Deus ex machina*."

As to the metaphysical pre-suppositions of ethics postulated by Dr Dorner, one of them is the absolute being who is the ultimate guarantee of the realisation of the world-ideal. The others are: the real existence of an Ego and Egos; next the real existence of the external world, without which human activity would lack its proper and chief object and sphere; and finally the possibility of the union of spirit and nature.

With regard to the *religious* pre-supposition of ethics, whilst allowing that the ideal of religion and that of morality are in essential harmony; that religion, therefore, in its true form furthers rather than hinders morality, in so far as it helps to maintain the unconditioned character of the ethical and to strengthen faith in the final supremacy of the good;—he denies to religion the determining influence which has generally been claimed for it by Christian theologians. He is also far enough from recognising the empirical churches and faiths as high ethical authorities and influences. Indeed, the tone of his allusions to organised Christianity suggests that he looks rather to ethical teaching than to the Christian Gospel for the progress of humanity towards virtue and good.

As already noted, the second and larger half of the work is devoted to the exhibition of ethics as a system, that is of the system of human activities, with the special purpose of showing that they

constitute a totality, a unity, in which ideally considered not one can fail. In other words, it aims at describing, first in general outline, and then in particular, the moral ideal of human activity.

The three parts into which, following traditional usage, he divides his subject, namely, Duties, Virtue, Good, are distinguished as follows. The doctrine of duty sets forth how men are to act; that of virtue the ideal moral personality or perfected humanity; and that of good the products of the activity of virtuous persons.

It is, of course, difficult to keep these three subjects apart; for in a sense each involves the other. Dr Dorner, however, has been as successful in doing so as one could expect.

The work thus very imperfectly introduced to the readers of the *Critical Review* contains ample proof of the wide reading, the protracted and earnest thought, the fair and judicial tone of mind, and the practical insight of the author. Much may be learnt from it by ethical thinkers of every school; and, in particular, ethical teachers, whether clerical or not, would do well to study the latter part of the work. Apart from the terminology, which strikes me as somewhat lacking in clearness, owing perhaps to the effort to avoid monotony, the style is vigorous and lucid.

But for all this, I cannot regard the work as a success. To some of the weaker points attention has already been called. Its determinism is a serious blot. A still more serious defect, from the point of view of Christian theology, is, that although a short *Excursus* is devoted to "Das Böse;" there is no real recognition of sin, and therefore none of the need or fact of salvation. Indeed, both are excluded by the logic of the system.

The author's criticisms of writers who look for the realisation of the world's harmony and ideal to the gradual action of the resident forces and laws of the system of *nature* are acute and sound. But notwithstanding the teleology which he imports into the very constitution both of the world and man, and his preservation of terms like "ethical process," "will," and others, which imply that man is responsible for co-operation towards the great end, he does not transcend the naturalistic position—indeed, his determinism prevents his doing so. Of every other living thing may be affirmed all that he affirms of man, save consciousness: and consciousness alone, i.e., the capability of seeing the disorder that has to be overcome, and the law or ideal, according to which the forces have to be ordered, does not warrant us in applying to human activity for the production of harmony such time-honoured descriptions as "ethical," "obedience to duty," "virtuous," and so forth. Being thus constituted, however, he is necessarily a prey to the most melancholy and persistent of all delusions—the delusion that he is responsible for effort which he cannot put forth; blamable for failures

which he cannot avoid; and praiseworthy for progress which is as independent of him as the precession of the equinoxes.

Further criticism of the system as a whole, especially of the first part, could only be of value in the light of a different and more satisfactory system: and for the exposition of such a system this is not the place.

I venture, in concluding, to express the hope that the author, who bears a name so well beloved and highly honoured, may yet produce an ethical treatise that shall do justice to the claims both of a sound philosophy, of the "faith once delivered to the saints," and of the essential mind of the Catholic Church. Such an Ethic is needed: such an Ethic is possible.

D. W. SIMON.

Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung.

Von *Hugo Willrich, Ph.D. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1896; Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 176. Price, M.3.*

Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift Vom beschaulichen Leben.

Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des hellenistischen Judenthums. Von Paul Wendland. Leipzig: Teubner, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 80. Price, M.2.80.

Entwicklungsgeschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten und Neuen Bunde, an der Hand einer Analyse der Quellen.

Von *H. J. Bestmann, Pastor in Wölln. I. Das Alte Testament. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 421. Price, M.6.*

Der Missionsgedanke im Alten Testament.

Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte. Von Max Löhr, Professor in Breslau. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896; Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, M.0.80.

The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis.

A Critical Enquiry into the Value of the Text exhibited by Yemen MSS. compared with that of the European recension. By Henry Barnstein, Ph.D. London: Nutt, 1896. 8vo, pp. 100. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

Hebrew Grammar for Arabic-speaking Jews.

By Abraham Kestin. Alexandria (Egypt), 1896. 8vo, pp. 140.

IN the preface to his *History of Israel*, Julius Wellhausen urged classical philologists to enter the field which, till then, had been wrought only by trained theologians and Orientalists, and to cultivate it with greater zeal and earnestness than had yet been displayed. Dr Willrich's work primarily appears in response to that appeal. But there were other inducements to undertake the task. Mommson's masterly sketch of Judea and the Jews, in the fifth volume of his *History of Rome*, further awakened the desire of ascertaining, from a study of the original sources, the relation sustained by the Greeks and Romans to the Jews. Schürer's learned and invaluable *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ* naturally formed a guide and a model of scientific method; but increasing acquaintance with the historical authorities themselves made it more and more evident that the master, after all, was not at home in the period extending from the time of Alexander the Great to Antiochus Epiphanes, and that his conception and treatment of that section in the history were accordingly at many points defective and inaccurate. It was thus with great regret that our author, while acknowledging the deepest indebtedness to Schürer, yet felt compelled to differ from him on many points.

The work is essentially a critical examination of the authorities for the history of the Greek period in the national life of the Jews, viz., from 333 to 167 B.C. In the execution of the task, statements of writers hitherto regarded as trustworthy are often shown to be really unreliable. It is pretty well known, indeed, that Josephus frequently contradicts even himself, and passes over inconvenient facts in order to glorify his nation. But the same desire and design are observable in other Jewish writers also; one who desires to ascertain the real facts regarding the fortunes of Israel in those dark days of misfortune and oppression must thus frequently tear off the gilded covering. The truth has often to be sought elsewhere.

The investigation commences with a sifting of the legendary story regarding Alexander's march to Jerusalem and his sudden change of purpose towards its inhabitants and the Jewish nation generally. In citing and estimating the worth of the statements by various writers, penetration is combined with sound judgment and remarkable fairness, so that the reader feels strongly inclined to give simple assent to most of the conclusions drawn. Though the residuum of probable truth sometimes seems disappointingly small, one can hardly say that the author goes too far. On the other hand, when he modestly compares his labours to those of a humble worker who but hews and brings a few stones which some master-builder will afterwards use in the construction of a stately edifice,

we shall do well to differ from his judgment here, and thank him heartily for what he has performed with master-hand.

Dr Wendland's brief treatise forms an important contribution towards the settlement of a long controversy. The work entitled *About the Contemplative Life*, attributed to Philo, and generally printed in collections of his works, though sometimes declared spurious by certain editors, gives some account of a sect or community called the Therapeutae, who were specially remarkable for their strict and even ascetic mode of life, and who spent their time in pious contemplation. From the days of Eusebius, and mostly through his instrumentality, the work has been prominently before the Christian Church; and from those early centuries till the time of the Reformation it was regarded as giving a view of primitive Christianity. Christian monasticism obviously derived great strength and support from this interesting description of an earlier mode of life which was even regarded as a type and pattern. But when mediaeval darkness began to disappear before the dawn of the Reformation, and when awakened Europe, with enlightened eyes, perceived gross abuses and perversions even in the Church of Christ, the foul corruptions of monasticism made earnest men enquire into the origin and warrant of a system which produced such evil fruits. Then began a controversy, continued till the close of last century, between Papists on the one hand, who defended the genuineness of this treatise *About the Contemplative Life* and its credibility as a truthful picture of early Christian days, and Protestants on the other side, who denounced the work as a spurious production of later Christian times—a pious forgery.

Controversy has been recently revived, but in another form and around another point; for the question now most keenly discussed is, Who *were* the Therapeutae? It is much more easy, however, to ask this question than to settle it, inasmuch as the language employed in the treatise is confessedly vague. Grätz, Jost, and particularly Lucius (in a treatise published in 1879, entitled *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese*), followed by Harnack, Schürer, and others, hold that the Therapeutae were Christians, but not early Christians, and that the work was thus not Philo's, but the forgery of a writer in the fourth century of our era. Others, with better show of reason, defend the Philonic authorship of the treatise, but contend that the Therapeutae were Jewish ascetics, whose origin and precise tenets are exceedingly difficult to determine. The leading champion on this side is Mr F. C. Conybeare, whose masterly work, entitled *Philo, About the Contemplative Life* (Oxford, 1895), forming a noble monument of

English scholarship, contains a critically edited Greek text, with Latin and Armenian versions, and a thorough examination of the linguistic peculiarities which establish the Philonic authorship.

This treatise by Dr Wendland forms a further defence of substantially the same position as that occupied by the English scholar. The German critic, however, takes a somewhat different view regarding the genesis of the present text and its relations to the manuscripts and versions; important additions are likewise made to the confirmatory citations adduced by Mr Conybeare from the early Fathers; the language and style of the treatise are discussed anew with great penetration and thoroughness; and still more searching inquiry is made into the origin of the *Therapeutae*, as well as the record regarding them. This little work, in short, forms an indispensable supplement to the standard production of Mr Conybeare.

Pastor Bestmann has firm convictions, and is strongly opposed to the advanced school of Old Testament critics, against whom this volume is directed. He is decidedly—one might even say extremely—conservative. The fundamental error of modern criticism, he contends, is its excessively “literary” character, by which he means its inordinate disposition to treat many portions of the Scripture merely as literary productions without duly considering their historical setting and their true meaning.

In this first volume, which treats of the Old Testament alone, he displays much ingenuity and freshness in exhibiting what he regards as the true method of reading the Hebrew Scriptures. Taking, first, the Book of Psalms, he seeks to prove, from a very thorough analysis of the whole, that this collection was intended to present the religious ideal of life. Taking, next, the Wisdom literature, he similarly enforces his view that this division was intended to set forth the practical ideal of life in ancient Israel. The writings of the prophets, forming a third division, he explains as exhibiting the ideal of the nation as a community in covenant relation with God; this feature, though specially prominent in the writings of the earliest prophets, Amos and Hosea, comes out again and again in the utterances of their successors. The fourth of the leading ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures is that of a united Israel living under the law; this conception obviously presents itself in the Pentateuch, but particularly in the Book of Deuteronomy. The last division sets forth the mission of regenerated Israel as a people under the guidance of prophecy and the law combined.

The work is stimulating and suggestive, but is somewhat marred by the polemical spirit pervading the whole.

Understanding the missionary idea in the Old Testament as involved in the thought that the whole earth shall one day come to see the glory of the Lord, and all nations worship Him, Professor Löhr very clearly and forcibly points out that this conception could not but remain strange to Israel during its early history. For, first of all, it had religious and moral problems of its own to solve; time was required to settle in the territory it had conquered, and then to regard this as the land of the Lord; furthermore, the chosen nation had to strengthen itself against the friendly as well as the hostile influences of the Canaanites, and to realise that they were the people of Jehovah. This early training of Israel was anything but calculated to evoke and foster a missionary spirit; it rather produced and intensified the feeling of religious exclusiveness, so that the Hebrew people could truly be described in the words of Balaam (Num. xxiii. 39) as one that "dwelt alone, and was not reckoned among the nations."

Gradually, however, after these early ideas had become rooted in the national mind, other truths had to be learned, especially through contact with foreign peoples. How the missionary idea was implanted and gradually developed in later times is admirably shown in this brief but valuable treatise, which we heartily commend to the notice of our readers.

Dr Barnstein has laid all true students of the Targums under deep obligations by the preparation and publication of his admirable treatise, which, rather modestly, he calls a mere "enquiry." His work, however, is much more than a preliminary investigation; it is not merely an earnest appeal for a critical edition of the best Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch, but an admirable preparation for the execution of the task. Berliner's edition of the Onkelos Targum, published in 1884, is the most valuable as well as the most available; but its sources are all European, and, in spite of most praiseworthy endeavours to present a correct text, the work is very faulty. A number of most important Targum manuscripts have latterly been brought to Europe from South Arabia, where flourishing Jewish communities long maintained their ground. The attention of scholars has indeed been already called to the peculiar vowel-system applied to the text in these manuscripts; this vocalisation is superlinear, as distinguished from the sublinear, with which we are familiar in pointed Hebrew texts; but the whole system is much simpler, and more suited to the genius of the Aramaic language than the sublinear.

Interesting as this subject is to Semitic philologists, the Yemen MSS. are far more important to exegetes, whether Jewish or Christian, inasmuch as they present a Targum text more strictly literal in its renderings, and thus far more helpful in the elucidation of the Hebrew original, than that which has long been current in the West, and which is haggadic in its character. Not without good reason, therefore, does Dr Barnstein urge that the interesting and valuable recension presented in these Yemen manuscripts should be made available for Biblical students.

A clear and succinct account of Onkelos and his work is followed by a critical investigation of the Targums; this is succeeded by a scholarly examination of the linguistic peculiarities of these manuscripts; the whole is closed by specimen chapters, accompanied by footnotes showing various readings. The typography is most tasteful, and may even be called elegant.

The feeling of disappointment raised by the first glance at Kestin's book disappears after closer examination has been made. In style of printing, and even in skill of arrangement, it is far behind the excellent specimens of typographic art to which we are now so happily accustomed in Western Europe. But to one who takes any interest in the elevation and advancement of the Orientals, this little work becomes a cheering indication of progress; its style of execution shows immense improvement on what was commonly produced in Egypt not many years ago. The basis of the work is really the Arabic language, but this is expressed—with some difficulty—in Hebrew characters, for the use of Jews in Egypt accustomed to this mode of literary intercommunication. It presents a carefully graduated course of instruction for leading Arabic-speaking Jews to a knowledge of their ancestral language, and is well fitted to attain this end.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Biblisch-aramäischen Sprache.

Von D. Karl Marti. (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Pars XVIII.).
Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. London and Edinburgh:
Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 134 and 90. Price,
M.3.60.

THIS book will be welcomed by all students of the Old Testament who can appreciate sound treatment of grammar and vocabulary. Like the best of its predecessors in the series, it combines thoroughness with compactness and clear arrangement. The grammar,
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which occupies 130 pages, provides a summary and exposition of all the phenomena appearing in the literary remains of Biblical Aramaic (the passages Dan. ii. 4—vii. 28, Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18, and vii. 12-26; the two words in Gen. xxxi. 47, and the verse Jer. x. 11). This is followed by a list of books bearing on the subject, and by paradigms, in which the author has followed Kautzsch (as against Delitzsch) in citing only forms that actually occur. Next he has given the text of the Biblical passages, adopting Baer's results with regard to the actual Masoretic tradition, but introducing a series of carefully considered emendations, partly due to Kautzsch and Bevan, his predecessors in this field. The book concludes with a glossary, which contains a most important contribution of *new* matter to the explanation of the Biblical passages—viz., a full account and treatment of the Persian words in Daniel, which has been supplied to the author by the competent hand of Dr C. F. Andreas of Berlin; there are also contributions from Professors Bevan and Zimmern. This glossary may without doubt be said to constitute the greatest advance in the study of this dialect since the appearance of Professor Bevan's *Daniel* in 1892.

If a word of criticism may be allowed, it is that the author has carried rather far his avoidance of the "unnecessary" (Preface, p. vi.) element of comparative grammar. In a dialect of which the literary remains are so few, isolated forms are met with which ought not to be explained without reference to parallels in other dialects. To take one instance which Nöldeke has already noticed, the rejection of the pronominal forms ܕܠ and ܕܗ as Hebraisms (p. 27) is refuted by the fact that similar forms ending in *m* occur in the Nabatean inscriptions (Bevan, p. x.). The evidence of the same inscriptions, (e.g. the spelling ܡܢܝܐ, Bevan, p. 215) destroys the author's theory that ܡ as opposed to ܕ is not a genuine Aramaic letter. Then again, in attempting to explain the hardening of the ܢ in the Hithpeel of verbs ܢܝܢܐ (p. 61), account should have been taken of the fact that in Syriac the forms Ethpeel and Ethtaphal from ܢܝܢܐ verbs are the same. And surely the exposition of the syntax would have gained from a comparison and contrast with Syriac as regards (for instance) the use of the absolute and emphatic states and the treatment of the tenses. Only thus could the peculiarities of the dialect have been fully brought out.

But these minor defects detract very little from the merit of the book as a "complete grammar" of Biblical Aramaic. And I must conclude by once more calling attention to the glossary with its fresh explanation of Persian words as making the book indispensable to students of Daniel and Ezra.

NORMAN M'LEAN.

Philosophy of Theism.

Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1895-96. Second Series. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. 288. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

IN the number of this *Review* for April 1896, we had the pleasure and the privilege of welcoming the first series of Professor Fraser's Gifford Lectures, and we then ventured to anticipate that, when completed by a second series of lectures on the lines indicated by the venerable author, this work would take rank among the most useful books upon its important subject. The promised volume is now before us, and certainly does not yield either in interest or ability to its predecessor. If in some parts these lectures strike us as somewhat more discursive, somewhat less pointed than the last, there is the same grasp of fundamental principles which shows that the writer's utterances are the fruit of long meditation, the same fair and courteous treatment of those who differ from him, the same temperate yet earnest tone as of one who feels that he has a message for his generation, the same power of imparting freshness to oft-repeated truths by suggestive and illustrative detail and felicitous collocation. In his preface Professor Fraser explains that the lectures are not the outcome of a special course of reading and investigation undertaken with a Gifford Lectureship in view, but "an honest exposition of results already reached in a life devoted to kindred pursuits." In this, as we formerly indicated, lies the special value of his treatment of the subject, and that which makes it specially suitable for thoughtful readers who, having received no systematic training in philosophy, would be repelled by a purely abstract discussion, or a parade of learning, chiefly evidenced by abundance of foot-notes, and who yet want something more than a mere popular statement, and do *not* want mere special pleading. For a well informed, carefully weighed statement of the subject,—which does not ignore its difficulties, which is content to rest upon probability when probability is the nearest approach to certainty, and which yet in its strong appeal to common sense, in its preference for the rational over the irrational, the moral over the immoral or the non-moral, presents a strong case in favour of Theism,—such readers can be confidently recommended to the discussion here contained.

It may be convenient to recall briefly the course of the argument in the previous volume. The Final Problem of the Universe, the most important which can engage the attention of thinking men, is

there defined as consisting in the determination of the mutual relation of three existences brought to light in the common consciousness of mankind. These are Matter, the Self or Ego, and God. Attempts have been made to explain the universe from the point of view of each of these in turn, giving rise to theories of Panmaterialism, Panegoism and Pantheism. An examination of these theories having revealed the impossibility of rationally resting in them, there are only two courses open to us. We must reject all, or accept all; the problem must be dismissed as insoluble, or a synthesis of all the elements found to be involved in it must be attempted. The position of universal nescience being found on investigation to be untenable, the last three lectures of the first series are devoted to an exhibition of the way in which the "three existences" imply each other, and can only be explained through each other; while to each is conceded a relative independence, they combine to form a higher unity, by the stability and integrity of which reason and morality alike are rendered possible.

It is important to bear in mind,—whether in surveying the old, or entering upon the new, discussion,—the limitations under which Professor Fraser himself conceives the task set before him. Demonstration, he knows, is in such a matter out of the question; a high degree of probability, of moral certainty, is all that can be aimed at. The alternative which he presents is—the theistic solution or no rational solution at all. Alike in marshalling his own evidence, and in meeting the objections raised by others, he occupies this eminently moderate and cautious attitude; nor will the force of the argument be in any way lessened by it in the view of the earnest and candid enquirer. To show "the final trustworthiness and intelligibility of the universe in which we are living," seems a task which should not be beyond human powers, and the abandonment of which as insoluble, not less than the return of a negative answer to the question it puts, seems equivalent to reason proclaiming itself irrational—or intellectual suicide. Consequently, our author's method is to *assume* Theism, on the one hand, or any other suggested solution of the great problem, upon the other, as a hypothesis to be applied to the facts with the aim of determining, not which theory affords an absolute explanation of them, but which explains them best. This method of *trial*, with resulting acceptance or rejection, is employed throughout the volume before us.

The ten lectures which compose this second series are divided into two sets of five each, the first set being occupied with a positive elaboration of the Theistic argument, and the second dealing with specific difficulties, which must be faced before any theory on this subject can obtain even provisional acceptance. The first lectures are, in fact, a consideration, from the author's point of view, of the

ordinary Theistic arguments. The order of these, as is well known, varies in the hands of different writers,—some preferring to begin with the Ontological argument, some with the Cosmological. Professor Fraser gives the place of honour to the Moral Argument—the opening lecture is entitled, “The Moral Foundation of Theism.” Human experience is best interpreted by the conception of Personality, and the relation of man to God as that of Person to Person—“the moral personification of the physically infinite universe translates its scientifically insoluble problem into one that is morally and practically soluble” (p. 12). The idea thus suggested expresses the truth of much in the speculations of Kant and Descartes, while the combination “of inevitable ultimate ignorance with partial knowledge” has in it something akin to the attitude of Mr Herbert Spencer, whose views are criticised at some length, with the result of showing that he just stops short of drawing the religious inference, of passing from physical to moral faith, the ignorance of which he is sensible undermining, in his estimation, the reality of the knowledge which he possesses. The second lecture deals with the Principle of Causality, the foundation of the Cosmological argument; the third, with Cosmical Adaptation and Divine Design, or the Teleological proof; and the fourth, with Divine Necessity, or the Ontological implication of the Theistic idea. In each of these there is some admirable discussion. In the second, for example, an attempt, not unsuccessful, is made to answer the question, why we cannot believe in an infinite regress of causes, which some writers simply meet with the assertion that no one ever has done so, or can do so; in the third, the author points out the real difficulty in the Design argument, which is not that means should be adapted to ends, but, why, in the hands of a Divine Designer, the means should not be dispensed with altogether. The third lecture also contains some acute criticism of Weismann’s argument that design is incompatible with the scientific comprehensibility of nature. Similarly, in the fourth lecture, an account is given of the Hegelian contribution to Theism, and the difficulties it does *not* solve; while an appreciative reference to Lotze supplies the starting-point for the discussion in the fifth lecture, which, under the title “Philosophical Faith,” lays stress on that element of *trust* in the moral meaning of the universe, which Professor Fraser continually insists is at once the postulate of all knowledge whatever, and the stepping-stone by which we cross the gulf which separates us from God. “Its justification is that the universe of reality dissolves in sceptical and pessimist doubt when the moral faith is withdrawn.” “Philosophical faith is the truly rational trust that nothing can happen in the temporal evolution which can finally put to confusion the principles of moral reason that are latent in man,

scientifically incomprehensible as the world's history of mingled good and evil must be when measured only by finite experience in scientific intelligence. Philosophical faith is thus the reflex of theistic faith" (p. 141).

The five lectures forming the second subdivision of this series are, as already indicated, concerned with specific objections or difficulties arising out of the actual condition of the world, and in view of the proposed Theistic interpretation of it. They bear the titles respectively of "Evil: The Enigma of Theism;" "Optimism;" "Progress;" "Miracle: What is a Miracle?"; "The Mystery of Death: Destiny of Men." To the discussion contained in the first three of these we propose to devote the greater part of the space remaining to us.

The difficulty is thus formulated: "We find ourselves in a universe which, in this corner of it at least, presents a strange and unexpected mixture of what is bad with what is good. This is an obstacle to moral faith, and the religious interpretation of the world, which must be honestly met" (p. 143). The interpretation of the physical side of the world, involved in mystery as it is, presents no such difficulty as is found in the practical emergence in experience of that which *ought not* to be. "All so-called natural agency may not unreasonably be regarded as really divine agency;" Personality is a conception which, with proper qualifications, may be without self-contradiction applied to the Power manifested in Nature and in Man. Not here—not in the fact that *omnia exeunt in mysteria*—lies the obstacle to moral faith, but "in the suspected contents of this corner of the universe," in the apparently capricious infliction of pain which seems so inconsistent with the rule of an "ethically trustworthy and therefore loving Power,"—in the ignorance and error, above all in the moral corruption, which manifest themselves in the experience of men,—"A person's character is judged of by his actions; the actions of the Person that is operative in the experienced universe seem not to consist with perfection." It is vain to seek refuge in the thought that after all this world is itself so insignificant a member of the great stellar host, that even the experience of the human race as a whole, still more that of an individual man, is scarcely deserving of attention in comparison with the affairs of a universe; we feel that "one such issue must darken the infinite purity. And for man the issues on this planet are all in all. . . . One cannot infer a good artist from a bad picture, especially if he has only this one picture to go upon for his conclusion" (p. 159). How, then, can the mystery of physical, but, above all, of moral evil, "be reconciled with a final moral trust in the Power that is revealed in external and spiritual experience?" He who could furnish a complete and satisfactory answer to this question

would indeed deserve well of his fellows. The best and wisest of us can only hope to suggest considerations which mitigate somewhat the pressure of the mystery. Rejecting Manicheism or Dualism as "inconsistent with moral trust and hope in experience,"—finding that the traditional Christian teaching only removes the problem one step back without bringing it nearer to solution,—Professor Fraser asks whether Optimism rightly understood is not a legitimate expression of theistic faith and hope. The seventh lecture accordingly takes up this question. An optimist conception of the universe is held as implying "that its constitutive principles or system is absolutely the best" and is not inconsistent with an imperfect comprehension of the universe, so long as what is known is not of a nature absolutely to render moral trust and hope impossible, and thus to "arrest human life by a suicidal scepticism." But, it is now asked, does not the view that "a necessitated absence of evil must be in itself good, or alone good," involve an unproved assumption? (p. 174). For the universe, on such a condition, perfectly to correspond with the divine ideal, means that it must be a universe of *things*, not of *persons*, the latter as moral beings possessing the power of making themselves bad as well as good. The ideal universe may then be one where evil is possible, not where it is impossible, though even in the former case it may not pass into actuality. "A necessitated absence of sin and sorrow means the necessary non-existence of persons, and the existence of unconscious things only, or at most of things that might be called conscious automata, but not properly persons" (p. 176). This, the existence of persons, especially of those who use this power of self-determination to make evil their good, is, as the next lecture, that on "Progress," brings before us, the "chief enigma, and the evidence of the limitation at least of *our* final conception of the universe" (p. 198). It is through the thought and belief that this world is a training ground for moral beings, and that in it a real moral advance is discernible, that the existence of moral evil becomes reconcilable with faith in a supreme, wise and loving God. Evolution is teleological; physical and intellectual evils are made to help forward the progressive development.

On the subject of Miracles, Professor Fraser prefers to dwell on the fundamentally miraculous character of the whole physical order. He suggests that "a physical miracle may be an event in nature that finds its rational significance in its *moral* relations to the *persons* in the universe, rather than in its physical relation to the *things* in the universe." But, especially as part of a remedial system, miracles are conceivably admissible. And he closes the lecture devoted to this subject with the fine thought that modern scepticism in regard to miracles in the ordinary sense has really

led to a profounder apprehension not only of the universality of physical law, but of the miraculousness of the root of all law in nature.

The concluding lecture on "The Mystery of Death," while dealing with the most solemn of all problems, has little difficulty in showing that only on a Theistic basis can any hope of the future be consistently entertained or any theory of its conditions be constructed.

Thus far our author brings us, scattering upon the way which we traverse with him many fruits of wisdom, many examples of suggestive aphorism and incisive criticism. And so we take leave of him for the present, trusting that this is by no means the last book we shall receive from his practised pen, and that the faith which he has so well set forth may grow brighter and clearer to himself as the shadows lengthen with the years.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

1. Der Verfassungsentwurf des Hesekeiel in seiner religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung.

Habilitationsvorlesung von Lic. Alfred Bertholet, Privatdozenten an der Universität zu Basel. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 28. Price, M.0.80.

2. The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

Edited by Paul Haupt. Part 18, The Book of Daniel, by A. Kamphausen. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 4to, pp. 43. Price, M.3.

3. 'Études sur Daniel et l'Apocalypse.

Par C. Bruston, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 39.

4. Die Alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus.

Textkritisch und biblisch-theologisch gewürdigt nebst einem Anhang über das Verhältniss des Apostels zu Philo, von Hans Vollmer. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8vo, pp. viii. 103. Price, M.2.80.

1. In this semi-popular lecture Bertholet seeks to estimate the significance of Ezekiel and his ideal constitution in the develop-

ment of religion. He finds that the prophet went into exile with two convictions: (1) That disobedience to God's statutes explained the misfortunes of the people (Ezek. i.-xxiv.), and (2) that it was possible to set up once more a purified and prosperous people whose walk should be in accordance with the Divine Law. In chaps. xxv.-xxxii. the destruction of Israel's heathen neighbours is predicted as the necessary preliminary to this, while in chaps. xl.-xlviii. Ezekiel draws up a programme for the restored community. He intended and expected this to be carried out. What although the physical configuration of the land and other trifles opposed the realising of his scheme? With God all things are possible. Everything, religion above all, is now reduced to a system that can be taught and learned. But if Ezekiel is the father of Judaism, if he anticipates the narrow maxim, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, he was the man for his time, as Bertholet successfully shows. In no other way could Israel have been saved from absorption among the heathen, and we can now see how even his legislative programme had its part to play as a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*.

2. Kamphausen's *Daniel* is likely to hold the palm for conservatism in Haupt's series. Some of the other scholars engaged on the Sacred Books have been charged with too great fondness for textual emendation, but it will be felt that if Kamphausen has erred, it has been on the side of caution. His ruling principle is that the consonantal text of Daniel is amongst the best preserved in the Old Testament, although the *Massoretic* text is marred by many errors, especially in the Aramaic portions. He thus frequently prefers the *Kéthibh* to the *Kerî*, he is sceptical of emendations based on the versions, and declines to admit glosses where many other critics discover them. It is needless to say that he has always reasons to adduce for his decisions, and he presents fully and fairly the opinions he rejects, so that the reader is provided with the materials for coming to a conclusion of his own. Is it because of its predominating conservatism that so many editorial notes have been found necessary in this volume? Be that as it may, these notes have a value of their own. In ch. ii. 4*, where Oppert, Lenormant, Bevan, Kautzsch-Marti and others regard ארמית as a gloss, Kamphausen denies that this is necessary. His editor, Professor Haupt, however, differs from him, maintaining that the word is a subsequent addition intended to mark the beginning of the Aramaic sections. Haupt further explains the bilingual character of Daniel by supposing that the whole of the book was written originally in Hebrew, and that some parts which had been lost were afterwards supplied from an Aramaic translation, which had probably been prepared by the author himself not long after

the composition of the Hebrew original. This gets rid of the difficulty which other theories fail to solve, of ch. vii. being written in Aramaic. [Here, by a very awkward misprint on p. 16, l. 17, *Hebrew* stands instead of *Aramaic*.] He finds no difficulty in the fact that the Aramaic sections do not read like a translation. "If a modern scholar writes a Latin essay and subsequently issues a translation in his vernacular, the latter may very well be more idiomatic than the original." According to another editorial note "Darius the Mede seems to be based on a confusion of the destruction of Nineveh (606) and the overthrow of Babylon at the hands of Cyrus (538), with the conquest of Babylon under Darius Hystaspis (520)." Surely this is more probable than Mr Pinches' identification of Darius with Gobryas, which might pass muster, had we only Dan. 5³¹ (Eng.) to deal with, but seems utterly unsuitable to the whole picture of ch. vi., and especially the language of 6²⁵. The enigmatical "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin," Haupt renders, "There has been counted a mina (= Nebuchadnezzar), a shekel ($\frac{1}{60}$ mina = Belshazzar, his supposed unworthy successor), and half-minas" (*parsin* or perhaps *perásin*, referring to the division of the empire between the Medes and Persians).

Differing in this respect from its predecessors, the present volume has the *letters*, not the *ground*, coloured, black being employed for the Hebrew, and red for the Aramaic.¹

¹ We are indebted to Professor A. A. Bevan of Cambridge for the following additional notes on Kamphausen's work.—EDITOR.

Dan. iv. 5.—Kamphausen has misunderstood the view of Luzzatto (*Elementi grammaticali del Caldeo biblico*, 1865, p. 52), adopted by Marti, and approved by Nöldeke, with respect to the phrase כָּל קֶבֶל הָיָה. The view is that כָּל קֶבֶל is a compound of כָּל + ל + קֶבֶל, whereas the Massoretes took it to be a compound of כָּל + קֶבֶל, and vocalised it according to this false theory. In the case of כָּפְעֵלָּו no such mistake was possible, and hence Kamphausen's objection is altogether pointless.

Dan. x. 20 (xi. 1).—Kamphausen is wrong in saying that the words עֲמָדִי וְלִי "belong to the alleged gloss discovered by W. Robertson Smith." According to Robertson Smith's view, the latter half of Dan. xi. 1 is *not* a gloss, but a continuation of chap. x. 21, i.e., he held that we should read—וְאֵין אַחֶרֶת, "and there is none that helpeth me against these, save that Michael your prince standeth as a strengthener and a defence to me."

Dan. xi. 4.—Kamphausen has here been led into a serious error by blindly following Lee's edition of the Peshiṭtā. The Syriac translator did not read or guess וְלֵא כַחֲרֻבוֹ, as Kamphausen suggests, for the word *saieph* "his sword," in the printed Syriac text, is nothing but a mistake for *saueph* "his end" (= אַחֲרִיתוֹ), as any Syriac scholar might see at a glance. The reading *saueph* is actually

3. This little work by Professor Bruston is a model of careful exposition. Sobriety and caution as well as solid argument mark every page of it, and these qualities are all the more welcome because they have been, until recently, conspicuous by their absence from the literature of Daniel and the Apocalypse. In regard to the former book, Bruston materially strengthens the position of those who identify the second beast with the Median, and the third with the Medo-Persian empire. While we are a little sceptical about his ingenious discovery of 666, the number of the Apocalyptic Beast, in Nimrod-ben-Cush, the whole of that section and particularly the discussion of the "deadly wound" of the Beast will repay careful study.

4. This is an interesting and suggestive brochure. From a careful examination of the Old Testament citations and allusions in the four great Pauline Epistles, Vollmer concludes that the Apostle quoted as a rule from the Septuagint (which, however, was known to him not in a single recension of uniform type, but as a number of separate books, some of which conformed in text to one, some to another, of our existing MSS.). Deviations from the Septuagint text, where these are not due to intentional or unintentional alteration, as well as composite citations and such passages as 1 Cor. ii. 9, are probably due to the use of a *Jewish Anthology of the Old Testament*. The author handles very happily the question of Paul's estimate of the Old Testament and shows how completely in his use of it he was the child of his time. Finally, a comparison is instituted between the language of Philo and that of Paul, and it is urged as highly probable that the latter was acquainted with the writings of the Alexandrian philosopher.

J. A. SELBIE.

adopted in the Urmia edition of the Syriac Old Testament (printed in 1852), and rests on manuscript authority; it is found, for instance, in a MS. of the Prophets according to the Peshittā version, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1965, fol. 252^a.

Das Geheimnis in der Religion.

Vortrag gehalten am 11. Februar 1896 von Bernhard Duhm, Dr und Ord. Professor der Theologie in Basel. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 32. Price, Pfg.60.

The Haggadah according to the Rite of Yemen.

Together with the Arabic-Hebrew Commentary. Published for the first time from MSS. of Yemen, with an Introduction, Translation and Critical and Philological Notes, by William H. Greenburg, Ph.D. London: David Nutt, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. xxvi. 55 (with 80 pp. of Text). Price, 4s. 6d.

In this lecture Professor Duhm discusses some interesting points connected with religion. The learned Professor's subject is the element of mystery in religion, which is correctly traced to the belief that man stands in a very close relation to the invisible world—to supersensuous existences that exercise a controlling influence over human life. That such a belief has been cherished from the earliest ages the history of the race sufficiently attests. The formation of the relation with the invisible world does not depend on man—he has no voice in the matter. The superhuman being acts spontaneously. One in the form of a man, or of a bird, or of a serpent, or of some other animal, unexpectedly presents himself—a traveller enters a house and accepts its hospitality, a warrior suddenly places himself at the head of an army when the issue of a battle is about to be decided, and, hey presto! the relation is formed, religion begins. Should it be said that this is but the myth over again, Duhm's reply is (and he is no traditionalist) that, myth or no myth, it has to be reckoned with; "if any one desires to know what religion actually is, he must take account of these things whether he believes them or not" (pp. 9, 10). The formation of the religious relation contains no guarantee of its continuance. The revealing agent may withdraw; those who were favoured with the revelation may remove from the locality. In order to the persistence of the religion the supersensuous communications must be continued. These communications were made to the seers, not to the people generally. And in this connection Professor Duhm emphasises the difference between the religion of Israel, as exhibited in the Old Testament, and that of the pagan nations—laying special stress on the fact that it was not the *miraculous* element which formed the most influential factor in the development of the religion of Israel. If Israel had

had men simply like Elijah or Elisha, we should, to-day, know little more of them than their names, and a few incidents of their public life (p. 21). The subject is carried into the Christian period, down to our own days. The Roman Catholic peoples—with the appearances of saints (so-called), and the consequent pilgrimages and acts of worship, which have a distinct place in their religious life in our time—open their doors wide to the *mystery* in religion as it was conceived of old. Protestants shut the door in its face. Mystery has practically disappeared from their religion as a system. The tendency is, on the one side, to identify religion with the doctrine of the Church, or with the religious conception of the world, or, on the other side, to regard the ethical element (*die Ethik*) as the main factor in religion, whereas it is simply a product of religion, and a sign of its character. "We talk, in our churches, no longer with God, but about God. . . . The ordinary man regards religion as a prudent self-insurance against the eventualities of a world to come." The real mystery in religion is found among us Protestants—if it is found at all—in true prayer. When a man is laid hold of by the conviction that he is in the presence of the living God, he knows, in his experience, what is really meant by the "mystery in religion," which Professor Duhm discusses with so much ability, and in so sympathetic a spirit.

Our age is fruitful in the publication of records of the past. Dr Greenburg's volume does not carry us into a very remote past, but it introduces us to a part of the world which is not easily accessible to explorers. Anything which throws light on the country of Mohammed is of special interest in these days. In the present state of the Mohammedan world no one can safely venture to forecast what a day may bring forth. If the Turk has to leave Constantinople, the Arabian Peninsula may have as large an interest for European politicians as for the Bedouin who have made it their home for ages.

Our little volume takes us to Arabia, but it does not concern itself with the followers of Mohammed. The subject is the Passover ritual in use among the Jews in Yemen. According to Dr Greenburg the Jews in the south of Arabia most probably possessed a liturgy of their own, differing from every other modern ritual. The *Haggadah* translated in this volume agrees partly with the Spanish and partly with the German liturgy, and was probably in existence before these. Maimonides' "Letter of Consolation," addressed to the suffering Jewish congregations of Yemen, in the latter half of the twelfth century, exercised a powerful influence. Before the appearance of that letter the Jews in South Arabia drew their

ritual from the Talmud and Midrash. Before the close of the twelfth century it was recast in accordance with the views of Maimonides, and in the form it then assumed it appears to have remained without much change.

The first section of the Introduction (of 26 pp.) contains a historical account of the Yemen Liturgy—summarised above. This is followed by five short sections of which the subjects are—Comparison of the Yemen text with other texts; Ancient Commentaries; Sources of the Haggadah; Arabic Translations and Interpretations of the Haggadah; Description of Manuscripts.

Arabic translations became necessary for the Jews in the Arabian Peninsula, as Aramaic translations were required for their countrymen in lands where the Aramaic dialect was in use. Of these Arabic translations some are literal renderings of the Hebrew text. These, as being best adapted to the needs of the common people, were most generally used. There are other translations which contain a good deal of allegorical interpretation, and in some parts Kabbalistic elements are conspicuous. It is one of the latter which Dr Greenburg has selected for translation. The text is divided into seventy-six paragraphs or chapters, which are numbered; the chapters in the English translation bear the same numbers, so that the English reader has no difficulty in making himself master of the contents of this interesting prayer-book.

The source of the Haggadah is the injunction contained in *Exod. xiii. 8*: "And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying, It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt." The history of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt was to be carefully taught to the successive generations of Israelites. The events well deserved to be kept alive in the memory of the nation, and a wise provision was made for this,—a fact worthy of the attention of the Protestant Churches of Britain in these days. To a true Israelite it was a pleasure to linger over the history of the glorious period of the Exodus. This, in the course of time, led to numerous allegorical explanations of the narrative proper. And as the basis of Dr Greenburg's treatise is one of the Agadic manuscripts, the English reader will find in the fifty-five pages of English translation fair specimens of that allegorical exposition which, in the hands of the Jewish rabbis, lost the respect to which, in certain circumstances, and within just limits, it might have made a reasonable claim.

This notice may fitly close with two specimens of the allegorical expositions referred to above. The first is in connection with the words of *Exod. ii. 23*, "The king of Egypt died." The Agadic addition is as follows: "The Rabbis say that he was plagued with leprosy. Now he had three counsellors who were prophets—viz.,

Job, Jethro, and Balaam. On taking counsel with them as to what his remedy should be, Balaam said, 'Thou canst not obtain any cure until thou slaughter some of the Jews, and taking a pool full of their blood bathe thyself therein, then shalt thou be healed.' At this Jethro fled, and was therefore saved (from the wrath of God). Balaam gave evil counsel, and was therefore killed. Job was silent, and his silence was like the majesty of God."

The other example refers to the order to eat the unleavened bread before midnight. The narrative states that at midnight the Lord slew the first-born (Exod. xii. 29). The paschal lamb must, of course, have been slain, and the lintels and side-posts of the doors sprinkled with the blood, before that hour. But why was it prohibited to eat of the unleavened bread after midnight? Let Scottish parents listen to the Agadic answer. "A child who is able to eat unleavened bread is obliged to do so, but if they prolong the narration of the departure from Egypt, the children will fall asleep, and will thus be prevented from being initiated into the precepts. Therefore those who are grown up should not dilate upon the narration before the meal, lest the children fall asleep. . . . After the meal, it is permitted us to prolong the narration at our pleasure." Let those who believe that the Scottish people are the descendants of the ten tribes take note.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Adolf Harnack, *Das Edict des Antoninus Pius: und Eine bisher nicht erkannte Schrift Novatian's*.

Texte und Untersuchungen. Band xiii. Heft 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895. Pp. 64 and 58. Price, M.4.

THE indefatigable Professor of Church History at Berlin carries on with unabated energy and unequalled brilliancy the investigation and estimation of documents of the early Church. He makes here a bold attempt to rescue two such documents, the one from a false paternity, the other from the stigma of forgery. In the first case, which is treated in the second half of the pamphlet, the task is comparatively easy. It is the tract *de laude martyrii* which is in question. It is found embedded in the collection of Cyprian's works, in company with several other tractates which have been shown to be non-Cyprianic. It would almost seem that some early scribe had interleaved the works of the Carthaginian Bishop with a number of cognate works of unknown or unacknowledged authorship. For one after another the tract of Sextus II. *Ad Novatianum* (Harnack, *T. U.* xiii. 1) and the tract *Adv. Aleatores* have been

separated from the collection, and, what is of special importance to the subject in hand, the tracts *De Spectaculis*, *De bono Pudicitiae*, and *Quod idola* have all been vindicated as writings of Novatian himself (by Weyman, Demmler, and Haussleiter). Now Harnack takes up yet another of the Cyprianic tracts, proves without difficulty that it is not the work of Cyprian and asks whether it also is not of Roman origin, whether in fact it is not from the pen of Novatian.

The tract *de laude martyrii* has not hitherto enjoyed a very high reputation. It is highly rhetorical, artificial, and not free from bathos. There have been critics who frankly set it aside as a mere school exercise in rhetoric, as though some later professor of Christian eloquence had given his pupils for a theme, "a letter of Novatian to his flock in prison." Harnack defends, however, the genuine earnestness and warmth which underlie the rhetoric, and traces the latter to its source in an unusual familiarity with classical Latin, more especially with Vergil. This familiarity is abundantly established by a long list of quotations and allusions, and supplies one of the points of identification of the author with Novatian. "Here in fact, for the first time in the history of Latin Christian literature, exhaustive use is made of Vergil, the great poetry-book of the Romans." The description of Gehenna and Paradise is evidently derived from the Roman poet. From the document itself it is shown that it was written at the very beginning of a persecution, at the close of a comparatively long period of peace, in the West but not in Africa, by a man who was an ecclesiastic but not a bishop, who had read Tertullian and Irenaeus, and whose quotations from the Gospels are those especially favoured by Novatian. The proof is lucid, cumulative, and abundant, and doubtless the tract *de laude martyrii* will take its place in the growing list of works ascribed to the Roman Presbyter. As such it throws a much needed light upon his character, opinions and position at the beginning of the Decian persecution, and before he had been forced into the position of a heretic and schismatic.

The proof is satisfactory and the result valuable. It is otherwise with the other task which Harnack has set himself. After long and careful examination we cannot admit that he has proved the decree of Antoninus Pius to be genuine. The attempt is a veritable *tour de force*, compelling admiration and gratitude but not assent. The decree has found few to believe in it since the beginning of this century. It rests upon the authority of only two independent witnesses (Eusebius and one MS. of Justin), and Harnack himself reduces these to one. For he shows with great probability that in spite of the fact that the two sources ascribe the decree to different emperors, the copyist who appended it to the works of Justin must have had Eusebius before him. He

explains the contradiction in the title by the theory that Justin's copyist from other information altered Eusebius' wrong title; Eusebius left the title which he knew to be wrong, while in the context he ascribed the decree to the right Emperor, Antoninus Pius. This may be so, but it certainly fails to set aside the suspicion thus aroused at the very outset. Further difficulties follow. The decree as it stands in Eusebius is in part untranslatable, in part impossible. It makes the Emperor contradict himself, speaking in one breath as a heathen, in the next as a Christian. Harnack tries, therefore, to reconstruct the original text. He excises two or three sentences which destroy the grammar, the sense and the historic situation alike. He is left with a document which Antoninus Pius might have written, and he tries to show that he did.

But the problem still bristles with difficulties. The decree is still amazingly pro-Christian. It opens with the suggestion that the gods themselves are their own best defenders. It flouts the cowardice of the pagans, their own faithlessness and indifference. It concludes by ordering the acquittal of any Christian accused of "atheism" by private delation, and the punishment of the delator. Is there any place for such a decree as this in the policy of Antoninus Pius or his successor? It is quite true that the rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, whose authenticity is now defended by the great name of Mommsen, goes a long way towards protecting Christians from *malicious* prosecution by private persons. Harnack admits that this late decree goes "einen Schritt weiter," but how wide a step it is, from the punishment of delations which upon trial are proved to be malicious, *calumniæ gratia*, to making the delations in themselves punishable whether proved or unproved, and at the same time dismissing the charge forthwith (*ἐκείνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολεύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος*). Is not a document which, after being purified of obviously Christian interpolations, still issues in such a conclusion, still open to the gravest suspicion? Harnack meets the force of such objections by giving the decree a merely local and special application to the Province of Asia. The more the local and special character of the decree is emphasized, however, the more is its importance for Church history reduced. Its possibility is vindicated at the expense of its significance.

External evidence also is either wanting or unfavourable. Particularly the witness of Melito weighs heavily against genuineness. He cites edicts of Pius addressed to the local authorities at Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens, and *πρὸς πάντας Ἑλλήνας*, but precisely when we should have expected a reference to our decree there is none. Harnack meets this difficulty by pressing a phrase of Melito

so as to confine his reference to edicts issued during the time when Marcus Aurelius already shared the throne with Pius.

Taking into consideration the conflicting titles, the singularities in Eusebius' manner of introducing the decree, the external evidence and, above all, the contents, the case against genuineness is very strong. And the verdict on Harnack's brilliant effort to rehabilitate the decree will probably be "not proven." That will not hinder us from admiring once more the amazing ability of the advocate, his grasp of facts and power of combining them. And if his study does not establish the result aimed at, it has provided an opportunity of bringing together a quantity of material which no student of the early church can afford to overlook. Specially noteworthy are the examination of Trajan's rescript (p. 41), a letter from Mommsen on Delation (p. 47), and the closing pages, which throw light on the function of the Provincial *κοινόν* and its influence on the Synodal organisation of the Church.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Gesammelte Aufsätze.

Von Albrecht Ritschl. Neue Folge. Freiburg und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 219. Price, M.5.40.

A FORMER collection of A. Ritschl's Essays, chiefly bearing on the doctrine of the Church, appeared in 1893, and was noticed in this *Review* in July 1895. We have now presented to us this second group of papers, which, from their intrinsic importance, are likely to attract even more attention than the first. The editor, as before, is Ritschl's son and biographer, who explains in an introductory note the principles of his selection. The body of the volume is occupied with three weighty articles originally contributed to the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* in 1865 and 1868, entitled "Historical Studies on the Christian Doctrine of God." Prefixed to these is an older publication on "The Relation of the Confession to the Church" (1854), and following them is a lecture on "Conscience" (1876), which has already been the subject of a good deal of hostile criticism. The series is closed by a paper of comments on passages from St Bernard on the chief topics of theology. The paper on the place of Confessions goes back on the old controversy with the Lutherans regarding the so-called Evangelical Church "Union" (of Lutherans and Reformed) brought about by royal influence in Prussia and elsewhere, and keenly resented by the strict Lutherans as imperilling their Confessional position. Kahnis had declared that

"the Lutheran Confession is the rule of faith and doctrine, the point of unity of fellowship, . . . the norm of all the forms of life of the Church," or, as another writer put it more roundly, "the essence of the Evangelical Church is its Confession." This is the thesis which Ritschl vigorously contests, while fully recognising the utility and even necessity of the Confession as "the indispensable condition of grasping the objective certainty of salvation, and apprehending the saving truth of revelation" (p. 22). The permanent value of the volume, however, lies in the searching historical discussions in the articles on "The Christian Doctrine of God." Nothing could show more clearly than these papers the thoroughness with which Ritschl prepared himself for his dogmatic work by studies in the field of history. They constitute a monograph on this subject—the Doctrine of God—which stands alone of its kind, and is full of information and suggestion both for the historian of dogma and for the systematic theologian. Ritschl's contention is that the Reformation idea of God is ruled by the Scotist nominalism with its notion of an absolute, arbitrary will as the basis of the divine government of the world. His first paper is an exhaustive examination of the theories of Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Gabriel Biel, in the scholastic period; the second discusses the influence of the nominalist ideas on Luther and Calvin, with special reference to the doctrine of Predestination, and the Arminian reaction as governed by the idea of "equity"; the third treats in detail of the Socinian development, which Ritschl supposes to rest on the same idea of God as the Predestination-doctrine of Luther, Calvin, and their followers. Calvin, it should be observed, he regards as a follower of Luther in his Predestination view, only that Calvin carries out the position more logically in his doctrine of a *double* predestination. The papers are not easy reading, and there is much that is challengeable in their bold historical groupings and deductions, but it is impossible to peruse them without lasting profit. The lecture on "Conscience" is chiefly remarkable for its discussion of the right of conscience to be regarded as "the voice of God," and for the remarks which grow out of this on the idea of Revelation. It is characteristic of Ritschl, with his dread of anything that bears the semblance of a natural theology, that he refuses to see in conscience an immediate witness for God, and views it as a product of education and social environment (pp. 175, 182-3). How this is to be reconciled with the unconditioned worth which he, in common with Kant, ascribed somewhat earlier to moral law, does not appear.

JAMES ORR.

Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch.

Von Dr Friedrich Blass, ord. Prof. d. klass. Philologie a. d. Univ. Halle-Wittenberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. 329. Price, M.5.40.

THE incursion of a great classical scholar like Dr Blass into the realm of New Testament study naturally arouses the liveliest interest; and all who welcomed the commentary on the *Acts* will welcome yet more heartily a New Testament Grammar by the editor of Kühner. Dr Blass has taken up this new work with a thoroughness which is worthy of his reputation. The reviewer is accordingly spared the trouble of searching for mistakes, and will perform his functions best, within the short space available, if he describes the contents and scope of the book, pointing out at the same time matters of principle on which opinions will differ.

The new Grammar is before all things the work of a great Atticist. On points of classical idiom Dr Blass's dicta have of course the utmost weight. We trace the master's instinct in the acute distinctions of literary and popular elements in New Testament Greek, and in the firm grasp of grammar which ensures us absolutely against impossible translations or careless statements of linguistic phenomena. The book is moreover succinct and precise to a degree, perfectly arranged, and entirely lucid. There are, however, some disadvantages, partly peculiar to the author, partly common to most pure classical scholars who try their special methods on the New Testament. Dr Blass's edition of Kühner received severe treatment from the greatest living comparative philologist, Professor Brugmann of Leipzig,¹ for its magnificent ignoring of all modern work on the history of Greek forms. The weakness in historical grammar which shows itself in the larger work naturally does not obtrude itself here except negatively. We miss the historical treatment of Hellenistic variations; and though we find their relations to Attic and to modern Greek duly pointed out, we have no attempt to fix scientific principles by which we may decide how far the New Testament Greek has travelled along the road which joins those extremes. Blass's choice in these cases hardly escapes the appearance of caprice. The methods of a lifelong student in classical texts appear rather too prominently when Blass decides between the various readings of numerous and ancient New Testament MSS., or deserts them all to follow conjecture. His readings appear to be selected on subjective and internal grounds, as is natural and inevitable when a Greek scholar has to

¹ See Streitberg's *Anzeiger f. ldg. Sprach- u. Altertumskunde*, 1896, p. 50.

do with texts preserved only in scanty and late MSS. But whatever may be the liberty exercised by a classical editor, it must surely be admitted that such methods are hardly in place when we have a textual tradition securely traced to within two centuries of the autographs; and more rigidly scientific principles must be applied. We may meanwhile be grateful to Dr Blass for a welcome innovation in that he carefully tabulates the readings of the Uncials as he goes along: when therefore he follows weak authority, or none at all, we are able to recognise the fact at once.

The most important point at which the new Grammar touches New Testament criticism is, however, not text but exegesis. Here Blass distinctly takes sides with a school which has been markedly rising into prominence as the fuller investigation of the later stages of Greek has revealed the affinity between the colloquial dialects of to-day and those of the first century A.D. Scholars have been declaring the equivalence in New Testament Greek of tenses, cases, prepositions, or constructions generally, when it appears that contemporary or slightly later Greek shows a tendency to fuse them together; and when modern Greek makes the fusion complete the equivalence is regarded as certain. In discussing these doctrines from the exegetical point of view, we are in danger of prejudice against that which, by weakening the precision of New Testament Greek, destroys so many finer shades of meaning. We need great caution, and a patient and open-minded study; for the new laxity is not like that, born of ignorance and dogmatic predilections, to which Winer gave the deathblow. It is part of a movement which claims our most earnest attention from many sides at once. One set of scholars bids us remember that constructions which could not be distinguished in Aramaic must be indistinguishable in Greek which is based on Aramaic sources; or again, that words which translate the same Hebrew or Aramaic original must, by a kind of Euclidean reasoning, be equal to one another. From the other side steps up the student of modern Greek, prepared to forbid us from recognising life and vigour in constructions of New Testament Greek which are commonplace in the language of to-day. The "aoristic" perfect, and the equivalence of *ἵνα* with subjunctive to a simple infinitive, may serve as specimens. It will be useful to note as they occur some of the concessions which Dr Blass rather freely makes to this school of interpretation. A lexical note on p. 4 makes the present of *εἶδον* to be *βλέπω* or *θεωρῶ*, and similarly (p. 53) that of *ἔφαγον* to be *τρώγω* in St John; which would seem to prevent our seeing in these presents any separate force of their own. The superlative (properly so called) is only allowed to exist in the literary style, so that *μεῖζων*

means indifferently "greater" and "greatest," while μέγιστος can generally only stand for "very great," the *relative* use. The preposition εἰς (p. 119) has largely absorbed ἐν,¹ and in such cases is not to be distinguished from it. A corollary of this (p. 121) is that πιστεύειν with εἰς, ἐν and ἐπί is the same thing, and the "classically correct πιστεύειν τινί" occurs with the same meaning. Blass treats ἐν ἐμοί (Gal. i. 16) as merely equivalent to ἐμοί, "to me": "*in me*," he observes, "that is, *in my soul*, would be unnatural" (p. 128). We are not to seek for distinctions between περί and ὑπέρ (p. 131), nor, to pass to another sphere, between ὁ πατήρ and ὁ πατήρ μου when applied to God in St John (p. 161). The Greek expressions τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ and ἐαυτόν (Luke ix. 24, 25) are to be treated as identical because they both translate נַפְשִׁי (p. 163). In Matt. viii. 19, εἷς γραμματεὺς is merely "*a scribe*" (p. 140), and in xxii. 5, εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρόν = εἰς τ. ἁ. αὐτοῦ (p. 161.)² Τίς, by an Alexandrian usage, may be a relative (p. 172): Acts xiii. 25 is "I am not whom ye think me to be," and Mark xiv. 36, Luke xvii. 8 and Jas. iii. 13 (the last with alternative) are further examples. Finally, in describing a considerable breakdown of the difference between ἄλλος and ἕτερος (p. 175 *sq.*), we note that Gal. i. 6, 7 is passed over, though the survival of a strong distinction is there vital to the sense.

I have not been quoting these dicta in order to condemn them in the gross. Probably a plausible case could be made for most of them, and not a few readers will accept the whole list with small discomfort. But they seem to me to represent a kind of reasoning which can only be accepted after the most rigid scrutiny, for the results are wide-reaching indeed. Students brought up on commentaries like those of Westcott and Lightfoot will feel that it is not mere sentiment which rebels when phrases of deep significance, as they have been taught, become mere neologisms of late Greek, with no distinct force of their own. For what reason must we give up Paul's "to reveal his Son *in me*"—the Apostle as the lamp out of which the divine Light shines—or regard the difference between *believing* Christ and *believing in* Christ (John vi. 29, 30, viii. 30, 31, &c.) as mere theological hairsplitting? The subject is too wide for examination in a review, but I cannot resist expressing my conviction that the New Testament itself is its own witness in most of the points where its language is sup-

¹ Of course, within strict limits, this is undeniable. For Attic foreshadowing of it see Meisterhans (*Gr. d. Att. Insc.*), p. 176.

² Dr H. A. A. Kennedy calls my attention to earlier uses of ἴδιος = ἐαυτοῦ (Meisterhans, p. 194, and elsewhere), while repeated examples of strict use are found in Plutarch. The N.T. language here is doubtless transitional.

posed to be loose. Contemporary or later writers, who had no such momentous facts and doctrines to define, may have observed no distinction between these "equivalents," which are nevertheless used in the New Testament with an appropriateness never failing to justify itself when careful thought seeks the inner meaning of a passage as a whole. Till stronger proof comes—and I think the burden of proof here lies on the champions of the new views—is it not fair to claim that in such weighty and careful style as that of the New Testament the language has not lost the precision and force which make the grammatical system of classical Greek unique as an instrument of thought?

Some examples of Blass's textual decisions will illustrate what has been said on that subject above. In Mark xv. 6 (p. 35) ὃν ἂν ἡτοῦντο is accepted from D and G, and it would seem that the considerations in favour of this weakly attested reading are the assumption that *παρητοῦντο* in its classical sense will not fit, and the solitariness of ὅσπερ in the New Testament. On Col. ii. 18 (p. 67) he accepts *κενεμβατεύων*, "nach wohl sicherer Conjectur," but without naming the author.¹ In Rom. i. 15 (pp. 74 n., 130) he conjectures τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμος, "nach Lat., scil. ἐμί"—surely a very improbable construction for which to disturb the text. In Acts i. 12 (p. 84) we must not read Ἐλαιῶνος, because *ελαῶν* appears elsewhere in the name of the hill. Following Pearce and Le Clerc, Blass reads *ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μ. πόλεις* in Acts xvi. 12 (p. 96): Hort's brilliant *Πιερίδος* he does not mention. Gal. iv. 13 he emends, very needlessly it would seem: "sicher δι' ἀσθενείας, unter Krankheit" (p. 129). In Phil. ii. 13 ὑπὲρ <οὗ> τῆς εὐδοκίας is joined with the next verse (p. 132). Acts x. 36 is emended (p. 171) by dropping *κύριος*, so that οὗτος may refer to λόγος. Matt. xxvi. 50 is to read αἶρε or ἑταῖρε αἶρε (p. 172), a conjecture recalling Henry Bradshaw's brilliant ἔργα <ἀργά> εὐρεθήσεται in 2 Pet. iii. 10. Acts xx. 24 (p. 219 n.) is read ὥστε τελειῶσαι; and ὁ λύνει is taken in 1 John iv. 3 (p. 249). How far readings like many of these will win favour need not be discussed here. One is tempted to expect for them and their kind the admiration and the fate of Bentley's emendations of Horace.

Some miscellaneous points may be collected in conclusion. On p. 55 we have *λακῶ* (not *λάσκω*) as present of ἐλάκησεν (Acts i. 18), with support from Aristophanes. The inclusion of *νή* among particles absent from the New Testament (p. 60) is wrong: *vid.* 1 Cor. xv. 31. In Phil. ii. 1 (p. 81) Blass would translate εἴ τι "if . . . is of any value," and substitute *τι* for *τις* throughout.

¹ I notice that Schmiedel (Winer, ed. 8, p. 138) can only quote Lightfoot's discussion of ἐπιούσιος at second hand.

Ἀπὸ μιᾶς is explained (p. 137) as originally an athletic metaphor : ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὑσπλαγίδος (Aristoph.), "from the fall of the rope," i.e., "from the start." On p. 171 we have Acts xxi. 16 rendered "bringing us to Mnason, with whom . . ."; and soon after, Blass pronounces for τὴν ἀρχὴν "at all" in John viii. 25, and ὅτι the indirect "why." He interprets ἀπεκδυσάμενος in Col. ii. 15 by giving some other cases of middle used for active (p. 181); but he regards the phenomenon as strictly sporadic in the New Testament, the distinction between αἰτῶ and αἰτοῦμαι, for instance, being subtly preserved. Under the subjunctive I see no provision for the difficult ὡς βάλῃ of Mark iv. 26. The use of ἵνα with indic. pres. Blass summarily dismisses as a mere corruption (p. 207), ignoring (as my friend Dr Kennedy reminds me) the progressive appearance of this phenomenon from the time of the inscriptions down to Modern Greek (Hatzidakis, *Einl. in d. ngr. Gr.*, pp. 216-218). In 2 Tim. ii. 25 Blass rejects the optative δῶῃ (*sic*), and translates μήποτε "ob vielleicht" (p. 208): on p. 49 he three times prints δῶῃ, but as an optative, while the footnote exhibits two optatives in -ῶῃ, and three in -ῶῃ(ν)! It is fair to say that the printer rarely nods like this. In the Conditional Sentences (which appear in the old fourfold divisions, and without traces of either Goodwin or Gildersleeve), there is the noteworthy rule that in the New Testament the negative for εἰ with indicative in ordinary conditions (class I.) is normally οὐ (pp. 209, 249). Οὐ and μή in New Testament have become to Blass purely mechanical. Thus in John iii. 18 ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν is a false reading (p. 249 n.): the delicate distinction between *quod non crediderit* here (the charge) and *quod non credidit* in 1 John v. 10 (the fact) he would evidently dismiss as an unwarranted refinement. The curious zeugma in 1 Tim. iv. 3, which W H try to emend, Blass quotes unsuspectingly (p. 285). (Has anyone, by the way, noticed the exact parallel in Lucian, *Charon*, § 2?) We have, as might be expected from Dr Blass, a page on Hiatus (p. 290), followed by a rather curious section on the "unnützer Zeitvertreib" of seeking verses. But though even the πᾶσα δόσις in Jas. i. 17 is disallowed, some very clumsy verse-fragments are found or manufactured in Hebrews, with an apparent suggestion that they may not be accidental there. I might point out that there are two beautiful anapaests in John v. 14, and with no more change than Blass employs we can make a respectable hexameter on the same page. The book concludes with the rhetorical figures of Gorgias, rather barren spoil: a page or two on Hebrew poetical parallelism in the New Testament would have surely been much more valuable. The point illustrates a feature which marks the whole book. With the reservations noted above, we can find small fault with the grammar as a register of deviations from the Attic.

But is this what the New Testament student so greatly needs? He will generally come to grammar for light on interpretation, and here he will get but sparing help from Blass, who no doubt expects him to turn to Kühner as his basis, the New Testament Grammar mainly cataloguing differences. We inevitably compare this briefer handbook with the new Winer, of which Schmiedel has given us a fresh instalment since Blass's book appeared. The latter may, as Blass suggests (p. vi.), be a case of μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν. But it may fairly be said that Blass achieves his brevity by slurring what is for practical purposes distinctly the more important side of grammar. The ideal is assuredly something between the two.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum.

By R. F. Harper. Vols. III., IV. University of Chicago Press. London: Luzac & Co. 1896.

OF the cuneiform tablets from the library of Nineveh, which are now in the British Museum, not the least interesting are the letters and despatches which were received at the Assyrian Court from various officials both civil and military. Along with them we find other letters of a more private nature, some of them from princes and princesses, others again from persons of a less exalted character.

From time to time Assyriologists have, as it were, made excursions into this province of Assyrian literature, and have copied and published some of the texts. The largest collection is that brought out by Mr S. A. Smith in his *Assyrian Letters from the Royal Library at Nineveh*. The first attempt, however, to publish all the letters is that which is now being made by Professor Harper. Already four well-filled and excellently-printed volumes of them have appeared, and four more are promised. Then the editor will give abstracts of the letters, as well as textual notes, a vocabulary, and a list of proper names.

The work has been performed with great care and accuracy. It is no slight matter to copy patiently such a large collection of tablets, many of which are broken, defaced, or otherwise difficult to read, while several of the most interesting among them have already been edited by other scholars. How large, indeed, the collection is may be gathered from the fact that, according to Bezold's *Catalogue*, there are no less than 1575 letters in the "K" collection alone. And the "K" collection does not by any means

represent the whole body of tablets which have come from the library of Nineveh.

The letters belong to the period extending from the rise of the Second Assyrian Empire under Tiglath-pileser III. down to the fall of the monarchy, though the greater part of them was written in the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assur-bani-pal. They offer many difficulties to the translator, due in some measure to unusual words and grammatical forms which occur in them, but more often the result of colloquialisms which are not to be found in the literary texts, or even to imperfections of grammar. On the whole, however, the Assyrian scribes were well taught, and instances even of bad spelling are not common. As Professor Harper justly remarks, the difficulties presented by the epistolary style can only be overcome by means of an abundance of materials, and he has therefore done rightly in publishing fragments as well as perfect texts. Moreover, a fragment, when interpreted in the light of fuller documents, may sometimes contain a historical fact of importance.

For history, indeed, these Assyrian letters are of considerable value, and great use has already been made of them for this purpose by George Smith and other writers. But they also throw light on the religion and law of Assyria, and above all, on the private life and manners of the people. From a philological point of view, moreover, they are of great interest.

Unfortunately Professor Harper's volumes are at present a sealed book to all except Assyriologists, and the public may perhaps complain that he has given them no clue whatsoever—not even through a table of contents—to the meaning of the Letters he has published. I am afraid the sale of the work will suffer in consequence. It is true every Assyriologist will have to get it, but the Assyriologists are still but few.

And yet the letters included in the two volumes just published are full of interest. Here, for example, is one which forcibly reminds us how like the ancient civilised world was to our own. It is a short and hastily-written note from a certain Saul-sa-mita-bulludh (No. 341):—"To the king my lord, thy servant Saul-sa-mita-bulludh. May there be peace to the king my lord; may Nebo and Merodach be favourable to the king my lord for ever and ever! Bau-gamilat the concubine of the king has just fallen ill; she cannot eat a morsel of food. Let the king my lord send a message at once so that some physician may come and see her!"

Another letter (No. 337) is from a Babylonian astronomer. The writer, Abil-Istar, says: "As regards the eclipse of the moon concerning which the king my lord wrote to me, that watch should be kept for it in the cities of Akkad, Borsippa, and Eridu," the fol-

lowing is an account of "what we observed in the city of Akkad." Here, however, the tablet is so mutilated as to render the account unintelligible, and we have to pass on to the end of the letter. "As for the eclipse of the sun which the king my lord instructed me to observe whether it took place or not, I send an account to the king my lord of what passed before my eyes. It was an eclipse of the moon only which occurred: it darkened the provinces: its shadow (?) was complete over the land of the Amorites (Palestine); the land of the Amorites, the land of the Hittites, and also the land of the Kaldu (Chaldeans) were in darkness." The combination of "Amorites" (*Amurrû*) and "Hittites" (*Khattû*) is interesting, reminding us as it does of the language of the Bible. So also is the mention of "the city of Akkad," which gave its name to the northern half of Babylonia. The three great observatories of the country seem to have been at Akkad in the north, at Borsippa in the centre, and at Eridu in the extreme south. The University of Borsippa was still famous in the days of Strabo.

Another letter (No. 317), sent from northern Syria, speaks of "the servants of the king" who had "gone from Carchemish to the city of Arziza," the original, perhaps, of Ptolemy's Eragiza, and further alludes to "the men of the country of Yau[di]." This is the Ya'dî of the inscriptions of Sinjerli, to which belonged the Yaudâ of the Tel el-Amarna tablets whose name is so curiously identical with that of the Palestinian Yaudâ or Jews. In another letter, which came from the frontiers of the Mannâ or Minni on the eastern border of Armenia, the writer states that he had despatched a certain Istar-Babilâ, whom the king knows to be "a master of languages," to the city of "Tigris." This "city of Tigris," however, had nothing to do with the river which the Greeks called by the same name, but its name may be connected with that of Tigranu or Tigranes, whom Mr Pinches has found described on a contract-tablet of the age of Cyrus as an "Armenian" prince, in remarkable agreement with Xenophon's *Cyropædia*.

These are a few samples of the facts to be collected from the Letters Professor Harper is now publishing, and will serve to indicate the interest and value of the work. The cuneiform texts contained in it will prove to be a rich mine of information for the future historian of the ancient East.

A. H. SAYCE.

An Æthiopian History.

Written in Greek by Heliodorus. Englished by Thomas Underdowne. Anno 1587. With an Introduction by Charles Whibley. London: Published by David Nutt, in the Strand, 1895. The Tudor Translations, edited by W. E. Henley.

THE "Æthiopian Historie" (Τὰ Αἰθιοπικά) is the story of the adventures of Chariclea, an Ethiopian princess, and her lover Theagenes, originally written in Greek by Heliodorus of Emesa in Syria, whom later tradition has identified with a certain Heliodorus who was Bishop of Tricca in Thessaly in the fourth century. Underdowne's translation was published in 1587, being revised and corrected from an earlier edition made ten years previously. If by Englishing a Greek book he meant turning a Greek book into an English one it would be hard to find a more successful translator than Underdowne. His "Æthiopian Historie" is written so naturally, and in such idiomatic English, that it never once suggests the idea of its being a translation, except possibly in the metrical rendering of some poetical quotations which are made in the original, for Underdowne's poetry is not always equal to his prose. We learn from Mr Whibley's interesting introduction that the translation was made chiefly from a Latin version of Heliodorus, but that Underdowne really knew little either of Latin or Greek. "His ignorance of Greek and Latin was frank and magnificent. There is no page of him that is not shamed by a childish misunderstanding of the original. That he used the Latin more than the Greek is proved by the fact that he follows the ingenious Warschewiczki (the Latin translator) into his every error." But whatever his ignorance of the original languages may have been, and though his translation cannot be recommended as a crib, Underdowne succeeded, however he managed it, in turning the story of Theagenes and Chariclea into an English classic.

The work is an early example of what we now call a novel. And as we read it it is surprising to discover how old some of the tricks of the novelist's trade are. As Mr Whibley says, "there is no artifice of the 'historical novel' which Heliodorus does not anticipate." He plunges at once into the midst of his story, and the opening passage, which relates the arrival of Chariclea and her lover on the coast of Egypt, after many adventures by sea and land, might have been written by the late G. P. R. James:—"The day had begun to smile cheerily, and the sun was already gilding the tops of the hills, when a band of men, in arms and appearance pirates, having ascended the summit of a mountain which stretches

down towards the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile, paused and contemplated the sea which lay expanded before them."¹

The pirates discover the hero and the heroine, who have but just escaped from another band of robbers of the sea, in sore affliction on the shore, and make them prisoners, and so the story starts. Chariclea had been sent away from Ethiopia in her infancy. She had been carried to Delphi in Greece, where she grew up and became a priestess of Apollo. Theagenes, a Thessalian, who came as a deputy to the Pythian games, fell in love with her. The lovers fled from Greece, and after many romantic adventures were cast ashore in Egypt. Their troubles are not yet over. They escape from the Egyptian pirates only to fall into fresh difficulties. In the end they are carried as prisoners of war into Ethiopia, where they are on the point of being sacrificed to the gods of the country, when the sudden discovery of Chariclea's parentage brings all to a happy conclusion.

A striking feature of this book is the knowledge which the writer displays of the topography and of the manners and customs of the different lands to which the travellers come in the course of their wanderings. It would take long to enumerate all the places in Egypt and Ethiopia that are mentioned, the bits of local knowledge that are worked into the story, and the strange sights which attract the attention of the wanderers. When the pirates seize Theagenes and Chariclea they carry them off to a stronghold formed amid the reeds and marshes of the Delta, the description of which recalls the curious account given by Herodotus (v. 16) of a fishing town built on Lake Prasias.² The nilometers at Memphis and Syene are noticed, and the dials at Syene, which show no shadow on a certain day in the year when the sun shines straight down upon them. When the scene shifts to Greece the author shows himself equally well acquainted with Attica and Phocis and the Corinthian Gulf. Calasiris, an Egyptian priest, an exile from his native land, and seeking a new home, hears of "a famous city in Greece, called Delphi, sacred to Apollo, abounding in temples, the resort of wise men, retired and free from popular tumults," and determines to go there, thinking that such a place would be a suitable retreat for one of his profession. Approaching by the

¹ This and the following quotations are made from the Rev. Rowland Smith's translation, which is closer to the original than Underdowne.

² The Rev. Rowland Smith conjectures that "perhaps Heliodorus (afterwards a bishop) had derived the materials for his graphic description of the (the pirates') haunts and manners from personal residence among them, as was the case (so Horace Walpole informs us) with Archbishop Blackburne (*temp.* Geo. II.), who in his younger days is said to have been a buccaneer." But Achilles Tatius has a description of another of these marsh strongholds.

Crissaeon Gulf he lands at Cirrha, and goes up to Delphi. He finds it a "city of race-courses, of market-places, and of fountains," of which Castalia is especially mentioned. "The mountain Parnassus hangs over it, as a kind of natural fortification and citadel, stretching out its sides and receiving the city into its bosom." At a later point in the story, when the armed followers of Theagenes make night terrible in Delphi with their shouts and clashing shields, Parnassus "resounds to the clang of their brazen bucklers," a touch with which we may compare the pathetic picture of Chariclea a prisoner in the pirate camp, weeping at night in the silence of the vast morass.¹ When his companions have aided Theagenes to carry off Chariclea they ride away to the hill country of the Locrians and Mount Oeta, while Theagenes and Chariclea escape by sea.

The sea voyage is yet another instance of the local names and knowledge of places that are worked into the story. At day-break the ship is rowed out of the harbour into the Crissaeon gulf. But she soon catches a breeze from the land,² and the lovers fly swiftly westward, leaving the headland of Parnassus far behind, and passing in quick succession the Ætolian and Calydonian rocks, and the Oxian isles, "sharp both in name and figure." When the open water is reached, and the ship's course is directed southwards, the mariners soon discern the distant island of Zacynthus, their first landing place, rising like a dim cloud from the evening horizon.

By a turn in the somewhat complicated windings of the story we are brought to Athens, where one incident may be mentioned. Aristippus, suspecting his wife of unfaithfulness, lays a plot to seize her keeping an assignation at a house outside the city. He lies in wait "in the garden where is the monument of the Epicureans," and having seized the unhappy woman he begins to drag her towards the town. But when they come near "the pit which is in the Academy"—"you know the place," the narrator explains, "where our generals sacrifice to the Manes of our heroes"—she breaks suddenly from the hands of the old man, and flings herself into the pit, and is killed.³

These are a few examples of the local knowledge which Heliodorus exhibits. They are interesting because they shew that the art of using local knowledge to give verisimilitude to a fictitious narrative was not unknown to the ancients. The contrary has

¹ I doubt if Mr Whibley is just to Heliodorus when he says (p. xii.) that "Underdowne's phrase 'when all was whishto in the marish' is infinitely more expressive than the original Greek: *σιγῆς δὲ τὸ ἐλος κατασχοῦσης*."

² A sea breeze would be more likely than a land breeze at the time named.

³ See the description in Pausanias (i. 29, 30) of the monuments on the road from Athens to the Academy.

sometimes been asserted. But the *Ethiopica* is one example out of many which might be cited to shew both the existence in ancient times of an accurate knowledge of foreign countries and the use which was sometimes made of such knowledge in literature.¹

The printer, the papermaker, and the binder have all combined to make this volume an attractive one. It is light to hold, easy to read, pleasant to look at, and it lies open without forcing.

JOHN A. CROSS.

Notices.

THE second part of the series of Archaeological Studies in Christian Antiquity and the Middle Ages, edited by Johannes Fricker, deals with the *altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*.² The volume is in the most tasteful form. It contains much interesting matter, carefully arranged. It is made more attractive by a number of admirable plates of choice specimens of the art in question, which are deposited in the museums of Bologna, Strassburg, Amiens, and South Kensington, London.

*The Spirit of Power*³ is the title given to a small book which will well repay careful reading. It is a study of a subject which is both of doctrinal and of practical importance. The author first exhibits the place which Christ meant this topic to have in the attention of His disciples. He then examines the various passages in the Book of Acts which help us to understand what it is to be filled with the Spirit as a spirit of power. He concludes his brief inquiry with a paragraph of *Caution*, in which he reminds us that it is "vain to think the power is other than a gift of the moment to the faith of the occasion, though it may be held every moment." It is a thoughtful and devout study.

The editor of the *Famous Scots* series was peculiarly happy in his choice of the pen that was to write the sketch of Sir James Y. Simpson. Miss Eve Blantyre Simpson's vivid and fascinating narrative will make a new generation know and love the great and good physician who did so much for suffering humanity and for Christian truth in his own time. The editor has been not less

¹ There is a striking illustration of the habit of underrating the knowledge of the ancients in the *New Testament Commentary for English Readers*, in which (vol. i., p. 237) it is given as a reason for thinking that S. Luke was an Italian, that he remembered the names of three towns through which he passed with S. Paul on his way to Rome:—"We find in the supposition . . . an explanation of the obvious familiarity with Italian topography shewn in his mention of Puteoli, Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns in Acts xxviii. 13-15."

² Von Georg Stuhlfauth. Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig: Mohr, 1896. 8vo, pp. iv. 211. Price, M.7.

³ By the Rev. Thomas Adamson, B.D., Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. 85. Price, 1s.

fortunate in securing the services of Dr W. Garden Blaikie for the sketch of *Thomas Chalmers*.¹ No theologian now alive, no minister still spared to us, of all who were associated with Thomas Chalmers, is so well entitled by personal knowledge, theological succession, and varied experience, to speak of the great Scottish preacher, statesman, and divine. And Dr Blaikie has written this sketch as a labour of love, with full command of his theme, with the insight and appreciation which come from perfect sympathy with the ideas and interests to which Chalmers devoted his life, and with a just regard for the best men among those who followed a different policy. After dealing with the facts of his early life, and his school and college days, he gives us a series of five interesting chapters with the titles of *Kilmany, Glasgow, St Andrews University, Edinburgh University, and New College, Edinburgh*. His matter is skilfully arranged around these great landmarks in Chalmers's course. The whole makes a study which will take a distinctive place among the many books, great and small, that have been written on the same fruitful and impressive subject.

The Religious Tract Society have issued a volume on *Christian Men of Science*,² consisting of a number of biographies contributed to their New Biographical Series. The sketches are by various hands, and are accompanied by an appropriate introduction from the pen of Dr J. H. Gladstone. The lives dealt with are those of Francis Bacon, Blaise Pascal, Robert Boyle, Sir Isaac Newton, Baron von Haller, Dr John Abercrombie, Sir David Brewster, Adam Sedgwick, Michael Faraday, Sir James Young Simpson, George Wilson, and James Clerk Maxwell. The writers include the Rev. Horace Noel, the Rev. T. H. Leary, Sir John Risdon Bennett, the Rev. G. Wilson, Dr James Macaulay, Mr S. R. Pattison, and Dr S. D. F. Salmond. The volume is one of varied and interesting contents. In respect both of subject and of form it deserves a wide circulation, and is certain to secure it.

We have received a further volume of *The Biblical Illustrator*³ in which a mass of matter, expository, illustrative, and homiletic, intended to help the preacher, is brought together with much skill from a great variety of sources; a second edition of Mr E. Hampden-Cook's *The Christ has Come*,⁴ in which the author, following Dr Stuart Russell, Mr John Humphrey Noyes, and Mr Henry Dunn, endeavours to show that, according to the New Testament and early

¹ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. 160. Price, 1s. 6d.

² London: R.T.S. Small 4to.

³ 2 Corinthians. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 542. Price, 7s. 6d.

⁴ London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 180. Price, 1s. 6d.

Christian belief, Christ's Parousia is an event of the past ; a useful and carefully planned *Handbook of New Greek*¹ by Dr Albert Thumb, Professor extraordinarius in the University of Freiburg, giving Grammar, Texts, and Glossary for the dialect of the people ; a volume on *Modern Palestine, or The Need of a New Crusade*,² furnished with good illustrations, giving lively sketches of scenes often visited and often described, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho, the Dead Sea, etc., and discussing in a sensible way the site of Calvary and other questions of interest ; a couple of fair and sensible dissertations on the religious *Lebenskräfte* of Catholicism and the discipline of the Evangelical Church ;³ a very readable Lecture on the *Council of Nicaea*, by Carl Albr. Bernoulli.⁴ The Sunday School Union continues its *Splendid Lives* series, with two well written and interesting volumes by W. J. Wintle, on *The Story of Victoria, R.I.*,⁵ and *The Story of Albert the Good*.⁶

A book like Dr James Rigg's *Comparative View of Church Organisations, Primitive and Protestant*,⁷ which has reached its third edition, requires no special commendation. This careful work has deservedly had a large acceptance, and in this new and improved edition it should be still more widely appreciated and used. It makes every effort to do justice to all the different types of ecclesiastical constitution and order. If it is not absolutely exact in every point in its representations of the various organisations (as in the case, *e.g.*, of Presbyterianism), that is not to be wondered at. For in each system there are both a genius and a mass of finer circumstances with which it is almost impossible for any one to be entirely at home, except one who lives within the system. As a painstaking, judicious, fair-minded and instructive exposition and comparison of Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Wesleyan Methodism, Dr Rigg's volume should command the attention and repay the study of many readers. This edition is enriched by historical *resumés*, which exhibit the organic development of Wesleyan Methodism, in the two great matters of

¹ *Handbuch der Neugriechischen Volkssprache*. Strassburg : Trübner; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8vo, pp. xxi. 240. Price, M.6.

² By the Rev. John Lamond, B.D., Skelmorlie. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. 256. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

³ *Eine heilige allgemeine Christliche Kirche. Zwei Aufsätze von Hans Gallwitz*, Superintendent in Sigmaringen. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 69. Price, M.1.20.

⁴ Freiburg i. B. : Mohr ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 36, M.0.80.

⁵ London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price, 1s.

⁶ London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price, 1s.

⁷ London : C. H. Kelly, 1897. 8vo, pp. xvi. 398. Price, 7s. 6d.

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the rise and growth of the system of Connexional government by means of District Meetings or Synods, and the history of Circuit development. The story of Methodist Secessions and Methodist Union is given in a supplement. The book, therefore, is a remarkably complete statement of all that belongs specially to the Wesleyan side of the question.

In the useful series known as *Books for Bible Students*, of which the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory is editor, Dr R. A. Watson published some time ago a volume entitled *In the Apostolic Age*. Another volume dealing with the same period is now contributed by Mr W. Fiddian Moulton, M.A., Assistant-Master at the Leys School, Cambridge. The writer, who is the scholarly son of a distinguished father, gives his book the title of *The Old World and the New Faith*,¹ and treats his subject in a fresh and interesting way. The two volumes, while they traverse much of the same territory, and touch each other at certain points, are yet sufficiently distinct. Dr Watson's deals with the Churches and the Doctrine; Mr Moulton's takes up the specific question of "the relations of the Early Church to its environment, both Jewish and Roman." It is neither a professed Commentary on the Book of Acts, nor a systematic statement of Apostolic doctrine. It is a series of notes upon the historical narrative in Acts, as the second title indicates, which carry us interestingly along the broad lines of the historical situation and the things which made that what from time to time it was, from the infancy of the Church in Jerusalem on to Paul's voyage to Rome. It is a work of much promise.

A short Preface by the Dean of Norwich introduces a collection of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*,² which were delivered in Norwich Cathedral, and are now offered to a larger public. The list of contributors to the series includes Dean Farrar, Professors Gwatkin and Robinson, Drs Chase and Barry, and other competent writers. The Lectures naturally are not all of the same quality, but they are all at least pleasant to read. Professor Gwatkin's study of Eusebius is of special interest. Clement of Alexandria is well handled by Dr Chase, and justice is done to the *Apology of Aristides* by Professor Armitage Robinson. Dr Moule writes appreciatively of Augustine, and Mr Brooke of Origen. We have a good sketch of the *Church in the Catacombs* by Mr Gee. Ignatius and Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Athanasius, Ambrose, and Jerome, are the other great names that appear in the series, and in the case of several of these the studies are excellent examples of scholarly statement combined with popular expression.

¹ London : C. H. Kelly, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 228. Price, 2s. 6d.

² London : Nisbet & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 502. Price, 7s. 6d.

The fourth volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*¹ brings us treasures gathered from many quarters, near and far. Professors Ramsay, Sanday, Bruce, George Adam Smith, and Margoliouth, Principal Fairbairn, Messrs Conybeare, Schechter, and other well-known contributors continue to be represented. Professors König and Schürer give valuable help from abroad, and papers come from other scholars who can hold their own in the subjects on which they write. It is needless to go into detail, and it would be invidious to particularise where there is so much of the best quality. It is enough to say that there are various papers in this volume which deserve more than a single perusal.

The *Illustrated Bible Treasury*, issued by Messrs Thomas Nelson and Sons, under the able editorship of Dr William Wright,² is a marvel of cheapness combined with accuracy, completeness, and attractive form. It claims to give the results of the very latest Biblical researches, and it makes that claim good. The staff of contributors is large, and well selected. In most cases the scholars or travellers to whom the different parts of the work have been committed are recognised authorities. In two or three cases, however, we have names which few would place in the same rank with the others. A new Concordance to the *Authorised* and *Revised Versions* is added. The usefulness of the book is increased by a subject-index and a dictionary of Scripture proper names, an indexed Bible Atlas, and a large number of illustrations. Editor and publishers are both to be congratulated on the completion of a work so rich in varied and useful matter, and so moderate in price as to be within the reach of the most modest means.

An acceptable addition is made to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* by Professor John Laidlaw, of the New College, Edinburgh. His volume has for its title *Foundation Truths of Scripture as to Sin and Salvation*.³ These truths are expounded in a course of twelve lessons, which are admirable examples of clear and compact statement. Beginning with the Bible teaching on *Sin*, its extent, nature, origin, and issues, Dr Laidlaw next exhibits the main points in the Biblical view of the *Saviour*,—His Person on its human side and on its Divine, and His work of Redemption as an atonement, a reconciliation, a ransom, and a revelation of the love of God. He next proceeds to unfold in the same way the Biblical teaching on *Salvation*, as wrought in us by the Spirit, explaining in this connexion the meaning of regeneration, conversion, repentance, faith, and union

¹ London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

² Edinburgh and New York, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 724. Price, 7s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 131. Price, 1s. 6d.

with Christ. The last three lessons are devoted to the great questions of *justification*, *adoption*, and *sanctification*. A fresh statement of these great themes, which make the very life of the Christian faith, and are too often apt to be driven into the background by the present preference for purely ethical preaching, is most seasonable. This volume, simple and direct in its style, wholly faithful to the word of Scripture, definite yet unexaggerated in its doctrinal statements and practical in its entire method, makes a model handbook, and deserves to have many readers.

Professor Benjamin B. Warfield of Princeton published in a recent number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* an article on *The Right of Systematic Theology*,¹ which attracted notice by the weight and opportuneness of its statements. The article is now reprinted in book form, with an Introduction by Professor James Orr of Edinburgh, and a Note of Commendation bearing the signatures of a dozen Scotch divines belonging to different Churches. The article deserves the recognition thus given it. It is a deliverance by one who, beyond most men, has a right to be heard on a subject like this. For it is one to which he has given much thought, with which he is in complete sympathy, and on which he can speak with all the advantage of wide knowledge. The prevalent hostility or indifference to doctrinal theology is here traced to its roots; the most notable of the recent attacks on "dogmatic Christianity" are analysed; the meaning of *dogma* and the place assignable to it are carefully defined; and the right and duty of systematic theology are made the subject of a reasoned statement which should carry conviction with it. A vast amount of cogent argument and strong, clear thinking is packed into this small volume.

Professor Paul Schwartzkopff's *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi*² has been already noticed in these pages, and the interest of the book has been explained. It now appears in an English version³ by the hand of the translator of Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*. It will be welcome to many English readers in this new form. The volume is but part of a much larger scheme, and belongs to the end rather than the beginning of that scheme. But it deals with questions of the highest moment, and gives us an idea of the author's interpretation of the Revelation of God in Christ as a whole. In this section, which deals specially with the predictive passages in the Gospels, Dr Schwartzkopff's object is to define what is essential

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 92. Price, 2s.

² Vol. vi., p. 271.

³ The Prophecies of Jesus Christ relating to His Death, Resurrection, and Second Coming, and their Fulfilment. Translated by Rev. Neil Buchanan. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. xi. 328. Price, 5s.

and permanent in our Lord's prophetic utterances on His death, resurrection, and Parousia, and what is to be discounted as belonging simply to form and circumstance. In doing this he proceeds upon the supposition of Christ's moral perfection on the one hand and His limited knowledge on the other. The main criterion by which he tests each prediction is its conformity with these two things. This is so used as to yield results which are on the whole conservative. What is lacking in the book is a more thorough and scientific examination of the sayings of our Lord by the processes of historical and grammatical exegesis. These are much too subordinate to the psychological ideas and the doctrinal views of Christ's humanity with which the writer starts. The volume, however, deserves careful attention, dealing as it does in a serious and penetrating way with questions which lie at the foundation of all reasonable trust in the truth of the revelation given us by Christ.

Two books come to us from the active pen of the Rev. James Lindsay of Kilmarnock. One is a short treatise on *The Significance of the Old Testament for Modern Theology*.¹ This was originally a paper prepared for the Glasgow Oriental Society. It is now published in compliance with a wish expressed by those who heard it read. It is an interesting and well-informed, though somewhat discursive, statement of its subject. Its broad conclusion is that the absoluteness of the Christian religion can be understood only in its relations to the progressive revelation of the Old Testament, and that the "end" in short is the test of the "means," the vindication of this progressive revelation—its "justification, indeed amid those limitations and difficulties of revelation that remain." The other volume, by the same industrious hand, is entitled *Recent Advances in Theistic Philosophy of Religion*.² It deals with a very different subject, and is constructed on a much larger scale. It is intended to follow out the line of argument which was pursued in the author's earlier work on *The Progressiveness of Modern Christian Thought*. It "contends for the progressiveness of theism in particular, and seeks more especially to prove the actual progressiveness of recent theistic thought." The matter is arranged in three great divisions—Recent Philosophy of Natural Theology, Recent Philosophy of Theism (God), and Recent Philosophy of Religion (Man). A more scientific distribution of the topics would have been an advantage in many ways, and not least in giving the sense of unity which is lacking in the large and multifarious contents of the book.

¹ Edinburgh and London : Blackwood & Sons, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 63. Price, 1s.

² Edinburgh and London : Blackwood & Sons, 1897. 8vo, pp. lvi. 547. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

The sweep of Mr Lindsay's argument indeed is immense. There is scarcely a subject in any way relevant to such an inquiry as he conducts that is not brought somehow within the scope of his exposition. The great questions touching personality, freedom, reason, the reign of law, man's nature, the purpose of history, the hope of immortality, and other cognate subjects, all come under review, and on such the opinions of representative thinkers are given and criticised. The outstanding characteristics of the book are its candour, its liberal spirit, its modern-mindedness, its sympathy with all genuine advance in the conception and expression of the fundamental truths of religion, and above all, its learning. The extent of reading revealed by the book is enormous. Here is the secret at once of the worth and of the weakness of the book. Mr Lindsay's pages make a kind of panorama of opinions. Quotations from all manner of authorities, or references to them, confront us at every turn. These are, generally speaking, not only pertinent to the matter in hand, but well chosen and informing. But we have too much of them, and feel almost lost in the whirl of them. We should have been glad to get more of the author himself. As it is we miss the impact that an argument like his should carry with it, and are left with a sense of the vague and inchoate.

While this must be said of the book generally, it would be unjust to deny it the praise that is due to a painstaking and, in many respects, meritorious performance. It contains much excellent matter, and gives the promise of still better and maturer work. It shows large acquaintance with the best thought of the time, extended and laborious study, an earnest desire to get at the fundamental realities and to be helpful to other minds.

Some parts of the argument are of particular interest, and are marked by particular ability. This holds good, for example, of the discussion of the various theistic proofs. Mr Lindsay's appreciation of the tenor of current thought and his grasp of the quick of the present situation are seen in the importance which he claims for the whole question of personality, both human and Divine. To this he gives a large place in his argument, and on this he says much that is just and to the purpose.

We are glad to notice the seventh thousand of Professor George Adam Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*.¹ It is superfluous to speak of the merits of a book which made its way at once into public favour by its engaging style and the value of its contents. It is enough to say that, in this new edition, its attractiveness and usefulness are increased by a careful revision through-

¹ London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 713. Price, 15s.

out, as well as by the addition of a number of important notes and an index of Scripture references. These new notes chronicle all of interest that has taken place of late in the literature of the subject, the condition of the Holy Land, and the researches and discoveries of travellers. Special attention is directed to what is said of Aphek, and to the account given by Dr Bailey, late of Nablûs, of the virtues of the water of Jacob's Well. The book is indispensable to the Biblical student. In general charm it is the worthiest successor to Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine." It has deservedly taken rank as one of the most notable recent successes of Scotch scholarship, and one of the best recent products of the literary faculty of Scottish theologians.

We owe much to Mr Charles for his translations of *The Book of Enoch* and *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, and for his edition of the *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*. He has added to our obligations by the publication of a most scholarly edition and translation of *The Apocalypse of Baruch*.¹ The interest of this Apocalypse is great. It lies in its historical position, the peculiarity of some of its doctrines, and the insight which it gives into the Jewish ideas current in the first Christian century. Among other things it speaks to the Jewish belief that death came by Adam's sin. It reflects the Jewish doctrines of merit, salvation by works, the heavenly Jerusalem, the bodily resurrection. It reveals also the Jewish animus against Christianity. It is placed by most authorities between 50 A.D. and 100 A.D. Mr Charles holds it to be composite, part of it being earlier and part later than the destruction of Jerusalem. He contends strongly for a Hebrew original, not a Greek. His arguments on this subject are drawn chiefly from the form of the quotations from the Old Testament; the presence of Hebrew idioms in the Syriac text; the considerable number of cases in which unintelligible Syriac expressions admit of being translated back into intelligible Hebrew; the evidence of Rabbinic writings; and especially the many *paronomasiae* which may be plausibly made out. These arguments are presented in a very convincing way. Both the original Hebrew and the Greek version being for the most part lost, it is a fortunate circumstance that we have the Syriac almost complete in the sixth century MS., which was discovered by Ceriani of Milan. It is this Syriac text that Mr Charles translates, correcting it now and again by the Hebrew which is understood to underlie it. Nothing has been spared to make this

¹ The Apocalypse of Baruch. Translated from the Syriac, and edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. London: A. & C. Black, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxxiv. 176. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

edition and translation as satisfactory as existing materials permit. The book is in all respects worthy of Mr Charles's name and previous achievements.

We have great pleasure in referring to the publication of the new edition of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*,¹ which forms a section of the well-known *Sammlung Theologischer Jahrbücher*. The first six *Lieferungen* have come to hand. These contain, in addition to a brief introduction, the expositions of the religions of the Naturvölker, the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Semitic races, including the faith of Israel down to the period of the Deuteronomic law. The book is described as a second and completely revised edition. In point of fact, however, it is much more than that. It is a new work executed on a new plan. Each of the great religions is now committed to a specialist, while the unity of the history is secured by the controlling hand of the editor. The list of Professor de la Saussaye's collaborateurs includes the names of Dr E. Buckley of Chicago, Dr H. O. Lange of Copenhagen, Dr F. Jeremias of Leipzig, Dr J. J. P. Valetton, junr., of Utrecht, Dr M. Th. Houtsma of Utrecht, and Dr E. Lehmann of Copenhagen. The undertaking is one of the greatest importance. We shall have to notice it more fully as its several sections are completed. It is enough to say at present that it is likely to be the best and handiest handbook on these subjects.

We have also to notice a discreet and pleasantly-written pamphlet by the Master of Balliol on *Individualism and Socialism*; ² a cheap edition of a series of telling, thoughtful, and stimulating *Sermons on Social Subjects*,³ originally delivered as a Lenten course in 1894 by Canon Scott Holland, Dean Farrar and others, with a preface by the Bishop of Durham; an anonymous brochure on *Some Disputed Points of Interpretation relating to the Prophecies recorded in the Book of Daniel and of the Last Days*,⁴ written on the principle that the "visions given to Nebuchadnezzar the King and Daniel the Prophet are parts of a grand system of type and prophecy" regarding the time of Christ; a volume which has now a pathetic interest, *Archbishop Benson in Ireland*,⁵ giving a very pleasing view of a man of genial and courteous nature and good capacity, who occupied a conspicuous

¹ Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896, 1897. 8vo, pp. 288. Price per *Lieferung*, M.1.

² By Edward Caird, LL.D., D.C.L. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1897. 8vo, pp. 31.

³ Lombard Street in Lent. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 206. Price, 2s.

⁴ London: Nisbet & Co., 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 60. Price, 1s.

⁵ A Record of his Irish Sermons and Addresses, 1896. Edited by J. H. Bernard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 119. Price, 3s 6d.

and onerous position with great faithfulness ; a second edition of Professor Willibald Beyschlag's *Die Paulinische Theodicee*,¹ an acute and suggestive discussion of the great paragraph extending over Romans ix.-xi., in which the author finds first an indication of the Divine will in its freedom (c. ix.), then a demonstration of the identity of that will with the moral law of history in the case of the hardening of Israel and the acceptance of the Gentiles (c. x.), and finally an exposition of the consistency and triumph of the Divine plan in the discipline of the hardened and the leading of all, though in different ways and by the use of dissimilar means, to grace and blessedness ; a second edition also, revised and enlarged of Professor R. F. Weidner's *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*,² a reliable, succinct, and useful compendium, embodying the main particulars of Eehler's *Theology of the Old Testament*, the compiler himself, however, adopting an attitude of pronounced antagonism to the "new theories, or so-called discoveries, emerging from the fertile minds of our negative Old Testament critics," as he expresses it ; a reprint (from the copyright edition of 1875) of two lectures *On the Millennium*,³ by the late Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Christopher Wordsworth, in which the Millennarian doctrine is shown to be repugnant both to Scripture, taken as a whole, and to the teaching of the Catholic Church, the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse being interpreted as a summary of the whole book ; *Our Christian Year*,⁴ a series of lessons on the teaching of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels of the Christian year, well adapted to the needs of teachers and senior scholars ; a volume on *How to Preach with Power*,⁵ which has the recommendation of speaking in a sensible and helpful way, both of the sermon itself and of the spiritual, intellectual, and physical sources of power in the pulpit ; and a handy reprint of Tischendorf's well-known and telling answer to the question, *When were our Gospels Written?*⁶

A new and important addition is made to the number of our theological journals by the enterprise of those connected with the University of Chicago. *The American Journal of Theology*⁷ is a

¹ Halle : Strien ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 85. M.1.50.

² New York and Chicago : Revell & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 351. Price, D.1.50.

³ London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 70.

⁴ By a Teacher. London : Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 346. Price, 5s.

⁵ By the Rev. William Henry Young, Ph.D., sometime Professor of Homiletics, etc., in Acadia University, Nova Scotia. London : Elliot Stock, 1896. 8vo, pp. 319. Price, 6s.

⁶ London : R.T.C. (Present-day Primers), 1896. 8vo, pp. 95. Price, 1s.

⁷ Number 1, January 1897. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press ; London : Luzac & Co. Pp. 288. Price, 3 dollars a year ; single numbers, 75 cents.

quarterly magazine, projected with the view of occupying the "entire range of theological study." It is to deal with all kinds of theological questions, and to be open to every school of theological opinion. It is to aim at keeping a due balance between the different departments, and is to furnish discussions which will be strictly scientific, and yet easily intelligible to thoughtful readers generally, as well as to scholars. Its opening number contains an inviting array of papers, most of them of marked ability, and all dealing with subjects of great interest. The place of honour is given to an article on *Theological Agnosticism*, by Professor A. B. Bruce, written with his usual power and pungency. Professor Sanday, of Oxford, contributes a very careful appreciation of the late Dr Hort, in which he claims for him the first place, in respect at least of *quality* of work, among the English theologians of the present century. Dr Briggs, of New York, contributes an important paper on *The Scope of Theology and its Place in the University*. Other scholarly communications come from Professors Allan Menzies and Caspar René Gregory, the latter furnishing an estimate of Bernhard Weiss's work on the New Testament. We have also a series of valuable critical notes, and a considerable list of reviews of books by different hands. We give a cordial welcome to the journal. If it fulfils the promise of the first number, it will be of great use. It takes possession of a field that has need to be occupied.

The second number of this year's issue of the ably conducted *Revue Bibliographique* contains a table of the books published in Belgium in 1896, representing the work of a very large number of authors. There is also a register of the summaries of periodical literature, which are numerous and of distinct service. A large amount of space, too, is given to books and journals published outside Belgium. The Société belge de Librairie (Bruxelles), to which we owe this useful magazine, also issues the *Revue Sociale Catholique*.

The tenth number of the *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst* (January 1897) is a particularly interesting number. Among other articles which will be read with attention, we may refer to one by Dr G. Burkhardt, director of missions in Herrnhut, on the celebration of the Lord's Supper among the Moravians, and another by Professor Voigt, of Königsberg, on the Sistine Madonna of Raphael.

Among other important articles which have appeared in recent numbers of various theological periodicals, we refer in particular to these:—The series contributed by Principal Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, to the *Expositor*, in which he seeks to define *Christ's own Attitude to His Death*; the communications by various hands in the January number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* on "The Mission of Judaism," the paper in the same number in which Mr C. G.

Montefiore gives a friendly statement of the mutual relations of Unitarianism and Judaism ; and Professor Büchler's investigation of the *Sources of Josephus for the History of Syria*, in which he reaches the result that Josephus had "borrowed the whole material of the first seventeen books of his *Antiquities* from Nicholas of Damascus, except those data which were taken from the Bible, the letter of Aristaeas, the first book of the Maccabees, and some other source that dealt with the high priests" ; some contributions to the Pentateuchal Problem by Professor Klostermann of Kiel, in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (viii. 1 and 3) ; and three studies of Melancthon in the same journal (viii. 2) by Professors Lezius of Greifswald, Seeberg of Erlangen, and Blass of Halle—an interesting series giving not only a general characterisation of the Reformer, but an instructive estimate of his place in the history of Dogma and Dogmatics, and his rank as a humanist and a teacher.

Special mention should also be made of Professor Gwatkin's criticism of Professor Harnack, in his short but instructive paper on *Irenaeus and the Fourth Gospel* in the *Contemporary Review* for February ; of Professor W. M. Ramsay's paper on *Pauline Chronology* in the *Expositor* for March ; of Professor C. Clemen's article on the order of the Pastoral Epistles in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1897, 2) ; and of an able paper by Professor B. B. Warfield on *Christian Supernaturalism* in the January issue of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, in which it is shown that the recognition of the Divine immanence does not mean for the Christian man any "limitation of God in being or activity."

In the January issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* the place of honour is given to a paper by Principal D. W. Simon on *Evolution and the Fall of Man*. It is an extremely acute paper, which deserves attention. Its object is to show that the question really at issue is why the products of the evolutionary process, "the innumerable forms of animal life evolved prior to man," were marked by "characteristics which are not only lacking to the latest and highest product of the same process, but have actually been supplanted by others ;" and to bring out the fact that there are only two possible answers. We must reply either that "the process itself must surely have undergone a marked change at the moment of reaching its culminating stage, or else that a disturbing element must then have been introduced into the life of the world, infinitely more disastrous in its consequences to the newly evolved species than the competition for food and mates, or the untoward action of physical forces, ever was to the long series of species that arose during the hundreds of thousands of years which are supposed to have preceded the appearance of man."

From his earliest youth Dean Church had the pen of a ready

writer. He was one of those favourites of the race who seem to be born not only with the literary faculty and the gift of style, but with the instinct of cultivating those rare endowments of nature. He had an exacting sense of what writing should be, but he was also an indefatigable producer. Besides the larger efforts which cost him years of toil, and by which he won in more than one department of English letters a high and honourable name, he was a frequent, we might say a constant, contributor to the daily and weekly organs of opinion, especially the *Times*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Guardian*. His articles and reviews in the last named journal alone are stated to have amounted to more than a thousand. That gives us some idea of his vast industry, his versatility, and the immense mass of work of an occasional kind that came from his hand. And it was work of a very finished order. Nothing slovenly, ill thought out, or poorly expressed, could pass muster with one of so fine a taste, so penetrating a discernment, so rigorous an idea of what was due to the public.

Dean Church left behind him, therefore, a multitude of papers which were too valuable to remain unused. The quantity was so large that the task of selection became a great difficulty. It has been discharged, however, with a good sense that does not always accompany filial feeling. These two volumes of *Occasional Papers*¹ include little that we should like to miss. There are some papers, indeed, which we almost regret to find in them—papers on certain ecclesiastical questions which are now of small importance in the judgment of most men, and in which the Dean appears less fair-minded and free of prejudice than he usually was. These, however, are not many, and they are more than balanced by others in which his catholic spirit and his historical conscience assert themselves. The opening paper, on Carlyle's Cromwell, is unfortunately among the least appreciative. But those on Morison's St Bernard, Fénelon's Mysticism, Lamennais, Ecce Homo, Cardinal Newman, to name but a few, are in most respects excellent bits of work, all the more so when one remembers the circumstances in which they were written. The volumes make delightful reading, and enlarge one's ideas of the late Dean's fertility of resource, general saneness of judgment, keenness of intellect, and gracious spirit. Even the earliest of them have much of the charm of style for which he became so widely known and justly admired.

*The Theology of Modern Fiction*² is not a very usual subject

¹ London : Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 416 and 492. Price 5s. each.

² Being the twenty-sixth Fernley Lecture, delivered in Liverpool, July 1896, by T. G. Selby. London : C. H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. iv. 192. Price, 3s.

for a foundation like the Fernley Lecture. On reflection, however, we must admit it to be neither unprofitable nor inopportune, and it has been very well handled by the lecturer of last year. The writers who are reviewed by Mr Selby are George Eliot, Nathanael Hawthorne, Thomas Hardy, George Macdonald and the Scottish School, and Mark Rutherford. This is a limited list of names. The reasons for singling out these five and omitting others are not very obvious. We miss not only Thackeray, Dickens, and Kingsley, but George Meredith, Mrs Humphry Ward, Mrs Oliphant, Mr Shorthouse, and others who might be expected to be included, and whose writings might seem at least as congruous with the lecturer's particular object. Be this as it may, Mr Selby writes to purpose of the novelists whom he has preferred for his present purpose. He gives careful analyses (in some cases indeed tending to err on the side of over detail) of their chief works, passes them through a frank, fair, and intelligent criticism, and brings out the main lines of their teaching. It is in this last that the strength of the book lies,—in its clear and forcible presentation of the moral message or tendency of these representative writers of current fiction on the great subjects of retribution, the ripening of character, the inward punishment of sin, the demand for mediation, the action of motives, and the like. On these things Mr Selby says much that is of weight, and says it in the aptest terms.

The volume of *Village Sermons*¹ by the late Dr Hort is a remarkable witness to his strenuous sense of duty. We know from his *Life* how difficult he felt it to be all that he knew a pastor ought to be to a humble, village flock. These sermons show us something of the pains he was at to fit himself for the work of an obscure, rural pulpit. They let us see how the great scholar, who lived so largely and wrote so habitually in the region of the abstract and the learned, could accommodate himself to circumstances demanding the utmost simplicity of expression. They deal with great themes, the anointing of the spirit, temptation, and the like. They expound these in terms level to any mind, yet full of large meaning and showing something of the heart of these profound subjects. A discourse of special beauty and value is one on Peter's idea of "the lively hope." There is a series of twelve, too, on the books of the Bible, which must have cost the writer no small labour and brought his rustic hearers a new understanding of the purpose and the unity of Scripture.

Under the title of *The More Abundant Life*² we have a series of

¹ London : Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 269. Price, 6s.

² By W. M. L. Jay. London : Macmillan & Co., 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price, 6s.

Lenten Readings from the pen of the late Bishop Phillips Brooks. They are taken chiefly from his unpublished manuscripts, and they have the fine qualities, the tenderness, the sympathy, the insight into life, the spiritual feeling which appear in all the writings of the great American preacher. They will be reckoned among the treasures of many devout souls.

We are glad to get from the same lamented hand another series, the eighth, of *Sermons*.¹ The volume includes discourses that will rank with Phillips Brooks's best, those, for example, on *The Little Sanctuaries of Life, Storm and Calm, The Sacredness of Life, and The Secret of the Lord*. One or two touch certain deep notes in our Lord's Parable. Most are on New Testament subjects. There are nine, however, on Old Testament themes, Elisha's prayer and vision, the heavenly wisdom, etc. It is a choice collection, worthy of the preacher's name.

Record of Select Literature.

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- BACHER, W. Die Bibelexegese Moses Maimūnis. (Aus. : "Jahresber. der Landes - Rabbinerschule zu Budapest.") Strassburg : Trübner's Verl. 8vo, pp. xv. 176. M.4.
- ZENNER, J. K. Die Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen. Ihre Existenz u. ihre Form, nachgewiesen v. Z. 2. Thle. 1. Prolegomena, Uebersetzungen u. Erläuterungen. Mit 1. Titelbild : Die Sängerriegen des ersten Tempels nach Kosmas Indico-pleustes. (Cod. Vat. Graec. 699.) Freiburg i/B. : Herder. Lex.-8. pp. vii. 92. 2. Texte, pp. v. 71. M.10.
- Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce G. N. du Rieu. Tom. 1. Vetus Testamentum Graece. Codices Sarraviani-Colbertini qui supersunt in Bibliothecis Leidensi, Parisiensi, Petropolitana, phototypice editi. Praefatus est H. Omont. Leiden : Sifhoff. 8vo, pp. xii. 306. M.160.
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¹ New Starts in Life and Other Sermons. By the late Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D. London : Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. v. 356. Price, 6s.

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- COBLENTZ, Dr. Felix. *Ueber das betende Ich in den Psalmen.* Frankfurt a/M.: Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. vi. 191.
- VOIZ, Paul. *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. viii. 93. M.2.80.
- KITTEL, R. *Die Anfänge der Hebräischen Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Testament.* Leipz.: Hirzel. 8vo, pp. 26. M.0.60.
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- KARL, Wilhelm. Beiträge zum Verständniss der soteriologischen Erfahrungen und Spekulationen des Apostels Paulus. Strassburg: Heitz. 8vo, pp. 116.
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S. Mark's Indebtedness to S. Matthew.

By F. P. Badham, M.A. London: T Fisher Unwin, 1897.
Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 132. Price, 3s. 6d.

MR BADHAM, while still *in statu pupillari*, at Oxford, published "The Formation of the Gospels," which professed to solve the Synoptic problem. The key, he assured us, fitted the lock. If we would not use it, we must remain outside.

The solution which was then offered us was as follows :—There were two Jewish Gospels, A and B, which were speedily combined into AB. S. Mark and S. Luke copied these documents (without discovering that AB was a mere combination of A and B ?). S. Mark's was the earliest written Gospel. A fourth document, called "The Preaching of Peter" (P), was used by S. Luke. Finally, S. Matthew's Gospel is AB + parts of P.

S. Mark, however, wrote, not our second Gospel (as I have stated for convenience above, and, following Mr Badham's example, shall continue to do throughout this article), but "The Preaching of Peter," the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. The only Petrine part of our second Gospel was the last twelve verses (Mark xvi. 9-20) !

This complex scheme was held to be proved by the alleged existence in our Gospels of doublets and inconsistencies, yet, strange to say, it presented us with the most intolerable doublet or inconsistency of all, for the same document P contained two separate accounts of the journey to Emmaus, viz., Mark xvi. 12, and Luke xxiv. 13-35, *minus* 34.

Six years have passed, and Mr Badham, who now professes himself a pupil of Hilgenfeld, produces another book in which he essays to prove in the teeth of his former assertions that S. Matthew's Gospel was written first, and that S. Mark's was, generally speaking, an abbreviation thereof.

Unfortunately he does not, like Stesichorus, begin with the palinode—

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος,

or, like an Act of Parliament, state precisely how much of previous Acts is rescinded. It is clear from his sixteenth chapter that he has not renounced the whole of his scheme, but there are considerable modifications of it. For, in the "Formation," S. Mark is a dull copyist, with little original matter; in the "Indebtedness"

he is an artist, who develops a picture from S. Matthew's sketch. Must we, like one of Mr Badham's Evangelists, combine the two books together? And what a heap of doublets and inconsistencies might we not produce in the attempt! Or may we conclude, as he now does, with a thankful *Requiescat*, applied, however, to each and all of A, B, AB, and P?

There is nothing absurd in the contention that S. Matthew wrote first and S. Mark abbreviated him. Such has been the belief of the great majority of Christians from S. Augustine to Keim. It was not the opinion of the Early Church from Papias onwards, nor is it generally accepted now; but Mr Badham wishes to bring us back to S. Augustine's opinion, and it is well for us to consider what he has to say.

He possesses, I think, the advantages and disadvantages of what I may call—without meaning anything offensive—microscopic eyesight. He sees ambiguities, glosses, inflations, and inaccuracies which, to a man with normal vision, are often nothing of the kind. His argument rests upon them, and he fails to take a wider view.

For example, certain sections of S. Matthew—notably chapters viii., ix., xiv. 1-12—present a very much shorter recension of the narrative than is found in the other Gospels. But many parts of S. Matthew are only slightly shorter than S. Mark, while not a few are even longer, and contain the very glosses and inflations which are held to be proofs of S. Mark's posteriority. There is no attempt made to explain this difference.

Again, it has been generally allowed that S. Mark wrote for Gentile readers, S. Matthew for Jews. It would be more consonant with modern ideas to say that S. Matthew's Gospel had gradually grown up in a Jewish community, where it had gathered to itself a large number of Judaic elements, such as allusions to the Law, and fulfilments of prophecy. S. Mark, though he was originally taught the Gospel in Jerusalem, had lived for many years in Pauline Churches, and had learned to provide for Gentile congregations. He may, therefore, have allowed a few things to drop which had only attraction for Jews, and he inserted certain explanations of Semitic customs. Concede this, and you have replied to Mr Badham's chapter on "The un-Judaic character of S. Mark."

Ancient historians claimed the privilege—which is now only conceded to novelists—of knowing the secret motives and private conversations of their heroes. Probably some of the speeches in the Gospels give rather what the occasion demanded than what was actually said. These were literary usages which imposed upon no one. Hence there is no call for the remarks on page 39 about Herodias and her daughter.

Mr Badham's Evangelists are the slaves of a very few documents, but he now allows them the pleasure of an occasional gossip with their contemporaries, which assisted their imagination, but could not add to their knowledge. Has he never heard of the large and energetic Church of Jerusalem, which still "compassed sea and land to make one proselyte"? Did not its emissaries penetrate to Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, and other centres of thought? Did not its preachers and teachers follow in the footsteps of S. Paul, and supply the wants of his newly-founded churches, sometimes leavening his teaching? And were there not scores of Christians in Jerusalem who had seen our Lord, heard Him converse, and had been witnesses of the crucifixion? Could not they confirm or add to S. Peter's recollections? Could not they fill in his outline sketches, explaining many an ambiguity, and often supplying a motive? The Tübingen leaders placed the birth of our Gospels in the second century. It seems unreasonable to admit that S. Matthew and S. Mark wrote soon after 70 A.D., and yet to surround them with the same atmosphere of ignorance. "These things were not done in a corner."

Mr Badham never takes into consideration the question whether the oral hypothesis may not be the true key to the Synoptic problem. And this is to be regretted, because under that hypothesis most of the difficulties which trouble him disappear. For example, the cumbrous array of primitive documents—supposed to have been scattered broadcast over the Churches, and yet to have perished in spite of their priceless value, and left not a trace behind—vanish into thin air. Again, Mr Badham's chief purpose is to crush out of their phantom existence, by argument and ridicule, those pets of the critics, *Ur-Marcus* and *Ur-Matthäus*. In oral tradition we seldom use these terms; but, in spite of what Mr Badham has put forth, I fear that most of those who have studied the question will agree with me that they are indispensable under any theory of documents.

If S. Mark in any passage is opposed to both the other Gospels, it is perfectly open to me, as a supporter of the oral hypothesis, to assume that he has consciously or unconsciously departed from his original wording. If he has four sections which they have not, I infer that these were the latest additions to his Gospel. That they should, in taking their places there, thrust out a few verses which once were there, is highly probable; and so Mr Badham's fifth chapter becomes unnecessary. If many of S. Mark's picturesque descriptions are curtailed in both the other Gospels, the reason may be that whatever is not requisite to make sense, is liable to be riddled out in oral teaching. At the same time, I am free to admit that some of them are later accretions, and so I deal with chapter iv.

If S. Luke omits thirty-five of S. Mark's sections, I can point out that S. Mark's oral teaching was carried westwards about 47 A.D., before the said sections were incorporated into it. If he gives us sixteen scraps out of the omitted sections, I reply that the scraps were sent to him by his correspondents. Thus we secure all the advantages of an oral Ur-Marcus, which is a very elastic thing, without the inextricable perplexities of a documentary one, which is a rigid thing.

If S. Mark contains few of the narratives which appear to come to us from non-Petrine sources, it is because he buried himself in Cyprus, out of reach of progressive activities. If S. Matthew is rich in such new matter, it is because his oral Gospel continued to move, perhaps, ten years longer in Jerusalem, before it was taken to its final *habitat* (Alexandria?). During those ten years it must have been so amplified, corrected, and polished, that the chapter on S. Mark's abruptness is not required.

S. Luke, besides keeping up communications with Jerusalem by letter and visitors, resided in Palestine for two years during S. Paul's imprisonment, and doubtless used his opportunity to collect new materials. Under the oral hypothesis we can explain his order, his additions, and—most difficult of all—his omissions. We can do so without the slightest demand on the reader's credulity, and without making any of the Evangelists a literary monster.

In contrast to all this, Mr Badham accounts for the omissions as excisions! And the only reason for them offered is that a Gospel must be kept within certain limits. Perhaps so; but why should not the Gospels be twice as long as they are? S. Mark's, at any rate, might be doubled with every advantage. The difficulty about S. Luke's order, Mr Badham does not seem to have felt. But he does not often consider the points which make against him. For example, he dwells on the abruptness produced by the omission from Mark xiv. 65, of the question, "Who is he that smote thee?" but he does not tell us how these words, on his own principle, found their way into S. Luke.

It is desirable that a critic of the Gospels should work upon the Greek text, and in a good edition. Mr Badham appears to work on the English Revised Version, and, when he refers to the Greek, to use the *textus receptus*, not even in Scrivener's edition. How else can we account for *κράββατος* instead of *κράβαττος*? The latter form is accepted by all modern editors, and is rendered necessary by the line in the *Moretum*—

"Membra levat sensim vili demissa grabato."

How else account for *εὐθέως* instead of *εὐθύς*? How else does

he accuse S. Mark of the redundancy, "them that trust in riches?" Even the Revisers in their margin condemn this reading. Ταλιθά, κοῦμι is not correct in Mark v. 41, but ταλειθά κοῦμ. For κοῦμι is the Hebrew form; in Syriac the final consonant is written but not vocalised, because it was not usually pronounced. Ἐφφαθά, by the way, is not Aramaic.

Attention to Greek syntax is still more desirable in those who would lead others, and what shall we say of the assertion that εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιδα(ν) might mean "to the opposite side from Bethsaida?" To which is appended the note, "Βηθσαιδαν may just as well be a genitive as an accusative. Cf. οὐαί σοι Βηθσαιδαν, Matt. xi. 21; similarly Ν, Ε, Luke x. 13. Although it is more natural to take Βηθσαιδαν in Mark vi. 45 as an accusative, it must be remembered that S. Luke may have been influenced by the fact above noticed, that this interpretation is difficult to reconcile with verse 53." In the Greek Testament, πρὸς with the genitive, occurs once, and then not in a local sense; πρὸς with the accusative, occurs about seven hundred times. I do not believe that any Greek author in any age could have used πρὸς with the proper name of a place in the genitive, to mean simply "from." Liddell and Scott quote Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1037, but that is a false reading. Granted, therefore, that Βηθσαιδαν is not necessarily an accusative, but a curious collateral indeclinable form of Βηθσαιδά—Dr Hort compared it with Γολγοθάν—I confidently assert that no native Greek could have understood by it "from Bethsaida." What would be the use of language if "to London" could occasionally mean "from London"?

Again, in Mark iii. 21 the various reading ἐξίσταται αὐτοῦς cannot be primitive, because no writer in the first century would have put it for ἐξίστησιν αὐτοῦς. The LXX. are never guilty of such a mistake. As a matter of fact, however, Cod. D. does not read ἐξίσταται, but ἐξέσται, a mere blunder, which points, however, to ἐξέστη. The Greek of Cod. D. in this passage, as in many others, has been altered to correspond to the Latin, and the double error in syntax and in accident detects the change. Mr Badham's alternative suggestion that if ἐξέστη be read, perhaps ὄχλος is the subject to it, makes one ask with surprise, Do you think so?

I have not space here to work through the whole of Mr Badham's objections. Many of them are very well known of old. Many of them appear to me forced, exaggerated, inapplicable, or capable of being used to prove the opposite. The cumulative effect is not what he would wish it to be.

The strongest reason for upholding the priority of S. Mark is

the difficulty of believing that any Christian, in writing a Gospel, would deliberately strike out of it what has always been dearest to the hearts of his brethren. Put S. Mark first, and he is invaluable; put him anywhere else, and he is inexplicable. What sort of Christians would desire to purchase brevity by the excision of the story of our Lord's birth, the Sermon on the Mount, the account of the Son of Man in glory (Matt. xxv.), with the longer parables and much discourse matter? The very fact of S. Mark's comparative unpopularity is a decisive answer.

To come to details, I find it hard to believe that if S. Mark had had S. Matthew's *ἐκατόνταρχος* before him, he would have changed it into the Latin *centurio*; harder to believe that he altered S. Matthew's *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* into the Aramaic *τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, which misleads some of his readers to this day (Mark iii. 28 = Matt. xii. 31); impossible to believe that he habitually altered S. Matthew's smoother and more polished sentences into the rugged, uncouth, Semitic, co-ordinations, with hardly any other conjunction than "and." In fact, that monotonous monosyllable does more than outweigh what Mr Badham has put into the opposite scale.

If S. Mark started with a small nucleus of oral teaching, and slowly expanded it as his master supplied new class-lessons, we should inevitably find some of those connexions which Mr Badham thinks awkward, abrupt, and inconsequent. But is not this exactly what Papias says about S. Mark? What right has any one to transfer the words of Papias to some other document, and then to condemn S. Mark as secondary, for the very reasons which most surely establish his priority? ARTHUR WRIGHT.

The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England explained, with an Introduction.

By Edgar C. S. Gibson, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, and Prebendary of Wells; sometime Principal of Wells Theological College. In two volumes, 1896 and 1897. London: Methuen & Co. Demy 8vo, pp. 801. Price, 15s.

ONE of the first things which strike the reader of this work is its excellent form. The paper is good, the print is very clear, and the plan of picking out the salient points in each paragraph, by presenting them in heavy black type of a most self-asserting character, is admirable. As one turns over the pages the main topics of the various sections are evident at a glance. Moreover, each of the two volumes (which were published separately, with an interval of

some months between their respective appearances) is furnished with an index. Closer acquaintance with the work reveals good qualities of a more important kind. The book is written in a clear, readable style, which carries one along over discussions that sometimes can hardly be otherwise than dry, and in a candid tone, which ought not to offend even those who dissent most frequently and decidedly from the conclusions reached. These conclusions are always clearly stated. Whether one agrees with him or not (and there are perhaps no two persons, even among the Anglican clergy, who would agree about all the points which are touched in the *Thirty-nine Articles*), Dr Gibson seldom, if ever, leaves us in doubt as to his own view.

The book is no doubt the outcome of years of lecturing on the subject in the Theological College at Wells; and long experience has shown the writer what topics need to be elucidated with fulness, and what may be passed over more lightly. A reviewer who has not had this experience is at a disadvantage in judging of the symmetry of the whole, and may easily be mistaken in his judgment. Nevertheless, the division of the *Articles* between the two volumes does seem to be singularly out of proportion. The first volume contains a lucid Introduction of less than a hundred pages, which gives the student just what he wants to know about the history and development of the *Thirty-nine Articles*; and with this stands a discussion of the first eight *Articles*, which fills a little over 250 pages. The remaining twenty-one *Articles* have all to be packed into the second volume. The reason for this disproportionate treatment is obvious. The *Articles*, when arranged according to their subject-matter, fall into four groups. I. The Catholic Faith, and where it may be found (i.-viii.). II. Personal Religion, or Man and his Salvation (ix.-xviii.). III. Corporate Religion, or the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments (xix.-xxxi.). IV. Miscellaneous *Articles*, relating to the Discipline of the Church of England, &c. (xxxii.-xxxix.). Obviously, it would have been impossible to get the whole of the first two groups into the first volume without a much greater violation of proportion than is apparent at present. But would there have been any serious disadvantage in dividing the second group and treating some of the *Articles* in it in the first volume and some in the second? In the work which Dr Gibson's treatise is no doubt meant to supersede, and is likely to supersede, there is no such startling inequality of treatment. Harold Browne gives 218 pages to the first eight *Articles* and 607 to the remainder. In the volumes before us, 266 pages are given to the first eight *Articles* and only 436 to the remainder.

At the outset the author makes the true remark, that, "if the

fourth century was the age of Creeds, the sixteenth is the age of Articles (p. 3). This is better than to speak of both as "Creed-making" eras (p. 1), which confounds the essential distinctions between Creeds and Articles. Creeds are universal and permanent, or aim at being so. Articles are local and temporary. They are drawn up to meet the difficulties of a portion of the Church at some crisis in its history. The splendid sarcasm of Hilary would have lost much of its point, if the countless synods which afflicted the Church in his day had contented themselves with drawing up Articles for their own use, instead of attempting to impose Creeds upon the whole of Christendom. "Every year, nay, every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done; we defend those who repent; we anathematize those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and mutually tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of one another's ruin" (*Ad Constant.* ii. 4). The fatal secret had been divulged at Nicaea that it was possible for a council to frame a Creed for the whole Church; and it was a long time before the far more necessary truth was recognised that the conditions under which such a thing can be done are both difficult and rare. But it is quite otherwise with Articles.

In the sixth section of the Introduction the valuable remark is made that "it is from the clergy, and the clergy only, that the Church demands subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles" (p. 64). At one time the Universities required its members to sign them. Those of us who took the Degree of M.A. at Oxford or Cambridge before 1871 had to sign the Articles before we received that degree. And those who matriculated before 1854 signed them when they entered the University. But this was an academic restriction, directed originally against Roman Catholics. It was not a restriction imposed upon its lay members by the Church of England. The only formula to which a layman is by direction of the Book of Common Prayer required to give his assent is the shortest and simplest of all the Creeds. The Articles are a protection to the ears of the laity, not a restriction on their opinions. They tell the clergy what doctrines they are *not* to teach to the people.

The Introduction ends very conveniently with the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI. in 1553. They are given in full, with the Latin and English in parallel columns, so that the reader can in any particular case compare the articles, as we now have them, at the end of the Book of Common Prayer with the corresponding articles in the earlier draft.

The notes on each article are generally sober and to the point.

They give the student the information which he requires without extravagance or partisanship. After pointing out the confusion which resulted from the technical terms used in Greek and Latin to express the idea represented by "Person" in the Trinity, and quoting Newman's words to the effect that Person, if understood as meaning *individual*, would suggest Tritheism, and if taken in the classical sense of *character*, would suggest Unitarianism, Dr Gibson remarks that the Church means neither of these. "All that she intends to express by the use of the term 'three Persons' is that which she understands Holy Scripture to teach, namely, that there are three eternal distinctions in the divine nature, anterior to, and independent of, any relation to created life" (p. 114).

In the discussion of the *ὁμοούσιον* (pp. 124-135) some references might have been given with advantage to one or other of Professor Gwatkin's two works on Arianism, especially the later and smaller one, which is within the reach of even poor students, and within the comprehension of everyone who is capable of studying theology at all.

There is a valuable note on pp. 143, 144 on the limitation of knowledge in the human soul of Christ. It states well the centre of the question. We have Christ's own authority (Mark xiii. 32) for believing that ignorance was *possible* for Him. How far that ignorance extended is "a matter of reasonable inference from the Gospel narrative." A few texts are quoted which seem to imply clearly that, although had He so willed it, He might have known, yet there were occasions when He condescended not to know. But the question about Ps. cx. is not touched; and there is no attempt to exhibit any principle in the limitation of knowledge. The principle seems to be identical with that which appears to govern all miracles. A miracle is never wrought where ordinary means would suffice. When our Lord's work required that He should know something, and He could obtain this knowledge by inquiry, He never willed to know it supernaturally (Mark vi. 38; viii. 5; ix. 21; John xi. 34; &c.). But where the knowledge was necessary, and could only be obtained by supernatural means, He adopted such means, as in the case of Nathanael under the fig-tree, the woman at the well, the illness and death of Lazarus, &c., &c. To attribute omniscience to Christ is a form of Docetism, for it amounts to a denial of the reality of His human nature.

On Article VI. there is a clear and accurate statement of the application of the words *κανονίζεν*, *κανονικός*, and *κάνων* in reference to Holy Scripture (p. 249). But it is no fault of the writer that he does not show how the statement, "in the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the

Church," is to be harmonized with the statement, "all the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account canonical." The two cannot be harmonized; and Dr Gibson does not seem to put much trust in his own suggestion that "was never any doubt in the Church" may mean in the *Church as a whole*. If there was doubt *in* the Church about the Antilegomena, there was doubt *in* the Church as a whole. If the Article had said "whose authority was never doubted *by* the whole Church," such an explanation might have held.

On p. 277 there is a useful table to show the varying senses in which the terms Canonical and Apocryphal have been used by different authorities in reference to the books of the Old Testament. With regard to the Apocrypha in our own Bible (of which we now happily have a Revised Version) hardly enough is said in the way of commendation. The immense value of these books in bridging the gaps between the Old Testament and the New might have been pointed out; and, as there is half a page blank at p. 279, we may hope for a few words to this effect in the next edition. Now that the investigation of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature is throwing so much light on the New Testament, it is worth while directing the attention of students to those examples of it which are in our Bibles; all the more so because so little of the Apocrypha is now read in Church. Those whose memories do not go back beyond 1871 hardly understand an allusion to Tobit or Judith.

In connexion with Article VII., it is wisely maintained (respecting the amount of knowledge concerning a future state possessed by the Jews before Christ), that the Article "leaves us free to decide the critical question on critical grounds" (p. 293). For that freedom every loyal student of Holy Scripture ought to contend, not merely with regard to the question mentioned, but with regard to all critical questions. Our Lord's saying respecting Ps. cx. is no exception. The authorship of that Psalm is a critical question, and must be decided on critical grounds. Each of us has a right to his own interpretation of Christ's words; but he has no right to say that His words forbid other people from using critical methods to determine the date of Ps. cx. Nothing in Christ's teaching leads us to believe that He wished to free us from the trouble of such inquiry.

It is specially as regards the Creeds that the work of Harold Browne is nearly half a century behind our present knowledge, and in the treatment of Article VIII. Dr Gibson will be found to give much more satisfactory information. Among the germs of Creeds to be found in the New Testament ought not Rom. viii. 32-34 to be mentioned? He gives the true account of our so-called Nicene

Creed, which differs widely from the Creed which was drawn up at Nicæa. The common idea that our Nicene Creed is the Creed of Nicæa completed at the Council of Constantinople is absolutely wrong. So far as we know, the Second Council framed no Creed; and this Creed was in existence at least six or seven years, and possibly much more, before that Council met, almost exactly as we have it now. The main differences are these: it had "we believe" for "I believe," retained "that is of the Substance of the Father" after "begotten of His Father before all worlds," and omitted "and the Son" after "who proceedeth from the Father." In all these respects our form has changed for the worse. The omission of ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς removes the chief safeguard against a Sabellian interpretation of ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί; and the insertion of the *Filioque* is one serious obstacle to union between East and West. The Athanasian Creed is given in the original Latin from the Sarum Breviary. Against verse 33, *Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carnem*, is put the note that "the majority of the older MSS. read *in carne*." But the student is not told how this statement in the Creed is to be reconciled with that of S. John, ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.

In the second volume appears the Preface to the whole work. No doubt Prefaces are commonly written last; but they are generally placed first, and there does not seem to be anything in this one which could not have been written when the first volume was completed. In it the writer defends the disproportionate treatment of the Articles alluded to above.

On Article X. he points out that the heading is misleading, "On Freewill." It neither affirms, nor denies, nor discusses, nor even mentions Freewill. What is asserted is the need of grace; but it is asserted in moderate language, giving no support to the Calvinistic exaggerations of "irresistible grace" on the one side, nor to the Pelagianism of the Anabaptists on the other, who asserted that man had no need of grace in order to do what is pleasing to God.

The sketch of the gradual growth of the system of indulgences, given under Article XIV., is very well done, and may be commended to those who feel that their ideas on the subject are uncertain or confused. One may hear the strangest statements respecting indulgences sometimes from well-educated people, and even from the pulpit; e.g., that they were licences to sin, and that by paying so much money you could obtain the leave of the Pope to commit certain offences against the Divine Law. The whole mischief arose out of the very innocent fact that the Church which imposes a penance can also diminish or remit what has been imposed, or can substitute something else for it. Thus the Council of Clermont, A.D. 1095, decreed that whoever went on crusade to

free Jerusalem from the infidel, out of pure devotion, and not to gain honour or money, the journey was to be counted as a substitute for all penance—*iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur* (p. 430, l. 15, there seems to be a misprint of "of" for "for"). "Nothing can be more certain from history than the fact of the gradual growth of the system, bit by bit, without any clear conception being formed by anyone of what it really meant, or very much serious thought being bestowed upon it" (p. 434); and this fact ought to be kept steadily in mind in considering the hideous abuses to which the system led in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Dult*, which still survives as a name for a fair or annual market in Germany, is an abbreviation of *indulgentia*, and thus bears testimony to the close connexion between indulgences and traffic.

Equally good, on Article XIX., are the statements respecting the visible Church and the attitude of the Church of England to the Church of Rome. Nowhere in the Articles, or in any other official document, does the Church of England pronounce the Church of Rome to be apostate, or no Church at all. However great her errors may be (and they have not decreased since the Articles were written), she remains a branch of the Catholic Church and a "mother of saints." The Church of England accepts not only the baptism but the Orders of Rome, and when any of the Roman clergy come over to her never professes to reordain them even conditionally. In spite of recent discouraging events, a time will perhaps come when the Church of Rome will be unable to blind herself any longer to historical facts, and will see that Anglican Orders are at least as valid as her own.

In discussing the words, "the Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ" (Article XX.), the story of the Ethiopian eunuch is used to show that, if "the rather foolish saying, The Bible and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants," were true, the eunuch, who was reading the Scriptures, ought to have had all that he wanted, which was not the case. But it might also have been pointed out that, if the Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, the Church must be there first. It is not the Bible which gave us the Church, but the Church which gave us the Bible. If each individual were to make his own Canon of Scripture, we should have some strange results. And when we remember what precious things have perished, because it was no one's business to preserve them, we may well wonder what would have become of the contents of our Bibles, if God had not provided an organized society to be not only a judge of what is Scripture, but also a guardian of that which has been recognised as such.

That "the idea of a General Council seems to have originated,

not with the Church but with the Emperor" (p. 533), is most true. Constantine wanted a great social, moral, and spiritual force, which might hold together the heterogeneous elements of the Roman Empire. He thought that he had found this in the Christian Church. But the Donatist and Meletian Schisms and the controversies about Arius seemed to show that the Church itself was falling to pieces. "If water chokes you, what are you to wash it down with?" If the Church, which was to unite all else, was to be torn by dissensions, then farewell to the unity of the Empire. And thus one of the most despotic sovereigns that have ever reigned in Christian times, in an age in which all political freedom, or even the very desire for it, was extinct, gave to the Christian Church the splendid idea and the actual fact of representative government. In this way the Council of Nicaea has for us an interest which no other General Council can rival. But even of that assembly the remark holds good, that "the record of Councils, summoned as 'General' ones, and conducted with proper forms, is often a painful one to read" (p. 534). Is there the record of a single *one* which is *not* painful to read? They are magnificent instances of the Divine process of bringing good out of evil. Church history would be pleasanter, but far less instructive, if one could see only the results, and know nothing of the processes by which they are reached. It is rightly pointed out that completeness of representation is no guarantee of inerrancy; it merely makes error somewhat less likely. Every Council, however representative, has its decisions revised by the whole Church, not formally, but practically. If they are universally accepted, they are sound. If they are widely disputed or ignored, the presumption is the other way. What is flippantly called "the infallibility of the odd man," has no place in the teaching of the Church.

Regarding the invocation of saints, the common sense view is taken, that we have no security that the saints departed are capable of hearing our prayers, Scripture being silent on the subject. When we ask friends to pray for us, we know that our request reaches them, and that they are aware of our needs. But asking S. Peter or S. John to pray for us may be wasted labour. And there is no primitive and catholic tradition to override this initial difficulty. The earliest examples belong to the second half of the fourth century (Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Ephraem, Augustine); and some of these may be rhetorical addresses rather than deliberate invocations. The examples in the catacombs are of unknown date. But requests to the saints to pray for us, questionable as they are, differ widely from the direct prayers which are to be found in modern service books, both Eastern and Western; e.g., 'Υπεραγία Θεοτόκε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

On the question of Infant Baptism (Article XXVII.), it does not seem to be judicious to quote Acts ii. 33, 38 as in favour of the practice. "For to you is the promise, *and to your children,*" indicates nothing as to the age at which children were baptized. And Justin's writing of people aged sixty and seventy, "who had been Christ's disciples *from childhood*" (*Apol.* i. 15), proves nothing as to baptism. Even as late as the fourth century we find not only good, but saintly parents bringing up their sons as "Christ's disciples from childhood," yet leaving them unbaptized until they were quite grown up. Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, Augustine, and others, are well known instances. We must rest content with the position that Infant Baptism can be neither proved nor disproved from Scripture, and the scanty evidence will be estimated differently by different minds. But "that from the second century onwards the Church was familiar with the idea and practice of Infant Baptism" (p. 639), is quite true.

But this review must draw to a close. In the subsequent pages the important changes introduced into Article XXVIII. (in the earlier Forty-two Articles, XXIX), and the leading points in the controversy respecting the Christian ministry, are brought to the student's notice in a clear and succinct manner. Under the latter head the way in which Romanists shift their ground in objecting to Anglican Orders is rightly insisted on. In a subsequent edition attention will, no doubt, be called to the reply of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, in which the Pope was so ill-advised as not merely to decide, but to give reasons for his decision. The concluding Articles are treated somewhat briefly, the last two being dismissed in six or seven pages.

The extent to which the Thirty-nine Articles breathe the spirit of compromise is perhaps not quite often enough insisted upon in these two volumes. Thus a doctrine dear to one party, but unacceptable to the other, is sometimes implied without being stated in exact terms. There is a good instance of this in Article IX. In the Latin we have *renati* twice; *Manet etiam in renatis haec naturae depravatio. . . . Et quanquam renatis et credentibus nulla condemnatio.* This is rendered in the English, "This infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are *regenerated.* . . . And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are *baptized.*" If the same word may be rendered either "*regenerated*" or "*baptized,*" then baptismal regeneration is to be maintained.

This exposition of the Articles may be heartily recommended, especially for its *historical* treatment of matters of controversy. The history of doctrines must be studied, if the pacification of Christendom is ever to be accomplished; and whatever aids this kind of study is very welcome.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

The Christian Ecclesia: A Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia; and Four Sermons.

By Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., etc. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Pp. vii. 297. Price, 6s.

ANOTHER volume of Dr Hort's Lectures is welcome, for those which have been already published have whetted the appetite for more of his work, and the present lectures on the *Ecclesia* are as interesting and as weighty as any that have previously appeared. In them all those features stand out strongly which are so characteristic of his writings; the intellectual industry which has worked over and round every point, however slightly touched upon; the faithfulness to truth, let it lead where it may; the precision of language which gives weight to every sentence, and often condenses into an epithet an entire description or argument; the cautious reserve in generalisation; and the masterly grasp of minute detail. All these features, which we have learnt to look for in Hort's writings, are found here in fullest measure; and added to them is the fascination of the subject with which these lectures are occupied. They have, it must be confessed, the tantalising incompleteness also which characterises nearly all of Hort's work. The aim which at the outset of the course he set before himself was never reached, the plan he outlined was only followed out in part, and even within these limits gaps are left which one longs to see filled in by the same master-hand which drew the sketch and wrought with such perfect finish some of its sections.

In the opening lecture expectation is at once raised of something like an exhaustive inquiry: "The subject on which I propose to lecture this term is, The Early Conceptions and Early History of the Christian Ecclesia. The reason why I have chosen the term Ecclesia is simply to avoid ambiguity. . . . The larger part of our subject lies in the region of what we commonly call Church History; the general Christian history of the ages subsequent to the Apostolic age. But before entering on that region, we must devote some little time to matter contained in the Bible itself." In the result, however, this "little time" was extended till it absorbed all the time available during two university terms, and the "larger part" of the subject was never reached. Even the Biblical division had to be hurried and compressed at the close, if it was not to be left unfinished; and so with repeated expression of reluctance in passing over matter on which he would like to have said more, three short pages are made to suffice for the writings of St Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, and

the later writings of St John ; while St James' last days are left over for future treatment by Dr Hort, "if I should be permitted to lecture on the remaining part of our subject another time."

These limitations in the present volume have to be accepted with such resignation as one can command. But if the field covered is not so wide as the title might lead one fairly to expect, at all events a single-hearted thoroughness is found everywhere, which makes one grateful for what has been given. A critical sympathy, too, which is very rare, excites admiration, even while it gives an edge to one's impatience at the too narrow boundaries within which it has found exercise. There is one short passage indicating what lay before Dr Hort's own mind as needed to complete what he has written, which is worth quoting ; but it is the measure only of what has been left undone. "I can do no more now than ask you to think of the different lights in which Church membership might naturally present itself, first when Christians were only scattered sojourners in the midst of a suspicious and often hostile population ; next, when they had become, though a minority, yet an important and a tolerated minority ; then when they were set on a place of vantage by the civil power, and so were increased by hosts of mere timeservers ; and, lastly, when they had come to constitute practically the whole population, and a Christian world had come into existence. The fundamental perplexing fact throughout was the paradox of a holy Ecclesia, consisting in part of men very unholy. In at least three great sectarian movements of the early ages this is an important element, in Montanism, Novatianism, Donatism ; but the fundamental thoughts which in this respect governed these movements are to be found in the writings of justly venerated Fathers" (p. 224-5).

But enough of regrets : this book contains quite sufficient good work done to make one prize it far more highly than most books which profess to accomplish more. Let some of the leading points established fill our remaining space.

In accordance with his usual practice Dr Hort began by scrutinising closely the word which defined his subject. He resolved to avoid English equivalents, such as "Church" or "congregation," both as being inadequate in some respects, and especially as carrying with them later associations, which could hardly fail to have the effect of more or less prejudicing the inquiry he was undertaking. Adopting then the term *Ecclesia*, he drew out with admirable completeness and precision the meanings it bore, and the associations it aroused, among those who were the first to feel the impulse of the Lord's life. Following the term back through the Septuagint, he pointed out that while the explanation sometimes given of it as a people "called out" from the world has no positive ground to

rest upon, it had come to embody naturally the thoughts involved in God's own Israel. But if thus almost equivalent to what St Paul called the true Israel in contrast with the Israel after the flesh, the term never lost the sense which its classical origin gave it, of the people of God assembled for common action, or at least conscious of their corporate life.

This fundamental idea is then followed out historically as the various references to the Ecclesia in the New Testament are examined in order. The gradual extension of the term from the local community of believers in Jerusalem to other local groups of disciples, and as these developed inter-relations over an ever-widening range, the further extension to the universal Ecclesia, which the Ephesian epistle represents as lying in the eternal purpose of God from the first and now revealed at last, are carefully traced out. And pains are taken to prevent the erroneous inference which might be drawn that the universal Ecclesia was in any sense a federation of the local Ecclesiae. Rather the fact is dwelt upon that every individual member of the universal Ecclesia is such in virtue of his direct relation to the Lord, who is the Head of every member as He is the Head of the whole Body. The final analysis leads to the luminous and far-reaching conclusion "that the true Ecclesiastical life, and the true Christian life, and the true human life, are all one and the same"; which is to give new social expression to Augustine's noble definition of human destiny, "Thou madest us for Thyself, and we are restless till we rest in Thee."

To traverse in detail the argument which consists mainly in a lucid and minute examination of one passage after another bearing on the Ecclesia would serve no useful purpose; the lectures are themselves condensed as far as the subject will admit, and to them one must turn for the successive steps of reasoning, and the evidence on which they rest. The mention of some salient points will be a better means of indicating the scope of the book.

In the early part of the inquiry the question of course arises, What is the relation between the Ecclesia and the Kingdom of Heaven? Hort rightly says "we are not justified in identifying the one with the other"; but it is certainly disappointing to find that in his belief this "large department of our Lord's teaching may be safely laid aside." It is obvious that the conception of the Ecclesia in early times was affected by the Lord's conception of the Kingdom. His teaching about the latter was continual; His references to the former were, so far as is recorded, only two. On the other hand, in the apostolic writings the proportion is reversed, or nearly so. If, as is certainly the case, the two terms are not simply alternative expressions for a single fact, it would seem of first importance to investigate the real bearing of the one upon the

other. To have done so would doubtless have greatly increased the area of the inquiry; on the other hand, to leave this undone is surely to build without securing the foundation.

The date of these lectures accounts for one weakness which many readers must feel in them. They were delivered before any of the recent work was published, by which Prof. Ramsay has thrown so much fresh light on St Paul's life, and especially on the course of his polemic against Judaistic claims. In these, as in the preceding lectures on "Judaistic Christianity," Hort simply follows in the path which Lightfoot had marked out, adding little to his results, unless in mere detail, and criticising very leniently, if at all, his more debatable positions. A necessary consequence is, that the account which he has to give of the relations between the Ecclesia in Jerusalem and that in Antioch, lacks that naturalness, coherence, and reality which is to be found in the facts when viewed from the standpoint to which Prof. Ramsay has so greatly helped us. The want is felt most distinctly when St Peter's visit to Antioch is treated of. So long as it is held that this *followed* the discussion and decision concerning the position of foreign believers, which is related in Acts xv., it is impossible with any ingenuity to set it in a probable light. But the moment one recognises that Gal. ii. 1-10, and Acts xi. 27-30, refer to the same events, and that, consequently, St Peter's visit to Antioch occurred *after* the private conference related in the former of these passages, and *before* the public debate related in Acts xv., the matter becomes convincingly natural. St Peter was a man of action, not an abstract thinker, and he was naturally moved by practical considerations. Not so very long ago he had experienced the jealousy of the Jerusalem Ecclesia, when, on the first receipt of tidings about Cornelius' baptism, he was reproached, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them." When some of these, his accusers, arrived in Antioch, there seemed to St Peter the best of reasons for not arousing, through any inconsiderate exercise of lawful liberty, the same unhappy jealousy in a community of believers which hitherto had been free from faction; so to avoid all occasion for strife, "he drew back and separated himself" from that brotherly intercourse with foreign disciples, which in itself he thought right enough. But to St Paul the matter appeared in another light. More far-seeing than St Peter, and of a more logical temperament, St Paul saw clearly that a vital principle was here involved, though one which had not yet been made a distinct matter of controversy. And gauging more accurately the complicated situation of the Antioch Ecclesia, with which he was so much more familiar, he felt bound to stand forward openly for what he saw to be in danger of being sacrificed unwittingly.

There are frequent instances in these lectures of the careful study of some phrase or term occurring in the New Testament, with a view to the definition of the idea, or the correction of a common misconception. It will suffice to mention the discussion of the terms *χάρις* and *χάρισμα*, and the well-considered reading of "apostles and prophets" as referring, not to two classes of persons, but to two functions, which might be and often were combined in the same person. It is by this path that Hort reaches a solution of one of the most vexed points in his inquiry, viz., the nature of the "Orders" in the early Ecclesia. He denies that the language of the New Testament justifies one in taking *ἐπίσκοπος* where it occurs as the title of a class or order in the Church. Rather it is expressive of one who exercises a function of oversight. Such an one would commonly be an Elder; and the only trace Hort finds of a "monarchical" episcopate is in the position that James came to hold in the Ecclesia in Jerusalem. Of the order of Deacons or "Ministrants" he sees the germ in the choice of "the seven"; although he regards that as merely a step taken to meet an immediate and local need. The origin of the order of "Elders" he finds in the Jewish communities, which everywhere seem to have possessed them, and so to have afforded a usage which continued unquestioned in the Ecclesiae, which were at first Jewish in habit and race.

There are also many examples of suggestive ideas which afford new points of view from which to look at familiar facts—and what is of more value than a fresh standpoint? One such may be quoted. Everyone has noticed the difference between the Epistle to the Ephesians and the earlier letters of St Paul: to what is this due? Some have answered, To a growth in the apostle's thought; others have said, To a different authorship. Hort's answer is, that this letter to the Asiatic Ecclesiae gave him his first opportunity for uttering that higher teaching, which he considered only suited to Christian maturity. "We have to remember the significant hint given in 1 Cor. ii., that the teaching which he addressed to unripe communities was purposely cut down to be proportional to their spiritual state, and that all the while he was cherishing in his own mind a world of higher thoughts, 'a wisdom,' as he calls it, which could rightly be proclaimed only to maturer recipients; though here and there, for instance in some passages of Romans, he could not refrain from partially admitting others to these inner thoughts. . . . The Ecclesiae of Ephesus and other cities of that region may have seemed to him to have now reached a sufficiently high stage of discipleship. . . . The primary subjects of this higher teaching may be described as the relation of the Son of God to the constitution of the Universe, and to the course of human history,

and in connection with such themes it was but natural that the Ecclesia of God should find a place."

It remains only to add that these most interesting lectures are supplemented in the present volume by four sermons preached by Dr Hort. One of these is an ordination sermon, one was delivered in Emmanuel College Chapel, and one at a University Commemoration of Benefactors. All raise in different ways the idea of the Christian Ecclesia as it bears on our modern life. The noblest of them, perhaps, is the last, preached at the consecration of Bishop Westcott; and this will be read with a pathetic interest by those who remember the effort that it cost Hort, and the fact that it was almost his latest utterance.

E. P. BOYS-SMITH.

The Spirit on the Waters: The Evolution of the Divine from the Human.

By Edwin A. Abbott. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1897. 8vo, pp. vii. 475. Price, 12s. 6d.

THE problem, to account for Christianity without miracle, to exhibit this most powerful spiritual manifestation as the result of natural Evolution, still attracts inquiring minds; and it has never been attempted by a writer of keener mental acuteness or profounder spiritual insight than Dr Abbott. Even those who believe the problem to be as insoluble as the squaring of the circle will be glad that it has fallen into hands that deal so reverently with all that deserves reverence; and those who can scarcely muster patience to turn the pages of a work which they are convinced is doomed to failure, will be won to a careful reading by the charm of the writer's style and the sudden light that he sheds into many of the obscurities of our religion.

His purpose being to exhibit how the Divine Spirit has brooded on the waters of the physical and spiritual world, bringing into existence all that God intended, and step by step accomplishing the Divine Will, his method is dictated to him. He traces the history of the Evolutionary process through the inanimate, the animal, and the human world, and through the gradual development of Israel, until the Christ appears as the culmination and natural result. He then carries forward the same line of history into the growth of the Church, exhibiting the evolution of the Christian Faith and of the later Churches. The work thus covers a large field, and compels the author to face many knotty and important problems; yet he has not only equipped himself with the requisite scientific and historical knowledge, but it is also evident

that he has originally and clearly thought out the process of evolution as it applies to the animal world, to man, and to Israel. Indeed, it may be said that in each of these departments he has some contribution to make to the accumulation of facts and ideas already made.

The primary difficulty with which he is confronted is, of course, that which arises from the scientific materialist, who questions whether there is any Spirit on the Waters, any Will, good and reasonable, which is finding expression through evolution. In finding his way through this preliminary objection he does not err by claiming too much, but is content to maintain that belief in the Supreme Will has the same justification as belief in our own will. "Both beliefs may be illogical, but both may be found to 'work'; that is, to be in accordance with experience. By 'experience' we mean, in the first place, the internal experience of that moral and spiritual harmony which is essential to the best development of humanity." In a brief but effective criticism of Huxley's *Romanes Lecture*, he shows that cosmic force evolves not only the principle of selfish struggle for existence, but also the self-sacrifice which supersedes it; that it rewards us if we believe in a righteous God, punishes us if we refuse belief. But when Dr Abbott proceeds to illustrate how the God we believe in must be recognised as Father, Son, and Spirit, he seems, in our opinion, to leave solid ground, and commit himself to very thin ice indeed.

His chapters on the Evolution of Israel are most instructive. Miracles, of course, he dismisses, not because they are impossible, but because the evidence is insufficient, and because the events supposed to be miraculous can be naturally explained. The language in which they are narrated is poetical, and "until one has read widely in Rabbinical literature, it is perhaps impossible to conceive of the extent of Jewish hyperbole, the quaintness of Jewish metaphor, and the ease with which a combination of metaphor and hyperbole might be transmuted into a detailed and picturesque semblance of history." But the books of the Old Testament are inspired, and this means, "not that they are specially accurate in accounts of facts, nor that they are specially scientific in accounts of the material causes of facts; but that they help us, as no other literature in the world helps us, to see God conforming man to his own image through progressive lessons in morality and progressive visions of the Divine Nature."

Instructive as is Dr Abbott's account of the preparation in the Old Testament for the coming of Christ, it is not apparent that he makes it more intelligible how a new leader should arise without special divine intervention. Indeed, admitting, as he does, that the time of Christ's appearing was a time of extraordinary

political, literary, moral, and spiritual deadness, he betakes himself to the surprising device of accounting for His appearance on the principle that "man's necessity is God's opportunity." But, to say the least of it, this is not to explain the appearance of Christ in terms of evolution. Neither does he really face the difficulty of accounting for the peculiarity of Christ when He did appear. He declares that the Eternal Logos did become man, a mere man, and that His humanity was real, genuine, and unmixed, not endowed with any such powers, physical or mental, as would take it out of the human category. This manhood of Jesus was wholly taken into God, so that He was perfectly one with the Father and the Spirit, and perfectly divine, and so that the Father is best worshipped by worshipping Jesus Christ as His Son. To Dr Abbott's account of Jesus it has, he tells us, been objected: "You do not make it at all intelligible to me how a casual town-lad of Nazareth, though the most innocent and susceptible of youths, should grow quite naturally into the consciousness of being the Son of God, the Incarnate Word." His reply is "for 'Nazareth' read 'Stratford on Avon,' and for 'innocent' read 'observant'; and the weakness of such an objection will be patent." And he maintains that it was as "natural" for Jesus to grow up into the consciousness of powers of forgiving, healing the soul, dying for sinners, rising again, as for Shakespeare to grow into the consciousness that Hamlet had to be written and then write it. But this leaves wholly unexplained the uniqueness of Jesus. No man in any other department stands alone; if Caesar, or Phidias, or Shakespeare is first, there is always a second not far behind. But Jesus sets Himself on one side and all men on the other; He the Saviour, they the saved; He the sinless, they the sinful; He one with God, they needing Him to mediate. The problem remains. Dr Abbott has done little or nothing to help us to understand this uniqueness, this unrivalled, unprecedented holiness. After exhibiting the whole evolutionary process, which is to enable us to understand the origin of Jesus, he virtually says that His appearance is unintelligible unless we have regard to the Spirit of God immanent in Him. But the Spirit is immanent in the whole evolutionary process. It is the method and visible outcome of the Spirit's working; and to admit that the appearance of Jesus cannot be explained by any known law of evolution is to admit that the contention of the book is not made good. At the utmost it can be said that Dr Abbott has shown that other phenomena of the evolutionary process are also unintelligible.

In fact, the main difficulty which will prevent readers from accepting Dr Abbott's conclusions is, that he has too easily dismissed the unique miracle of Christ's personality and sinlessness. Even

his handling of the miraculous cures is unsatisfactory ; his account of the cure of the leper especially so. But this volume labours under the disadvantage of being published in advance of that which in the author's plan precedes it. The critical portion of the work, in which the miracles, and especially the Resurrection and subsequent appearances of Christ are discussed, is reserved for future publication ; so that the readers of this present volume are left in doubt regarding Dr Abbott's grounds for some of the positions he occupies. But unless in that expected critical volume much greater attention is given to the sinlessness and perfect moral ideal which all Christians find in Christ, this will be recognised as a fatally weak point in Dr Abbott's treatment of the subject. For at present it is not the miracles of healing, nor even chiefly or solely the Resurrection, but the unique character of Christ, which commands the faith of men in His Divine, exceptional origin.

The same neglect of character appears in the account Dr Abbott gives of the subsequent evolution of Christianity. This is traced mainly in doctrinal development and in the growth of institutions. And this is all the more remarkable, because if Jesus was the result of natural evolution, then it is not in His express, verbal teaching, but in His character, and in the light which that sheds on God, that we find His most trustworthy message. He introduced, not perhaps true views of the source of human disease, or of its relation to evil spirits, nor yet correct anticipations of the world's future, but a new life and a new type of character. Of course, if we asked why the process of evolution seems to have terminated in Jesus, why no riper, richer, more perfect type of life has since been evolved, Dr Abbott would probably tell us that the type introduced by Jesus was perfect ; that in Him the human and the divine were identified, and that beyond that, there can be no further evolution. The aim and end of the process is reached. Moreover, in other departments we see similar phenomena. The appearance of Shakespeare was solitary. A race of Shakespeares was not introduced, although he did introduce a new standard of excellence. So that we cannot argue that if Jesus was the result of an evolutionary process, that process would be traced after His appearance in the production of still higher characters than His.

That the subject which Dr Abbott discusses in this volume requires fresh treatment is undeniable. Each generation must think out for itself its own faith and the attitude it should assume to the Lord. It must at the least revise previous decisions regarding Him. And while it is pathetic to see how theologian after theologian spends the best thought of his life on the solution of the perplexities which centre in Christ's Person, only to find that his results are disregarded or denied, it is still the mystery and the

importance of the problem that attract afresh the best minds among us. It is vain to deny that in the view so ably and reverentially advocated by Dr Abbott there is much that is attractive and much that promises to place Christianity on a more easily intelligible foundation, and to give it a wider empire. But it should be clearly recognised what we are required to surrender; and the alteration of our beliefs consequent on our reception of this view should be precisely stated. Obviously it is not the view held by the writers of the New Testament, and, if accepted, it would involve a radical change in our attitude towards the documents of our faith. Ultimately, and with some minds, it might seem to bring God nearer to men; but primarily, and to the majority, it would seem to reduce the Father to a remote impersonality. The relation of the Father to the sacrifice of Christ and to the whole earthly humiliation is altered, and, indeed, there are few theological topics which would not feel the change. Meanwhile, Gospel criticism refuses to admit that the miraculous element can be eliminated, and Dr Abbott's critical volume will be awaited with interest.

MARCUS DODS.

Liturgies, Eastern and Western.

Being the Texts original or translated of the principal Liturgies of the Church; Edited on the basis of the former work by C. E. Hammond, by F. E. Brightman, M.A. Vol. I.: Eastern Liturgies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. civ. 603. Price, 21s.

THE preface to this monumental work explains its genesis out of the work published in 1878 by Hammond. But even Mr Brightman's modesty cannot obscure the patent fact that it is practically a new work from the sources, simply occasioned by the invitation to prepare a kindred work on the basis of its predecessor. Indeed it would be impossible, apart from a perusal of the exhaustive literary Introduction of more than eighty pages, to convey an adequate impression of the assiduous and watchful care that has gone to the making of the present volume, which yet covers only half the field occupied in a more perfunctory way by Hammond. Ours is the age of MS. research, and the difference of the two books is quite as much that of methods as of men. Liturgies are now being studied as an aspect of Church History, and are accordingly undergoing a really critical handling. Hitherto they have been left far too much to the mere Liturgiologist, a man generally of antiquarian rather than historical instincts; so that they have formed a study apart, hardly touched by the idea of religious development, and

contributing little or nothing to the interpretation and exposition of the Church's life as set forth in Church histories. Of course there has been loss on both sides. On the one hand, certain products of ecclesiastical piety from the fourth century onwards have been taken very much as they stood; and with little exact knowledge, if much vague assumption, as to their relation to more primitive piety, have been elevated into precedents to be regarded with almost superstitious awe. On the other hand, we have had church history failing to use most valuable evidence for a genuine reconstruction of the piety of the heart as well as the head, as it lived in the ancient Church, the unseen well-spring of much that appears indeed on the page of ecclesiastical history, but as effect even more than as cause. For if it is true that a man's religion is fully known only when we overhear his devotions, then we cannot fully know the piety of the Church apart from some insight into the development of her collective devotions: and this must be gained through a patient and appreciative study of the deposits left behind in the shape of ancient liturgies. And our one substantial criticism of the Pusey Librarian's admirable *Corpus Liturgiarum* is that, in failing to print in sequence the liturgical fragments (explicit and implicit) of the Ante-Nicene Church—and notably the Eucharist as reflected in the *Didaché*—he helps to keep up older rigid views of the subject by obscuring the enormous development which lies behind the fourth-century formularies. In so saying, one does not overlook the virtual but partial corrective supplied by excellent Appendices, like those on the Liturgy of Palestine in the fourth century; the Liturgy of Antioch from the Antiochene writings of St Chrysostom; of Egypt from the early Egyptian fathers; of Asia from the Canons of Laodicea; of the Pontic Exarchate as implied in the Great Cappadocians and the local synods of Ancyra (314), Neo-Cæsarea (c. 315), and Gangra (c. 358); and finally the Byzantine Liturgy from Chrysostom's later works and from some others. Nor is it forgotten that the earliest material will no doubt receive due attention in the "properly liturgical discussions . . . for the present reserved." But after all, the defect in question is more than one of an alternative method; for it unconsciously contains a *suggestio falsi* as to our evidence for the extent and character of liturgical development.

It would be out of place to attempt a full description of the wealth of literary material here collected from the most various and often curious quarters for the benefit of those who come after, while for the author himself it means years of such toil as is rarely lavished on a single volume, even where it has been, as so obviously here, a labour of love. We must satisfy ourselves by

briefly indicating (1) the general scope of the texts here printed, and (2) the nature of the apparatus supplied to explain their sources and facilitate their intelligent use. As to (1): we have first the Syrian rite in its various forms, Greek and Syriac (the latter, as all non-Greek texts, in an English version), where the text of the Syrian Jacobite rite has been constructed with great care from several sources. Next comes the Egyptian rite, in four forms: the Greek "Lit. of S. Mark," its Coptic Jacobite analogue, the Ethiopic *Anaphora* from the "Church Ordinances," the Ethiopic "Lit. of the Apostles." Then the Persian rite, under which we find the Lit. of the Nestorians on the basis of the *editio princeps* constructed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission at Urmi, and issued in 1890. Finally the Byzantine rite in its various ramifications, starting from the Liturgy, as given in the valuable Barberini MS. (9th cent.), and ending with certain modern forms, namely, the current Orthodox Lit. of S. Chrysostom, the Prayers of the Lit. of S. Basil, and the Armenian Liturgy. In all these, what skilful arrangement (*e.g.*, the printing of concurrent acts in parallel columns) and the use of special type can do, has been done. The indication of Scriptural citations by means of capitals affords the greatest help; while the full index of such passages, and of the system of cross-references, makes the system complete. The one lapse from the highest level of accuracy, in concession to sentiment, is the deliberate following of the language of the A.V. or of the Prayer Book, even where it obscures the fact that the LXX, and not the Hebrew, lies behind the liturgical text. To this we cannot but demur. (2) Passing now to the Introduction concerned with sources and their relative worth, we come to more debateable ground, since questions of substance cannot but be involved in those of form. But it would be premature to join issue save on the points raised by the most exhaustive discussion of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in which our author himself recognises that he has to anticipate somewhat. Not to dwell on the question whether he has done well in simply printing Lagarde's text of *Ap. Const.*, which seems by no means the best which his own MSS. admit of, one may doubt the wisdom of putting the rudimentary liturgy of Bk. ii. 57 after the fuller one of viii. 5-14. It seems to have, by its intrinsic simplicity and coherence, as well as by its superior accord with the scheme in Cyril of Jerusalem and those documents in which Mr Brightman himself is inclined to see traces of a simpler form, possibly "a preliminary draft," of A.C. viii., a strong claim to represent the actual usage known to the (Antiochene) compiler of the *Ap. Const.* in the second half of the fourth century. The "Clementine Liturgy" of Bk. viii., on the other hand, seems overweighted and confused, introducing, even after

the Kiss of Peace, a warning for all but the faithful to withdraw, and showing other traces of an artificial fusion of services. In fact it does, while the former does not, represent, as Mr Brightman sees, a mere eclectic ideal and not an actual rite. The shorter form, therefore, was probably prior both in composition and in fact, and cannot be regarded as in the same sense the compiler's very own, a mere condensation of its longer companion. The fact is, the rite in viii. 5-14, being *apropos* of a bishop's consecration (as also in *Canones Hippolyti*, the Sahidic *Eccl. Canons*, and the *Ethiopic Church Ordinances*), has the appearance of a special service and not a normal Eucharistic service at all. With these qualifications, then, one may accept the result of our author's searching discussion when he says that "the Clementine Liturgy is constructed on the Antiochene scheme and includes the Antiochene *diakonika* ("the parts of the liturgy recited by the deacon"), worked over and expanded by the compiler of the *Ap. Const.*, who is also the pseudo-Ignatius, and filled in with prayers which, whatever sources they may include [*e.g. Can. Hipp.*], are very largely the work of the same compiler." As regards the *Apost. Const.* in general it is worth noting that last summer some specimen extracts from a newly-found Latin version of the *Didaskalia* (the basis of Bks. i.-vi.), hitherto known only in Syriac, were published by Dr. E. Hanler at Vienna, and an edition is promised.

A final word on early liturgies broadly regarded. They leave a twofold impression. First, of the degree to which the clergy and their part in the Eucharist come to replace the Christian people as a whole and the fact that it is *their* Eucharist. The ideas of "celebrants" and of sympathetic onlookers emerge: the notion of "hearing mass"—so alien to the Ante-Nicene period—gradually becomes partly intelligible. Then in the matter of the Sacrifice itself, while the notion of the people's *gifts* to God "for a sweet-smelling savour" once stood in the foreground (though in *some* sense viewed as "body and blood of Christ" as Logos), in the fourth century the notion of the human body and blood of Christ crucified came first to blend with and then overshadow the older conception. What was once primarily a theme of joyous *thanksgiving* became in time one of *awe* at mysteries to be shuddered at (*φρικτὰ μυστήρια*). And it is to be feared that in all modern Churches the idea of the people "offering themselves willingly" by "oblations," which were meant for the Father's service in the relief of needy brethren, has vanished from the Communion Service proper. In the Ethiopic "Church Ordinances" the Invocation runs simply: "We beseech Thee that Thou wouldest send Thine Holy Spirit on the oblation of this church: give it together unto all them that partake [for] sanctification and for fulfilling with the

Holy Spirit and for confirming true faith, that they may laud and praise Thee in Thy Son Jesus Christ."

A peculiar merit of the work is its adaptation to all types of readers. For while it has critical texts and apparatus for the trained liturgiologist to work upon, it has an admirable *Glossary* of technical terms in all the languages involved, which gives in the most accessible form exactly what the tyro in such matters wants to learn. Indeed, when we think of all the thought that has gone to make the book the complete and scholarly thing that it is, we can only record our deep sense of debt to its author for the self-effacing conscientiousness that is its note, and for the high ideal of devotion to the service of God in letters which it sets before his fellows.

VERNON BARTLET.

Ancient Ideals.

A Study of Intellectual and Spiritual Growth, from Early Times to the Establishment of Christianity. By Henry Osborn Taylor. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896. Two vols. 8vo, pp. xi. 461; vii. 430. Price, 25s. net.

THESE elegant volumes—on which the publishers deserve hearty congratulation—furnish the reviewer with an exceptionally difficult task. For they bear witness to wide information, chiefly of that accurate kind acquired only by long and faithful research; to a certain catholicity of culture, traceable to absence of some usual preconceptions; to considerable power of generalisation, especially as this is evinced in capacity to choose salient features from the midst of vast masses of detail; to a wise appreciation of things that cannot be shaken, tending at times, however, to differ little from prejudice. Yet, despite all this, the work is not what it purports to be. Either Mr Taylor has not envisaged the requisite ideal, or, as seems more likely, he has unconsciously fallen far short of its realisation, chiefly by lack of insight and constructive faculty. To balance his long travail with ancient thought and culture against his comparative failure to bring the "ideals" before his readers in any distinctive shape, is no easy matter.

The task essayed by the author cannot be called new. To trace the zig-zag river of human aspiration through the pre-Christian ages till it falls into the sea of the Roman Empire, passing its eddies by, taking no account of its swamps and back-washes, but keeping a steady eye on its main, wayward current—all this has had marked fascination for many during the present century. Rapid extension of knowledge, the girdling of the earth by steam

and electricity, the application of the comparative and historical methods have combined to render the attempt possible. Its very difficulty, due in large part to the perennial charm of the interests involved, and to their deep-rooted significance, has set it in an atmosphere of strange glamour. Notable success in treatment of the whole range still remains sadly to seek. But, on the other hand, several lasting reputations have been won by those who knew how to limit themselves to restricted portions. In virtue of this its fascination—its secret, mysterious subtlety—any review of the whole presents peculiar perils. So much so that, with a single exception, my memory recalls no work wherein the dangers have been foreseen and, relatively at least, overcome. Miss Julia Wedgwood's twenty years of persistent labour were, of a truth, well spent in bringing to perfection the profoundly suggestive spirituality of *The Moral Ideal*. And as this remarkable volume conquered by its method, we may infer that others, of which Mr Taylor's is one, have more or less completely failed by their manner of approach. The plain fact is, there are two methods which, by one of those paradoxes so common in semi-literary, semi-philosophical investigation, compete for the mastery, even although one must end in disappointment, while the other may be the high road to permanent achievement. An author may become so penetrated by the spirit of a civilisation as to be enabled to extract its inmost essence, and thus, without undue obtrusion of detail, convey its everlasting import. In other words, all processes suppressed, results alone appear. This is Miss Wedgwood's plan, and the wonderful flashes of insight, like the profusion of suggestive reflections, scattered over her pages can be traced to her intuition for the exact essentials—an intuition that is no mere inborn faculty, but the concentrated effect of years devoted to pondering the varied facts. Here the ideals come into view as inevitable outgrowths of the civilisations, explaining at once the sporadic tendencies and the immanent end of all. On the other hand, a writer may so far relate the historical events, and may so far discard them. That is to say, he may deploy numerous historical facts, yet not in a historical way. In such cases the common history-book method is modified by liberal permission to skip recorded sequences, and to choose here and there whatever seems characteristic, all for the purpose of constructing a general but homogeneous conspectus. This procedure has lent its attractions ever since, about sixty-five years ago, the materials for study of the past multiplied with unexampled rapidity. An excellent specimen of it may be found in another American work, L. Maria Child's *Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages*, published in 1855, and forecasting Mr Taylor's book, if not in doctrine, then in general conception.

To my mind, this method supplies neither history nor philosophy. Not accurate enough for the one, it is too little intimate for the other. Consequently, the ideals, when they do burst forth, assume the guise of external things—they are no longer organic growths emerging from less to more, and taking their places as indispensable members in a mighty spiritual family.

Ancient Ideals belies its title simply because it is an illustration of this procedure. Ideals are conspicuous chiefly by their absence. Of their effects, or presumable effects, we hear much, but of the inspiring principles themselves we are left to draw our own inferences, and very much as we individually choose; there is nothing overwhelmingly inevitable in the sequence. Or, to put the matter in another way—at great labour, for which he deserves and ought to receive every credit, Mr Taylor has brought together numerous characteristics; he is so intent upon this task, unfortunately, that he has almost entirely forgotten character. His book may be an excellent preparation for a work on its subject, and in this aspect it certainly contains not a little of distinct value. Otherwise, he has missed a great opportunity in it, where the same chance has been so conspicuously exploited by Miss Wedgwood, to whom he never refers.

In proof of this, various portions might be selected for detailed examination were space available here. One may be content with asking those questions:—Has Mr Taylor a clear perception of the indwelling unity of all the Semitic civilisations, that of the Jews included? Has he set forth the fundamental nature of the early Greek religion, or grasped the essential significance of the pre-Socratic thought? Does he see how and why Philo gathers into a mechanical system all the elements that a unique personality was to re-create into a new revelation, and this without the faintest idea of his office on the Alexandrian's part? Does he appreciate Plutarch's position as the summariser *par excellence* of ancient classical civilisation—the *laudator temporis acti* even in his keen, though semi-conscious, sense of defect, and in his pathetic search for a remedy amid the old oracles? Does he sufficiently recount the service of the Jews to universal civilisation? Does he wisely interpret—that is, without fictitious supernaturalism—the ultimate necessity for Christianity? A work on *Ancient Ideals* ought to have these problems for its chiefest objects. Yet all the questions adduced, so far as Mr Taylor touches them, must be answered in the negative. The entire method employed, and the attitude adopted throughout the first part, rule out the interpretation put upon Christianity; and, on the other side, if the interpretation of Christianity be correct, the rest of the work needs to be re-written in the express interests of this interpretation.

Mr Taylor's style, to his credit be it said, 'is a mirror of his thought. It presents strange contrasts. For the greater part it is pedestrian enough, occasionally and over long stretches one is wearied by its dull recital of old, threadbare facts and fictions. This bears witness to the absence of living interest, to that externality of which mention has already been made. Now and then he lightens the page with a happy saying which shows him on a higher level. But this is all too rare. At the beginning and at the end, where he is relatively at his best, the felicitous phrases tend to occur more frequently. There are some in the good introductory chapter, some in the presentation of Greek thought—of which the chapter on Homer is the most adequate—some in the concluding chapter, which is a really attractive piece of generalisation. Those, taken at random, may be quoted in illustration:—"This wholesomeness of punishment for the wrong-doer himself is the crown of the Æschylean ethics; it brings the gleam of hope to punishment, which is vengeance broadened by the thought of universal right" (i. 227). "The only tenderness ever shown by Rome was towards Greece" (i. 414). "The Romans were always men, the Greeks never lost their youth" (i. 417). Stoicism "is philosophy becoming a praying system" (ii. 61). "Aristotelianism was Platonism with its wings clipped; and, after Aristotle, Greek philosophy walked the earth" (ii. 77). "No writer but says foolish things when he attempts to draw the character of Christ" (ii. 237).

While, then, Mr Taylor cannot be said to have succeeded, his book is by no means without its uses. It may be used as a compendium of information. The pity is that so much learning and study should have led to a result so comparatively amorphous. It is a pity, too, that the large number of errors in Greek words should occasion reflections which do not tend to be invariably reassuring.

R. M. WENLEY.

The Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church.

(*The Baird Lecture for 1897*). By Robert Herbert Story, D.D. (Edin.), F.S.A.Scot., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow; Principal Clerk of the General Assembly; and Chaplain to the Queen. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 332. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE subject of this lecture is of ecclesiastical interest in these days when "High-Churchism" is making many captives; and the lecturer's reputation commands attention to his words. It may be

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said at once that this book is marked by sensible judgment of men and fairness of interpretation of events, so that it seems to be the work of a "reasonable soul." The main thesis is that the Apostolic Ministry is "a ministry exercised in the spirit and after the example of the first planters of Christianity, and transmitted from them to us in an orderly and recognisable succession." Attempting to prove that there has been and is such a ministry in Scotland, Professor Story sets forth in outline the characteristics of the Scottish ministry from the times of Ninian and Columba to the period of the Revolution Settlement. Sacerdotalism is wholly condemned, and the vigour of the condemnation reveals the lecturer's ecclesiastical stand-point. The Church of Scotland is defined as a "national branch of the Catholic Church," and it is declared to be Catholic because it is orthodox according to the "Catholic standards of orthodoxy." We are informed that it has never separated itself from the Catholic Church of Christ, and that in the whole process of Knox's work there was no schism. "No National Church can be schismatic so long as it holds the Catholic faith." What, according to the Scottish or to the Westminster Confession, are the "Catholic standards of orthodoxy?" Is there any article like the Eighth Article of the Church of England? Professor Story should have been explicit in his definition of the Catholic Church when he speaks about schism. It may be of no moment to oppose him to Matthew Arnold, who wrote that "one must allow that the changes made in the Church of England at the Reformation impaired its Catholicity"; but Arnold's words serve by example to show that the Catholicity of a National and Protestant Church may be denied even by non-Romanists. If Professor Story accepts the statements of the Scottish Confession of 1560, he can claim historic sanction for his application of the term Catholic; and he may safely leave the idea of schism out of account, since the term is to be used in reference, not to the elect of all ages, not to the kirk which is invisible, but in reference to the Church which for long descent and for the area of its mission was styled Catholic by unanimous consent. From the Catholic Church of the Westminster Confession, an ideal but not an historic institution, there cannot be the schism of a Christian Church. It is useless to fight about words. At the same time it seems like trifling with terms and playing with facts to say that at the Reformation there was no schism in Scotland, especially as the Reformers claimed "Chryst's religion" as "*de novo* established, ratified, and approved throughout the whole Realme."

Professor Story gives a clear and interesting account of the Celtic Church, emphasizing its monastic character. Columba, we are told, was the founder of our Scottish Church and also of our

State. In Dalriada Columba promoted Aidan to be king, and Professor Story supplies us with the information that "her present gracious Majesty can trace an unbroken descent from King Aidan of Dalriada and King Kenneth of Scotland, which constitutes her sole hereditary title to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland and the empire of India."

It is amusing to remember that Columba, according to the legend which serves for history, was constrained by supernatural forces to select Aidan, but, as a "natural man," this founder of our State was for a time his persistent opponent. Among the books which Professor Story might have consulted and might have added to his list of authorities is Greith's *Geschichte der altirischen Kirche*, which gives a concise account of the position of the bishop in the Celtic Church. In the same way, when dealing with the Culdees, he might have named Ebrard's work, *Die iroschottische Missionskirche*. The translator of Bellesheim's *History* speaks of Ebrard's "baseless assertions" regarding the identity of the Culdees with the Columban monks, and these assertions might at least have been noticed. Ebrard, in the introduction to the above work, has an interesting discussion and ingenious theory regarding the origin and significance of the term Culdee, which are worthy of consideration. Professor Story asserts that there is ever a controversy whether the word means *servus dei* or *cultor dei*, and against this may be placed the statement, *Die einzig richtige und einzig mögliche Ableitung ist und bleibt daher die von cele "der Genosse, der Mann" und De "Gott."* Ebrard quotes instances to prove that *Viri Dei* is simply the Latin translation of *celi-De*.

Professor Story describes John Knox as "next to Columba the most striking figure and most creative influence in Scottish history;" and in a ludicrous sentence, by way of characterization, he tells us that "Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, who drove her inhospitable spike through the temples of her sleeping guest, was in his eyes a nobler type of womanhood than Mary with her box of ointment, which was not sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor." Dealing with the Reformation period the lecturer affirms that at first, and for a few years after 1560, the ceremony of laying on of hands at ordination was disused. Another lecturer, the Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D. (vide, "The Historical Continuity of the Church of Scotland:" *Scottish Church Society Conferences, First Series*), declares that "it would require clear proof that they (the Reformers) laid aside this ceremony at all." Lecturers differ. Professor Story does not explain the significance of the ceremony of laying on of hands while describing it as of Apostolic usage, but he makes certain remarkable assertions. He says that Knox and the other authors of the

First Book of Discipline were under the impression that the Apostles by the imposition of hands imparted some miraculous gift—"a superstition they ought to have rid themselves of." Are the bishops of the Church of England guilty of the same superstition? In the Church of England "Form of ordering of priests" the bishop and the priests are to lay their hands upon everyone that receiveth the order of priesthood, and the bishop is to say "Receive the Holy Ghost." This ceremony is according to the Catholic custom and law of the pre-Reformation period. Professor Story refers us to the ordination of Joshua—he was not ordained to a spiritual office—in whom the Spirit was already present before Moses placed his hands on him. The conclusion from this reference is that the presence of the Spirit in men receiving ordination is the reason for the use of the ceremony of laying on of hands. Attention is next drawn to 1 Tim. iv. 14, where, Professor Story says, St Paul refers to the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery as the warrant of Timothy's ministry. Knox, it may surely be assumed, knew this text, which sets forth that a *χάρισμα* was imparted with (*μετά*) the laying on of hands; and it may also be assumed that he knew the words of 2 Tim. i. 6, "*Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀναμνήσκω σε ἀναζωπυρεῖν τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου.*" In these two texts there is no reference to the imposition of hands having taken place because of the indwelling of the Spirit in Timothy; but there is distinct reference to the Apostle imparting something along with, or by means of, the laying on of hands. Knox's impression, after all, may not have been a superstition, and there may have been some reason in his words, "Albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary."

Professor Story's idea of the Scottish Church of the present day is that it has been transformed by the spirit of enlightened and liberal progress, and the evidence of this transformation is that it has regained some of the Catholic usages and proprieties. This pious opinion regarding the effect of liberal progress, whatever that is, throws no light on the proprieties. Fortunately, however, we have a high ideal of the function of the Church. "Sectarian sentiment, engendered by long periods of party strife and quarrel over secondary questions, has given place to a healthy conviction, at once devout and patriotic, of the primary necessity of caring for the nation as a whole, and holding her establishment, with all its privileges and endowments, in trust for the general good—moral, intellectual, social—of all the people." For this work the Church requires, it is urged, the restoration of the order of the diaconate and the office of the superintendency. The ecclesiastical organiza-

tion is to be made more complex. We are told that the office of superintendent was "one of the earliest and most carefully devised institutions of the Reformed Church—adapted to be permanent." "There is no reason to believe that those who instituted the office contemplated its early abolition." Principal Lee, David Laing, Principal Cunningham of St Andrews, to take certain of our own historians, judged from the words of the First Book of Discipline that the office was intended to be a temporary one. Professor Mitchell (vide *Our Scottish Reformation*. Brit. and For. Evangel. Rev., 1872), after a careful examination of the questions regarding this office, unhesitatingly concludes that it was not intended to be permanent. In the introductory part of the Book of Common Order, 1556, there is mention of the office-bearers of the Church, and the superintendent is not included in the list. In an edition of this book, printed in Edinburgh in 1662, certain changes were made, but the office of superintendent was not mentioned. It may be urged that the superintendency was an office and not an order, and was therefore not named. In the ecclesiastical scheme of Alasco, from which Knox most probably adapted the idea of the superintendent, this office is a permanent one—"Superintendentis seu inspectoris ministerium—Graeci Ἐπισκοπήν vocant—esse divinam ordinationem in Christi ecclesia, per ipsummet Christum Dominum inter ipsos etiam Apostolos institutam, dum Petro confirmandi reliquos fratres in fide provinciam peculiariter demandaret." (Opp. ii. 57.) One may argue, accordingly, that the words of the First Book of Discipline were intended to signify that the office was not to be permanent as in Alasco's scheme, but was to continue during the planting of the Reformed Church. It has been asserted (Conf. Sprott's *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*) that the fact that the minutes of the General Assembly for many years show that money was demanded for the support of the superintendents is proof that the office was recognized as permanent. In 1574 money was asked for this purpose; but from the "concordat" of 1572 and the Assembly minutes of 1574 it is evident that the planting of the Church, a part of the work for which the superintendents were appointed, was not yet finished. Professor Story has the right to argue in favour of an increase of the offices of the Church. It is not certain that he is entitled to say that the office of superintendent was "one of the most carefully devised institutions of the Reformed Church—adapted to be permanent."

Prof. HERKLESS.

Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.

Von. D. Albert Hauck, Professor in Leipzig. Erster Teil, 558 S. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1887; Zweiter Teil, 757 S. Leipzig, 1890; Dritter Teil, erste Hälfte: Konsolidierung der deutschen Kirche, S. 1-388. Leipzig, 1893; Zweite Hälfte: das Uebergewicht des Königtums in der Kirche u. der Bruch desselben durch Rom, S. 389-1042. Leipzig, 1896. 3 vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Price, M.35.

THOUGH Dr Hauck's volumes deal in the main with German Church matters, they will be welcomed and appreciated beyond the boundaries of Germany, and will soon find a place on the shelves of English students of history. They are a performance of the first rank. Of their intrinsic merits there is but one voice among German critics. They pronounce it an epoch-making work, which recalls the former glories of German scholarship. Since the first volume was published in 1887, every new instalment has been considered an event in German historiography, and all who take an interest in historical research seem to be agreed that no other work on the period in question will stand comparison with the book presented to us by Dr A. Hauck.

In writing the History of the German Church Hauck has taken up the work of Rettberg and other writers, and has outdone them all. With a master's hand he builds the great structure of the national and religious forces of his country, while his forerunners had to content themselves with the work of the carrier. The author is a man who commands his subject as no one before him has done—a scholar of wide knowledge, critical power, and, at the same time, a gifted writer. He excels in the art of vivid representation and refined characterisation. On the other hand, the learning witnessed to by every page, the care with which the materials are collected and sifted, the skill with which they are arranged, the comprehensiveness of his views of history, his power of generalisation, and his insight into the ruling ideas of epochs, make his volumes certain of a foremost place among historical works. Though the reader may not always be inclined to go with the author the whole length of his argument, he will appreciate the art which he displays in handling his material, and in removing the difficulties he had to overcome in describing most turbulent times and handling the intricate questions of the relation between Church and State; nor were these difficulties diminished by the men who crossed his way, king and pope, prince and duke, abbot, monk, and burgher. For a long time to come his book will be the best authority on German Church affairs up to the twelfth century.

In the three volumes under review the problem to be solved by the author assumes different forms, though the same line of thought runs through them. I shall try to make this clear, first by giving a brief account of the contents of each volume, and then by gathering up the threads of the tissue of events.

In the first volume, the beginnings of Christian life along the borders of the Rhine, among the Alemanni, Burgundians, and Franks, are given, together with the organisation and development of the Anglo-Saxon mission under Bonifacius and his helpers. The second goes on to sketch the Frankish Church as an independent State Church which, through the strong hands of Pepin and Charles the Great, declined to obey the dictation of the Pope in Rome. In the latter part of this volume the beginnings of the Papal supremacy over the civil power are described. In a chapter of special interest, the history of the monachism of the period and that of the literary movement from the death of the great Carolingian are also given. Thus the reader is presented with the picture of a State Church which, in spite of differences neither few nor small in minor details, presents, on the whole, and for the first time, definite and characteristic tendencies in the direction of self-government. The third volume, dedicated to Dr Luthardt, the venerable Senior of the Theological faculty in Leipzig, is divided into two parts. Under the general head of the Consolidation of the German Church, the former treats of the history of the Church under Henry I. and Otto I., their relation to the bishopric, the antagonism between bishop and duke, the foundation of the territorial power, the history of missions among the Wends, Bohemians, and Poles, the renewal of ecclesiastical connexions between Emperor and Pope, and the foundation of national churches in the East of Germany. It winds up with a fine description of the rise and cultivation of letters and arts, the decline of monasticism, and the first traces of a reformation of the cloister. In the second part, the story of the ascendancy of the king's power in the Church and the final rupture with the Papacy is told, beginning with a delineation of the anti-papal policy of Henry II. and Konrad II., the rise of monachism, the reforms of Henry III., and closing with the papal attempts to regain the former power over the German rulers. Through the prudent and vigorous policy of Nicolaus II., Damasus, and Gregory VII., these efforts became successful against the civil power.

In vigorous and graphic terms Hauck relates the passionate struggle of the German Church for her life and for a national form, which seemed denied to her by the ambitious and indomitable self-will of a foreign power. The reader will be impressed by the story of the struggle of this Church to preserve her inner forces, and

exert them efficiently with a view to the religious mission of the German nation. The contrast of tendencies implied in the antagonism of the two contending powers appears to have become traditional. Its germs go back to the attempts of Pepin and Charles the Great to maintain the Frankish Church as a continuation of the Merovingian State Church and to decline the reception of any definite influence upon her at the hands of the Pope. In view of this much discussed tendency, and in the face of the very numerous recent discussions on Pepin's "promises" to the curia, the reader will readily understand that the "*allerneueste Stand der Forschung*" is not given by Hauck. In the course of years the decline of the national power, still represented in the Church policy of a powerful German king, began to make itself felt. What had been gained by former kings, slipped out of the feeble hands of weaker successors. The Roman pontiff, exalting himself over the secular power, put his hand upon the king's domain, and under this foreign usurpation all movements of ecclesiastical and religious life in the nation were crushed; the Church in Germany began to lose her ground; her influence upon the government, the teaching, the administration of justice, and the social life, which, just at that time, had entered a new phase of development, under the auspices of the new order declined and was soon crushed. The tendency of the age ran in the direction of a "dissolution of the State Church." In consequence of this new departure the Church of the young king-emperor was not able to retain her powerful position of former times, as in the glorious reign of Pepin and his great son. The reason of the decline was, in the first place, the absence of a traditional, national ambition, all such aspirations having been destroyed by Bonifacius and his Romish Church policy; in the second, the want of an energetic and steadfast ruler on the throne; and in the third place, the extraordinary rise of the Papal power, concurrent with the decay of imperial influence. Here Hauck seems to be at his best. He finely sketches the new problem which the German king had to face, one quite different from the ways of former German policy. When the king tried to push back the Papal encroachments, and to gain a ruling hand in his Church and her affairs, he failed. The relation of the bishops to the king's "*Kanzlei*" becomes totally changed. The prelates, who were frequently and urgently needed by the German ruler as a counterbalance to the ambitious plans of dukes, princes, and feudal lords, made the best of the opportunity now offered to them, and were successful in forcing the king to reward them with secular privileges for their assistance in his struggle against the lords of the land, and thus to raise their influence in the realm to a dangerous pitch.

The last instalment of the work takes the reader into the heat

of the passionate combat raging between King and Pope, a struggle that is engaged in by both for the rule of the world. The tendency of the national forces in the period described in this part of the book (A.D. 911-1122) turned upon the attempt to overcome the difficulties arising now from two sides, from the papal and the feudal antagonism to the sovereign of the land, to make the German Church serve as a means to awaken and to foster the strong religious impulses peculiar to the German "Volksseele," and to strengthen the political, social and religious development of both government and nation against papacy and feudalism. The final result of Henry's efforts was not very encouraging, depending as it did on the amount of personal energy, steadfastness of character, and clearheadedness on the part of the German rulers, and, to a great degree, on the changes in the general state of affairs. The friend of national liberty sighs to find that, just in the century preceding that of Henry IV., when a powerful ruler, Otto I., attempted to put the old government upon a new basis of right and power, the Church did not answer the expectations which the German king had a right to cherish. Thus it happened that, when in the eleventh century the decisive struggle between King and Pope was at hand, the German Church obeyed the dictation of the Romish priest, changed into an instrument of Gregory, and disappointed the national hope in the momentous hour of the crisis. *It was the Church that sapped the national unity for centuries.*

The way in which the story of this great duel is told in these volumes captivates the reader. According to Hauck, Henry II. is unjustly called the "Black," that is, the weak and facile servant of the Church. In reality he was the strong though pious master of his Church and her prelates, favouring and promoting them at his pleasure, for his ends, and so long as they continued obedient to him. But while Konrad II. and Henry III. followed in the main in his track, the symptoms of a sudden change made their appearance during the reign of these monarchs. Monachism, from the date of the Cluniac Reformation, rose in power, and won at last decisive influence on the policy of St Peter's Chair, until, in Gregory VII., it reached the height of its power. The struggle between a Pope, at once mighty, ambitious and clearheaded, and a King, still a child and a plaything of a woman's ambition, had its turn, and the final outcome of the long conflict was the victory of the Pope. He emancipated the papacy from the hand of the civil power. For fifty years this battle was fought by arms and pen. Henry IV. went a sinful offender and, at the same time, a cunning politician, to Canossa. He stooped to conquer. As a penitent he asked the Pope's pardon, but he returned to Germany a victor. When Henry, as Hauck describes the dramatic scene, "stood at

the doorway in Canossa waiting for the word of his adversary, he was in one respect stronger than at any former period of his reign. In the beginning of his rule he had governed his kingdom as a child puts in motion a machine; in time he had learnt that every ruler with a great and distinct aim is able to attain something. What he had overlooked up to this moment was this, that one's aim must be an attainable aim. Now for the time he had a plan; its issue was certain, when he carried it through. And Henry was now resolved to come to an end with it. Neither the remonstrances of his Italian partisans, nor the tarrying of Gregory, prevailed with him. At the door of Canossa he proved himself a man. "Es mochte Etwas wie Freudigkeit durch seine Seele ziehen, während er auf Gregors Entscheidung harrete; denn wenn er auch nicht zu siegen vermochte, er vermochte doch den Gegnern in dem Momente den Sieg zu entwenden, in dem sie glaubten ihn ergriffen zu haben. *The day of Canossa was no victory of the Pope. Gregory had also his victory, but it came only when he died an exile.*"

Hence the result of events in the eleventh century, in the deadly battle between King and Pope, came to this: though in the continuation of the struggle between the unscrupulous and reckless Henry V. and Gregory's more feeble successor on St Peter's chair, an agreement was arrived at, the victory of the vanquished was the end of the combat. The imperial power had to succumb.

This must suffice. Dr Hauck's book is sure to retain its place for a long time to come as our highest authority on the history of the German Church during these six centuries. The work is without a rival in this domain of German literature. Fresh and original, Hauck always writes "with his eye upon his object." He has thus succeeded in producing a work of profound interest to all students of German Church history, of the greatest value alike in its method and its conclusions, and certain to command the warm and sincere admiration of reader and scholar.

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

The Sacred Books of the Old Testament: The Book of Genesis.

Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours exhibiting the composite structure of the book. With notes by the Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 4to, pp. 120. Price, M. 7.50.

THE critical problems of Genesis have been definitely solved so far as anything can be said to be final in Biblical criticism. Therefore

the task undertaken by Mr Ball is in this respect far less formidable than that which Prof. Cornill has attempted in his excellent edition of Jeremiah, contributed to this series, which I characterised in the recent January number of the *Critical Review*. Dr Cornill would himself recognise that in the results which he has so clearly set forth in that work, much more is disputable than in those which Mr Ball has here presented in his rainbow-tinted text. The reason may best be stated in Dr Cornill's own words, written in response to the recent inquiries of Mr Stead: "I regard it as one of the most important problems to make the Bible intelligible to the pious layman, and thereby to bring it humanly near to him. You ask if the results are sufficiently secure and settled to justify an endeavour of this kind. To this I answer for the Pentateuch unconditionally 'Yes.' In the case of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, research is still in mid-stream, and the universally recognised results are too few."

This striking difference is due to two main causes—(1) The narrative in Genesis reveals its composite character more readily than other sections of Biblical literature, *e.g.*, Isaiah xl.-lxvi., (2) The problems of the Higher Criticism were first seriously investigated in Genesis, and in consequence definite results have been secured here sooner than in the later attempted and less frequented regions.

Let the student of Pentateuchal criticism take up Nöldeke's brilliant, and now almost forgotten, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, and compare his conspectus of passages assigned to the Grundschrift (=P) in Genesis, set forth on p. 143, and he will be surprised and gratified to find what a vastly preponderating proportion of the results of literary analysis, published by the Kiel Professor in 1869, has stood the test of all the fiery trial of the last three decades. Notwithstanding the great change of opinion respecting the date of P, the relative chronological order of the documents, and the evolution of Hebrew religion and law, with which the labours of Kuenen and Wellhausen have made us familiar, it is highly satisfactory to observe that in the domain of literary analysis so much in the contributions made by the earlier scholars has remained unshaken. In face of the statement recently made by Dr Wace (*Review of Reviews*, Feb. 1897) that "he disbelieves entirely in the so-called results of the Higher Criticism," and by the Rev. Thomas Spurgeon, that "such results are by no means permanent; this rainbow-hued Bible will be as changeful as the kaleidoscope, and about as useful," it is worthy of special note that out of about 350 complete verses in Genesis (as nearly as it is possible to compute), assigned by Nöldeke to the so-called Grundschrift in 1869, only thirty verses are attributed by recent critics to other documents (chiefly J₂). In other words, nearly

thirty years of searching investigation leave fully nine-tenths of the results previously achieved unshaken in one—and that the most important—department of the field. The following list of divergences between Nöldeke's conclusions and those presented in Ball's rainbow-text will not be without interest. I mention the passages included by Nöldeke in the Grundschrift which Ball assigns to other sources:—x. 13-19, 25-30; xi. 28-30, attributed to J₂ or the later stratum of the Jehovist document (650 B.C.). Also xxii. 20-24; xxv. 1-6, 11b, 18a are likewise attributed to the same document (J₂) in accordance, in the main, with the results set forth by Kuenen, Wellhausen and Cornill. On the other hand, xxxv. 20 Ball (following most critics) assigns to E, while xxix. 28b-29 and xlv. 19-20 are attributed to either P or P redacted, which are not included in this document by Nöldeke.¹ Surely these form but a slight sum-total of critical *detritus* after the incessant storm and stress of more than two complete decades.

Students of Budde's careful investigations of the earlier chapters of Genesis will be glad to possess the main results which he has achieved in Ball's Hebrew Text, though not quite in the form in which Budde has given them. In Mr Ball's edition the earlier floodless Jehovist document (circ. 850 B.C.) is represented in darker red—while the lighter colour gives the later stratum. It is creditable to the scientific candour of the late Prof. Dillmann, that though he dismissed the analysis of J and E into different strata, with a scornful remark in 1880 (Preface to his commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, p. vii.), in the last edition of his Commentary on Genesis (1892) p. 88 foll. he does full justice to the labours of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Budde in the analysis of J. In his remark upon chap. iv. he says: "It cannot be held to form a complete unity. With respect to the relation of verses 25 foll. to 17-24, we can hardly assume that a writer would spontaneously place the Sethite and Cainite (genealogical) tables, in which practically the same names recur, alongside of one another without being bound by a pre-existent document. Then, again, in comparing 17-24 with 2-16, there is a striking contradiction between Cain as the builder of cities, and Cain as the roving fugitive in uncultivable lands, without any hint as to how the contradictions are to be solved. This is not the way in which a single historian would write. It is not enough to account for the differences by referring them to oral tradition (Riehm, *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1885, p. 762), since the author would have been able to smooth the differences over." Nevertheless, Dillmann does not adopt the solution suggested by the younger critics, on account of the similarities in style







¹ Respecting Ball's questionable attribution of sections of chap. xxxiv. to a later stratum of P, I shall speak later.

and language which characterize J as a whole, though he admits that that solution is intelligible. But those who have followed Dillmann in his admissions will hardly regard his own proposals as a better working hypothesis, *e.g.*, the attribution of Gen. iv. 17-24 to redactorial insertion is not a happy suggestion. It is quite true that verse 24 is not improbably a reminiscence of verse 15, but verse 24 may quite reasonably be regarded as due to another and older form of the story which not improbably existed in place of the narrative 1-16.

We think, therefore, that Old Testament scholars have good reason to be grateful to Mr Ball for his clear presentment of the more recent results of criticism, attained during the last twenty years, whereby the earlier were discriminated from the later strata of the Jehovist narrative. On some points in other departments of the field Ball's results appear to me extremely doubtful. The archaic traces in Genesis xiv. are inconsistent with its wholesale ascription to an exilian "Midrashic" source. The discoveries in Tell el Amarna have turned our eyes to earlier sources of Babylonian influence and tradition than those which operated in the days of the exile. The treatment of this chapter can scarcely be regarded as satisfactory. Apparently Schrader's brilliant combination of Hammurabi with Amraphel, and the well-known identification of Eriaku with Arioch,¹ to which Fried. Delitzsch gave his cordial assent ten years ago, are not considered worthy of mention. Even the identification of כְּדֻר־לָגָמָר with Kudur-Lagamar is ignored.

With respect to chap. xxxiv. the ascription of considerable sections to a later stratum of P (brown) appears to us a very questionable proceeding.

In reference to the commentary as a whole, we can speak with hearty commendation. The emendations in the text, as a rule, are made with caution and judgment, but the suggestions are not always happy in difficult or corrupt passages, and sometimes solutions already proposed are too summarily dismissed, *e.g.*, Kautzsch-Socin's on xxii. 14, where the substituted interpretation appears far fetched. On xvi. 1 or xxi. 9 we expected to see some reference to Winckler's ingenious combination of מְצֹרִית with *mât mušri* near Edom (*A.T.liche Forsch.*, p. 168, *Altorient. F.*, i. p. 24). Like-

¹ See Schrader, COT. ii. p. 296 foll., in which I have translated the most important parts of the essay of the Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil. histor. Classe, 1887. See also Schrader's two subsequently published essays (in the Sitzungsberichte), Ueber Ursprung Sinn und Aussprache des altbabylonischen Königsnamens 1      

(I'rim-Aku) March 29, 1894, and Ueber einen orientalischen Herrschernamen, Octob. 24, 1895.

wise on עפר לִכְלִי in iii. 27, Winckler's suggestive comparison of *ti-ka-lu ipra* from the Tell el Amarna tablets (*Altorient. Forsch.*, iii. 291), as an expression of dishonour or disgrace, was worthy at least of a passing mention. On the other hand, if we regard the serpent of this narrative as resembling the Arabian Jinn, *ahl el ard* or earth-folk inhabiting the under-world (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. pp. 136, 259), we might compare line 8 of the Descent of Ištar to Hades *ašar ipru . . . bubussunu akalšunu titu*. On xvi. 5 Haupt's Arabic parallel *dain li 'aléka* is most apposite. I would suggest that to לַעֲרֹךְ of Gen. xiv. 23 a useful parallel might be borrowed from the Arabic illustrations given by Ignaz Goldziher in *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* vii. Dec. 1892, p. 296. Respecting the much discussed xlix. 10, the suggestion of שָׁלֵם for שָׁלֵם (until he comes to Salem) is ingenious, but apart from Gen. xiv. 18, which is considered by Mr Ball to be late,¹ can any example of this abbreviated name for Jerusalem be cited in pre-exilic literature? Jeremiah xli. 5, LXX [xlvi. 5] Σαλημ is valueless for this purpose. Salem is not adopted by Cornill in his reconstructed text of the prophet, and if it were, the pre-exilic origin of the passage is somewhat doubtful. The longer form of the name we know, from the inscriptions of Tell el Amarna, to have been more ancient than the age of Moses. From Mr Ball's critical standpoint, which regards chap. xlix. as early Jehovist and Gen. xiv. as exilic Midrash, it would be difficult to recommend his reading. It would be different if, following Wellhausen and Cornill, he regarded verse 10 as a late insertion, or if we render (as suggested) "scatheless."

Much as I value the learning displayed in this commentary, there are many things which provoke adverse criticism. In the first place the long dissertation on Zimmern's article "Der Jacobssegen und der Tierkreis," ZA. vii. 2, p. 161, is wholly out of place in a commentary which ought not to be made a receptacle for review articles. Secondly, Assyrian philology occupies a somewhat disproportionate place. Respecting Dr Haupt's ingenious suggestion on iv. 1 (Addenda) where he renders יהוה אֵת "just as well as Jehovah" or "in spite of Jeh.," i.e., although God had commanded Adam and Eve not to eat of the forbidden fruit (of sexual intercourse), I would merely remark in default of the fuller statement of evidence (which I have not yet had the opportunity of seeing) that (1) the sense given to אֵת is hazardous. (2) If Mr Ball's critical results are correct, iv. 1 belongs to J₂. Is it therefore certain that ii. 17, iii. 3, 16 of the earlier stratum were in the mind of the writer?

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE

¹ This may be true of verses 18-20.

**Les Protestants d'Autrefois: Vie Interieure des Églises;
Mœurs et Usages.**

*Par Paul de Félice, Pasteur. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1896.
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 16mo,
pp. xvii. 291.*

WE do not wonder at the wistful look, the admiring regret, with which the enlightened members of the Reformed Church of France recall their "autrefois." The dawn of their Church was bright and promising almost beyond example among the Churches of the Reformation; with such ministers as Calvin and such laymen as Coligny, and a great following from the *élite* of society and the best of the bourgeoisie, the Reformed Church of France seemed more likely than any other to hold the foremost rank among the Churches of Europe. But sheer brutal violence brought an awful change. A corrupt Court and a demoralised Church, like the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, were bent on strangling the young cause, and to effect their object neither of them shrank from any device of devilish violence and cunning. The ball opened, we may say, with the Massacre of St Bartholomew, and with little interruption, the infernal orgies went on till they culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the murder or banishment of hundreds of thousands of the best citizens of France. We do not know on what authority the figures rest which Jonathan Edwards, in his *History of Redemption*, gives as the statistics of French martyrdom, but, according to him, within thirty years of the time (A.D. 1572), when the Massacre of St Bartholomew was perpetrated, there were martyred 39 princes, 148 counts, 234 barons, 147,518 gentlemen, and 760,000 common people. Whatever discount these figures may have to undergo, it is evident that there must be not a few French souls, now crying "How long" from beneath the altar, who are destined to partake in the glory of the first resurrection. Who of us, at this distance, can estimate the thrilling, pathetic, inspiring force of these memories on the sons and daughters who now represent that once glorious but cruelly massacred Church of former days? Little wonder that they take much pains to keep alive the deeds and virtues of their fathers. No fewer than forty-four volumes issued between 1853 and 1896, by the "Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français," attest the pious reverence of the children for their martyred ancestors. And, in addition to these, various local documents of interest have been brought before the public, with new editions of Daniel Benoit's *Histoire des Martyrs* (the Fox's *Acts and Monuments* of France), and historical summaries, larger and smaller, for all classes and various ages.

The work of which we have given the title belongs to this class.

Its author, inheriting the historical taste of his father, the late Professor de Félice, of Montauban, has set himself the task of reproducing the inner life, manners, and customs of the old Reformed Church of France, from 1559, the date of the first National Synod, to 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, but more particularly from 1598 to 1685. As the author says, it is not a dramatic history, but rather a series of photographs forming an album of "*autrefois*." The whole work is to be comprised in four volumes. Taking the churches, or "*temples*," as the starting point, we are to get, in the first place, information about the public worship of the Church, and the religious life of the people generally and their children. The second volume is to treat of the pastors, their public or official duty, and their more private life in the family and in society. The third is to reveal the operations and ways of ecclesiastical assemblies, synods, "*colloques*," and consistories, dwelling especially on the consistory, in its three principal functions—ecclesiastical, charitable, and disciplinary. The fourth will be devoted to the treatment of the young—their education in the family, school, college, and academy.

It is the first of these four volumes that is now before us, treating of all that was connected with the "*temple*," as the Protestants were accustomed to call their church, while their enemies would speak of it as their "*place d'exercise*," or meeting-house—as high Churchmen speak of "*the Kirk*." On the very face of this subject—the general religious life of the people, as regulated by the Church—we are struck with the strictness, we might almost say sternness, of the regulations. Much of that rigidity which is often thought to have been the peculiar characteristic of old Scottish Presbyterianism, was equally true of the ways of the French Church. Their churches were extremely plain; such a thing as an architectural building was unknown; there were no images or statues; a spire was very rare; and the use of the cross in connection with the building was strongly discouraged. Even so late as the year 1884, M. de Félice finds a publication in which the question is discussed: "*Les croix, sont elles des idoles?*" Corresponding to this simplicity was the dress and appearance of the people. The flower-gardens that we see in our churches planted on the tops of ladies' hats without number at the present day, would not have been tolerated for an instant. Even the wife of so distinguished a man as M. du Plessis-Mornay, was refused a token, and prevented from communicating, because she had "*des fils d'archal dans les cheveux*."

The same strictness characterised the keeping of the Lord's day. People were required to be very regular in church, morning and afternoon, and if they were negligent in this, they were subjected

to discipline. Pastors and elders were required to prevent persons from coming on Communion occasions who did not attend church at other times. The Communion was dispensed four times every year, but with this peculiarity, that after the first dispensation it was repeated on the next Lord's day, with the object of allowing all to attend, so that there were really eight Communion-Sundays, and many of the earnest people communicated at all the times. So earnestly was it desired to accommodate all, that the very coachmen and others, who might be detained outside, were specially provided for. Private Communion was greatly discouraged, if not absolutely forbidden; if, in the case of persons long bed-ridden, it was desired, some of the elders had to accompany the pastor, so that it should fulfil its purpose as an ordinance of Communion, and not merely of individual benefit. It was strongly urged on the people that on the way to and from the church they should cherish devout thoughts, and either sing psalms, or engage in serious conversation. All amusement, all reading of secular books, all that drew the heart to earth, was condemned; indeed, so far as the early French Church was concerned, the "Continental Sunday" was rigidly and wholly Sabbatarian. The "Token," or emblem of the right to communicate, called "Méreau," or "Mareau," was introduced very early. Some pains have been taken to ascertain the origin of this practice. It is believed to go back to the Middle Ages, and among other purposes, the token (which is a small medal, like a coin, made of lead) became a badge of pilgrims, and was employed by them to obtain hospitality at religious houses, being an evidence of Christian profession. Without a "token," no one could go to the Lord's Table. The practice was not revived after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but in the Church of the French Refugees at Berlin it was in use at least as late as 1873. It is singular that an attempt of Calvin to make use of the token at Geneva was not successful; but it was introduced without difficulty in the Church of France. Strange to say, unpleasantness would sometimes arise from certain persons not being served with the Communion elements so early as their rank seemed to require. Questions of etiquette as to precedence would not unfrequently disturb the harmony of congregations. Nor were they free from discussions on "Communion Wine," for there were persons who had "une invincible répugnance pour le vin."

At funerals all religious service was forbidden, in order completely to discourage the idea of praying for the dead. Even when so distinguished persons as the Duchesse de la Trémoille and her daughter died, their remains were carried to the family vault without any religious service. This practice exposed the Protestants to very cutting reproaches from their opponents, and, indeed, it was

felt by themselves to be carrying rigidity too far. As in Scotland, a simple service at funerals was introduced, but it was specially provided that it should be in the house, and not at the grave.

Similar strictness characterised the arrangements of the daily life. The people were exhorted to offer each a short prayer on awaking, then to pray morning and evening, to have family worship, and to pray at meals, and at the beginning and end of their employments. At mid-day they were to pray again, and in the evening they were to have both personal and family worship. In some cases, it was the practice to have a short service of prayer daily in the churches, but the Church Courts were rather chary of this, fearing that it might interfere with family prayer. In the family of Coligny all these practices were devoutly followed; in addition, it was the practice (as in some other houses) after dinner to sing a psalm and read part of the Scriptures.

The young were earnestly cared for. "Le Catechisme" was the name of an exercise to which they were called between the morning and evening services. This usually lasted for an hour, occasionally two, sometimes even three. They were examined on a portion of the Catechism, and this was indispensable to their admission to the Communion, for which they were counted eligible at the age of twelve. There was also occasionally a "Grande Catechisme," at which all persons, young and old, appear to have been subjected to examination.

These samples must suffice of the kind of information in M. de Félice's volume. The statement of facts is accompanied by ample references to the best authorities. A writer of lively imagination, like the late Mrs Rundel Charles, or Miss Dora Alcock, might weave them into a graphic and brightly coloured dramatic picture of the times. This line M. de Félice has on purpose avoided, his great object being to give literal historical facts. We cannot but trace the influence of Calvin in that elaborate carefulness of the whole habits of the religious life that characterised the early Reformed Churches, alike of France and Scotland. The general sentiment of the present day, no doubt, is that the system was characterised by *trop de rigueur*; but now that we are on the down grade, the question is, where and how are we stop? For there must always be danger in the loosening of old bonds and slackening of old screws. The natural tendency is to greater and greater relaxation, and with a growing tendency to laxity, how is conscience to maintain its grip? M. de Félice's publication is not merely to be welcomed as a contribution to historical research, but as an incentive to his countrymen to the recovery of a measure of that earnestness which marked the early Church of France. We in Scotland have forgotten how closely the two Churches resembled

each other in their early days. It may be useful for us, too, to recall the early earnestness of our own fathers, and the pains they took to make religion the chief business of men's lives. If the choice is to be made between past rigour and careless laxity, there is no difficulty in deciding which should be preferred, although we must still aim at a happy medium.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, being an Essay on the Local History of Phrygia, from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest.

By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I., Part II.: West and West-Central Phrygia. Clarendon Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. ix. 353-791. Price, 21s. net.

In this further instalment of his *magnum opus* on Phrygia, Professor Ramsay deals with some very important cities and districts, notably Eumeneia, Apameia and Akmonia. It is again ground, with every stone and corner of which the author is thoroughly familiar, and although the materials often seem scanty and trivial enough to the inexperienced, the book is a grand example of the supreme value of minute and thorough exploration and study when undertaken by a master, like Professor Ramsay. For Professor Ramsay is no mere collector of inscriptions, or dry-as-dust scholar and traveller. Besides the genius of taking pains, he has the true historian's insight, and can piece together his evidence, and see its bearing on wide problems, and thus is enabled to arrive at far-reaching and important generalisations.

In this volume Professor Ramsay reaches the most difficult question which he has to treat, viz., the Christian Antiquities of Phrygia. He devotes two chapters (ch. xii. and xvii.) to the subject, and publishes, with annotations, a most important series of inscriptions, some of them hitherto unpublished, which he holds to be early-Christian—i.e., of the third century. It is interesting to note that Professor Ramsay holds that "the progress of our knowledge tends, in general, to push back the dates" which he himself originally ventured to name. What, then, are the criteria available for judging the Christian nature of any Phrygian inscription, and for fixing its date? Professor Ramsay discusses this difficult subject with great fulness and ingenuity. According to him, all the evidence goes to prove that the early Christian converts lived, to all outward appearance, the same life as their pagan neighbours. They did not cut themselves off from culture and

public life, as Aelius Aristides, in the second century, grossly misrepresents them as doing. Whatever the conduct of some extremists may have been, the ordinary Christian of the third century took part in the usual duties and pleasures of life, and none would have found reason to suspect him of Christianity. They seem, indeed, to have been the party of progress in the cities. But their religion was forbidden, and the law condemned any convicted Christian to death. In practice, however, there was a general disposition not to observe Christians, if they conformed outwardly to the law. Hence the aim of the Christians of the second and third centuries was to do nothing to infringe the law, and to "put nothing in public documents, such as their epitaphs, which could be quoted as evidence of Christianity." The formulæ and symbolism they chose were such as would not rouse suspicion; they registered their communities under suitable names, assimilated to the benefit-societies that the law recognised; their feasts and offices bore pagan titles, and they themselves for the most part retained their pagan names. Still there are indications discoverable by the close observer. Even in the third century the beginnings of a Christian nomenclature can be traced. Names were preferred "which, though common to pagans, conveyed a meaning suitable to the new religion, or had been consecrated by some martyr, or in some other way pleased the Christians." Again, "in any case, where the epitaph gives wider admission to the grave, Christian character is probable." Further, where anything differs from the usual type, "wherever anything rises above the ordinary dull level," a suspicion may be entertained. But the distinctive mark on which Professor Ramsay places most reliance is the adjuration at the end of so many epitaphs in Eumeneia, Apameia, Sebaste, Akmonia, &c. The commonest and earliest form is *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*. This formula, he holds, "stamps the inscription as Christian," and was introduced in the first half of the third century. Wherever it occurs, or its later variations, there is nothing to suggest paganism, and often other indications of Christian origin are present—*e.g.*, the use of the word *κοιμητήριον* instead of the pagan *ἡρώων*, or a symbol or name or expression pointing to Christian feeling. It might quite well, however, be used by a pagan, and, in fact, is a slight modification of a pagan form. Such are the only criteria available for the early-Christian epitaphs. Later, of course, when there had grown up a distinctive Christian nomenclature, and Christianity had developed a social system of its own, the problem is comparatively easy. But it is just the second and third century inscriptions that are most important. Here, therefore, it is all a matter of indirect inference. Professor Ramsay is always looking for "meanings hidden beneath the surface," and gives his views as

"only a tentative step in a difficult path." Naturally, when all may be pagan, there will be different opinions as to what may legitimately be labelled Christian, but it will be admitted that Professor Ramsay makes out a strong case for himself, and has made the path easier for his successors.

What, then, are his main conclusions as to the diffusion of Christianity in Phrygia and the relation of the Christian population to their pagan neighbours? Christianity must have been widespread in Phrygia early in the third century. The Christian party was strong in Apameia, Akmonia, Sebaste, Pepouza, the Pentapolis, &c., and dominant in Eumeneia. As regards the history of the Pentapolis, all that is known centres round the name of Avircius Marcellus and the famous "Grabschrift des Aberkios." Professor Ramsay discusses at length his reasons for thinking this inscription Christian. He shows that it was meant to be a public and imperishable protest against Montanism by one of the anti-Montanist leaders; but in deference to the circumstances of the time it had to be framed in such a way as not to be overtly Christian. Dr Ficker has shown that every word in it might have been written by a priest of Cybele, but Professor Ramsay argues that so to consider it shows "failure to conceive the document as a whole." We must look for the esoteric meaning. In a note at the end of the volume he traverses the arguments in Dietrich's later pamphlet. The date assigned to the epitaph is about 192 A.D., probably the earliest Christian inscription we have in Phrygia; and if Ramsay is right, the district must already have been "permeated with Christian influence." Two centuries later Avircius becomes the legendary St Abercius. But it is to Eumeneia that the majority of the early Christian inscriptions belong. We have twenty-six belonging to the third century, while only eleven of the same period are clearly pagan. Thus in the third century Eumeneia must have been largely Christian. In the second century there must have been many Christians, but we can distinguish no Christian inscriptions of that date. Professor Ramsay thinks this was because then "the Christian character was more completely suppressed." He draws a very attractive picture of the life in Eumeneia in the third century. It was a life of quiet prosperity, when Christian and pagan dwelt amicably together. A spirit of concession prevailed. The Christian party were in the ascendant, and many senators and public officials were Christian, but these must have been willing to take part outwardly in the Imperial cultus and many other non-Christian religious forms.

History confirms the impression of the inscriptions, for Eusebius mentions a city of Phrygia in which, about 303 A.D., the entire population was Christian. It is evident from this that "the country

in general must have been very strongly affected by the same religion." But at the end of the third century there is a sudden change, and the centuries following show a marked contrast to the vigorous intellectual and political life of the third century. This Professor Ramsay attributes to the massacre by Diocletian, 303-313 A.D. The Christians were opposed to the Imperial policy of centralisation, and the Government used the revival of a spirit of fanatical paganism to destroy this spirit of freedom. Eumeneia seems to have suffered severely, and may indeed have been the city in Phrygia that Eusebius mentions as having been burned to the ground with its people, even women and children, "calling upon the God who is over all." After the massacre the Church became the opponent of education and culture and individual freedom, instead of the centre of energy and progress and toleration.

Professor Ramsay traces three separate lines along which Christian influence spread in Phrygia in the early centuries. The first has "its ultimate source in St Paul's work in Ephesus" (Acts xix.), and spread from the Ægean coast up the Maeander valley reaching Akmonia and the Pentapolis, Apameia and Pisidian Antioch and Lake Askania; the second "originated in the earlier Pauline Churches of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch" (Acts xiii. xiv.), and "belongs to Lycaonia and the extreme S.E. district"; while the third belongs to the N.W. Christianity was spread to the Lycos valley by Timothy, Mark, Epaphras, but after that all record is obscure and traditional. Referring to the "North-Galatian theory," Professor Ramsay regards it as controverted by all the facts of Christian development in Phrygia. "The nearer we approach the Galatian frontier, the later are the traces of Christianity. Only near his routes in Lycaonia, Galatia, Phrygia, and along the higher lying road from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus, do we find proof of Christian influence at an early date." Professor Ramsay has unabated confidence in the South Galatian theory, which he has done so much to place in a better position than it ever occupied before. His arguments are ingenious, and some of them have great weight. It would be too much, however, to say that even now the last word is spoken on this interesting question.

But little space remains to notice the many other important subjects dealt with in this volume. The chapter (ch. xv.) on the Jews in Phrygia is full of interest and suggestion. They were a numerous and wealthy and influential class in the Phrygian cities from early times, Akmonia and Apameia were two of their chief centres. Before 70 A.D. they formed a separate self-administering community, but after that the law recognised no distinction between Jews and other provincials. They retained, however, some privileges connected with their religion. They seem to have a ban-

doned the exclusive Jewish standard, and we find a Jewess, Julia Severa, even holding the office of High-Priestess in the Imperial cultus. They seem to have become "as completely Romans or Asians as persons of Jewish descent in England now reckon themselves English." In this connection Professor Ramsay publishes some very important inscriptions (note espec. No. 559). The legend of the Flood was localised at Apameia, and the city even had the by-name Kibōtos. Apameian coins show a picture of an ark holding two figures and inscribed ΝΩΕ.

The long chapter on Apameia (ch. xi.) is a splendid piece of work. From its strong and fertile position on the great Eastern Trade-Route this city was one of great importance through many centuries of ancient history. The original foundation was Kelainai, round which clusters many a myth. Here Marsyas discovered the flute and Phrygian music was born. The Lityersis-song is found here, and the myth of Anchouros which is similar to that of Curtius at Rome. Professor Ramsay discusses the topography at great length, and gives a new identification of the different rivers. He sketches in vivid pages its history under the Lydians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, showing how important it was commercially at each stage. Many interesting questions are discussed in connection with the public buildings, religion, and government of the city. Such are the beautiful pictorial coins, pointing to some series of paintings on a public building; the nature and character of the Gerousia, which Professor Ramsay says was a sort of "high class club," designed by the Imperial Government to distract the citizens' attention from political questions; the functions of the Dekaprōtoi, Gymnasiarch and other officials; the relation of Apameia to the Koinon.

Of the other cities, Pepouza is memorable as the cradle and chief centre of Montanism, and Professor Ramsay accepts M. Radet's suggestion that Justinianopolis is a late foundation on the same site. Sebaste is interesting for the traces we find of the old Anatolian village system. At Akmonia, for the first time in Phrygia, the college of Hymnodoi is mentioned, a body having to do with the musical part of the native cultus, but also, probably, having a social side. And throughout this most valuable volume there is a wealth of scattered material, shedding light on the primitive nature-worship, the Imperial Government and cultus, and other great subjects. But an index is much needed. The volume is enriched by a general map of West-Central Phrygia, a map of the Upper Maeander valley, a plan of Apameia, two plates of Phrygian coins, and several sketches of tombstones, statues, and rock sculptures.

J. L. SALMOND.

Gli Evangelii Sinottici : Realtà O Invenzione ?

Studii di Raffaele Mariano. Seconda Edizione. Roma : Loescher & Co., 1896 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Pp. xl. 206. Price, L.5.

THE interrogative part of the above title recalls the famous *Historisch oder Mythisch?* of Ullmann, and in many respects this new work by Mariano may be described as an extension or modern application of Ullmann's argument. The purpose of the book is to assist in awakening or deepening a real faith in the trustworthiness of the synoptic gospels as historical records. The author belongs to that branch of the Hegelian school which has been led in Italy by Vera. The signs of his philosophical leanings are often apparent, and in accordance with them there is an uncompromising assertion of the rights of reason, and of the place of doctrine in religion, as against modern denials or dilutions. At the same time it is obvious that he has felt the influence of recent empirical thought. His aim, as has been indicated, is practical. He takes as a motto for the heading of his Introduction the confession of Goethe that the Christian religion is a mighty power by itself for the elevation of suffering humanity, and in virtue of that efficacy is exalted above all philosophy, and needs no support from it, that the sciences may all advance to an indefinite extent, but beyond the religion and morality that gleam and lighten from the gospels men can never go. Further, it is maintained, in agreement with the thought of our time, that for our knowledge of Christ we have no data except those supplied by the Scriptures.

The author's task consists largely in giving a criticism of recent criticism. He speaks with marked disapproval of the work of Renan. For the synoptic question he may be supposed to refer chiefly to *Les Évangiles*, and certainly a perusal of that volume shows the strangest medley of assertions and denials, positive and reassuring affirmations as to the character and work of Jesus and the Gospel-writers, followed up in every case by statements in the very opposite sense. It was lately said of some one that he was not clear-headed enough to frame an untruth ; and the charge made here against Renan is that his thought is excessively weak, that he will not definitely take up the negative position so as to be responsible for its implications. He would settle questions which are the most momentous for humanity with a shrug. However, his statements, as destroying each other, come to nothing. The opinion is expressed that his critical and historical works, in spite of their exquisite literary charm, will only influence the half-educated classes, and that but for a while. They cannot live.

The method which Mariano himself follows in arguing for the credibility of the Synoptics resolves itself into two branches, and we give the gist of his results. The one branch may be called formal, the other and more important, the material. The formal argument is concerned with the mode of composition of the Gospels. There is a lengthened examination of the agreements and differences between the Synoptics; and the trustworthiness of the books is inferred from the fact that while it is clear there had been prior records in writing which were utilised in the canonical Gospels, those earlier documents must be assigned to the very commencement of the Apostolic age. The Church, as she proceeded with her work of evangelisation, must have felt at the very outset the necessity of giving forth a definite and precise (*i.e.* written) message. Otherwise, from the nature of things, there would have been immediate strife and confusion, fatal to progress, as different disciples presented different interpretations of the discourses of Christ, and found a different complexion and import even in the facts of His life. As, then, the Synoptics have for their foundation, as one main part of it at least, checking or confirming the oral tradition, the records of eye-witnesses who wrote while they had still a clear recollection of the subject-matter, one indispensable condition of credibility is satisfied. Further, though their authors were not mere amanuenses, but men of active, spiritual mind, who selected, combined and applied their materials, there is no evidence at all that they added anything new and strange, or made such applications as would have turned Christianity into something different from what it was essentially and originally. On the contrary, the Gospels we possess agree together in their whole scope and message—giving a synopsis—and the divergences and differences only serve to show the amplitude and boundless richness of the Christian revelation.

The main problem, however, the material question, still remains. Granting that the things related by our Evangelists are not a late invention of their own, we still must ask—Are the things in themselves really true? The answer is that the mighty sweep of Christian history and progress, the transformation of the world by a new and higher life, demands the revelation in the Gospels as a necessary and sufficient cause. This revelation is the announcement that God is the Father of men, a truth which is made a reality in Christ the Incarnate Son of God, and that through Christ, as Mediator and Redeemer, every individual person may rise above sin and all earthly misery, and experience the blessings of the Kingdom of God. But, again, the very fact that the new teaching was able to gain a foothold and live, presupposes a nexus between it and the existing Jewish thought. Now, what chiefly

characterised the contemporary thought was the Messianic expectation. Christ's claim to be the Messiah was not merely attributed to Him by His followers at a late date. Here again the Gospels speak the truth. Had He not made the claim He would not have obtained the following He did. However, if the Messianic idea is the historical basis of Christ's work, it is nothing more; it is sublimated, spiritualised, conformed to the essence of the revelation. The whole nature of His teaching and work as the Son of God, and of His sacrifice of Himself unto death, shows that He had, and knew He had, a redemptive message for all mankind. This truth, announced for the world's good to the disciples, could not but have entered in some measure or degree into their consciousness also. And so the Gospels once more declare the truth when they indicate the universal mission of Christ, as all the three do.

The treatment of the miracles is very unsatisfactory. Beyond allowing that our Lord had done wonderful works of healing, *e.g.*, Mariano will not assent to the historical reality of empirical miracles. The denial comes strangely from one who holds to the constitutive miracle of the Divinity of Christ "in the high, supernatural sense," and to His superhuman knowledge, who points to the world of mystery which science, aided though it be by the potent principle of evolution, finds, and always will find, to be a book sealed with seven seals, who asserts the Fatherhood of God and the absolute power of spirit over nature, and who is constrained to adhere to the traditional creed of the Church! However, this regrettable result is not necessitated by the author's critical method, as the example of Ullmann shows. It is due to a foreign importation, to a philosophical dogmatism which insists that the inviolability of the laws of nature is conclusive in the case.

Other views than that propounded here have been taken of the essence of Christ's work, but they are invalidated by the fact that they give a false reading both of history and of the gospels. For example, many attempt to deprive Christianity of an important part of its substance by expelling doctrine from it, leaving only feeling and action. Harnack is selected as the chief of these, and the criticism on him as a thinker is cogent and pungent, although his almost astounding erudition is frankly acknowledged. It is pointed out that this theory has not even the attraction of novelty. Erasmus, and after him the Deists, taught that the foundations of Christianity do not consist of articles of faith, and that every dogmatic system is an artificial and arbitrary creation. In itself the position is untenable. The Gospel furnishes theological doctrines. For example, the historical Jesus is identified with the Divine Messiah; the truth is declared as to the nature of God and His

kingdom, and as to the nature and destiny of man ; and so on. Christianity ought certainly to be personal and subjective ; but if it has not also a universal and objective content, if the truth is only yours or mine, so that no one can say what it is in itself, and what *ought* to be believed, it is on the verge of complete disintegration and dissolution. Doctrine and practice are not incompatible ; they demand and complete each other. Our relations to the world and our duties to men are only to be determined in the light and by the standard of our relations and duties to God. Christ, it is said, is the object of faith and the common bond. But Christ has been taken to be merely an ascetic, a reformer, and what not. Who is right, and why ? Is the measure of Christianity for separate preachers to be their own sermons ? If so, they are no better than so many little Popes, and their faith is reposed chiefly in themselves. In answer to the complaint that doctrinal statements speak only to the intellect, and interest only the handful of people who have a turn for metaphysical and theological speculation, Mariano protests in a vigorous passage that on the contrary the truths of faith, clearly seen and firmly grasped, subjugate the heart and will, and sway and agitate them with a mighty force which no other element can command. If one pushes the further objection—Does doctrine, as a matter of fact, as it is embodied in the creeds, appear in that light ? the reply would be—No ; but nevertheless there is such heart-stirring truth as has been alluded to. Then should the creeds be abolished ? That does not follow. It becomes possible to see what position Mariano would have taken in that controversy which burst out recently in Germany, and in which the disputants ranged themselves round these banners, (1) No dogma, (2) A new dogma, (3) The old dogma. Manifestly he would go with the third party. For he points out that if there were no creed, Harnack and his following would have their way, and there would be the disastrous results which have been indicated. Again, it is quite impossible to frame a new symbol which all would accept as containing what is necessary and sufficient. He would therefore let the old creed stand. (As he has been contending with Harnack, he refers, as will be readily understood in the light of recent events, to the Apostles' Creed in particular). But under its shield the fresh and eternal truths which come from Christ and His revelations are free to work their blessed effects among men.

Here, then, an idea which may deserve consideration is suggested by our author on that subject of dogma and creeds which has been exercising men's minds everywhere. The Christian faith we have inherited, like a living tree, has parts of a more external kind which are old, dry, sclerotic ; but they have a high value,

and cannot be cut away without harm. They have a connective and preservative function. Along the whole line of the historical growth of doctrine, round the whole circle of traditional dogma, and in close organic connection with it, yet not springing from it, but from a deep, invisible source, there flows a full tide of truth, vitalising and developing the Church. Ever since Christ appeared, His Spirit has been the Teacher of living truth, relative certainly in the past, but not absolute even now. Doubtless Christians have too often placed undue reliance on the mere acceptance of a creed. Harnack has therefore done important work in bringing home to men, by his treatment of dogma, much-needed instruction as to the nature of saving faith. It must be reposed in Christ; it must be personal and practical. But when he goes to an extreme, and seeks to eliminate doctrine from Christianity, all the Gospels and the reason in history are against him. The very existence of the religion would be imperilled by the prevalence of his view. The truth which Christ supplies in the Gospels is doctrinal. Then history shows in dogma the main course and the ramified channels by which the life-giving stream has been conducted to us in such wise that no part of its precious contents is lost. GEORGE FERRIES.

Marcus Eremita. Ein neuer Zeuge für das altkirchliche Taufbekenntnis.

Eine Monographie zur Geschichte des Apostolikums, mit einer kürzlich entdeckten Schrift des Marcus. Von Lic. Dr. Johannes Kunze. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo., pp. 211. Price, 6s.

THE author of this valuable monograph, Dr Johannes Kunze, is a young theologian of the Lutheran school, at present teaching at Leipzig, of whom in course of years more is certain to be heard on the field of Church History. It is rarely that one meets with a piece of work so ably and thoroughly—not to say exhaustively—done, as this dissertation on the personality and opinions of a writer well-known in his own time, but to us a singularly nebulous figure of the post-Athanasian period—Marcus Eremita. The occasion of the monograph is the timely discovery in a Jerusalem library of a tractate by this Marcus, bearing to be directed “Against the Nestorians,” and recently published with other texts found in the same place by the Greek scholar Papadopoulos-Kerameus (at Petersburg, vol. i., 1891; vol. ii., 1894). The discovery in question is interesting in many ways, partly as throwing light on the personality and views of Marcus himself, partly in its bearing

on the controversies of the age, and not least in the fact that it embodies (c. 23), well-nigh verbally, a form of the ancient Baptismal Confession which seems to be still uninfluenced, or influenced only very slightly, by the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creeds. The present work contains, accordingly, first, the Greek text in full of the newly discovered manuscript, with critical annotations (pp. 6-30), then a series of discussions on Marcus and his writings, on the genuineness and theological standpoint of the new document, on the theology of Marcus as deduced from his writings generally, leading up, finally, to an investigation of the origin, contents, and value of the Baptismal Confession used by Marcus, as it can be reconstructed from the materials given. The closing section sums up the bearings of the whole on the "Apostolicum" controversy which has of late so much agitated Germany. The results under this head are, in the view of the author, the most important outcome of his study.

The traditionary notices about Marcus Eremita are confused in the extreme. The manuscripts of his known writings designate him as ἐρημίτης, ἀναχωρητής, μοναχός, ἀσκητής, and occasionally ἀββάς, but give no details of time or place. Dr Kunze distinguishes two lines of tradition concerning him, one late, but evidently resting on earlier notices, making him a pupil of Chrysostom, and fellow disciple of Isidore of Pelusium and others, probably to be identified with an Abbot Marcus, who is related to have become an anchorite in the desert of Judæa; the other, identifying him with a wonder-working monk of the Scetic desert, likewise named Marcus, who died before the end of the fourth century. It is plain on internal grounds that there is a confusion here, and that two individuals must be distinguished, the former of whom is *prima facie* to be identified with the author of our tractate. This, of course, would be beyond doubt, if the title "Against the Nestorians" could be trusted. The necessity of determining this point leads our author into an elaborate discussion of the theology of Marcus as exhibited in his writings, and particularly into an examination of the type of Christological error combated in the newly-discovered work. The difficulty of connecting it with the polemic against the Nestorians is the absence of all reference to the famous watchword of this controversy, θεοτόκος, while there are occasional terms suggestive of the Chalcedonian symbol, which would almost imply a later date. Still the type of doctrine combated is in other respects so obviously identical with the Nestorian that there will be little difficulty felt in following Dr Kunze in his general conclusion that the document must have originated somewhere about 430 A.D. This agrees with the tradition that Marcus was a scholar of Chrysostom, a relationship which

is further confirmed by the discovery that Marcus unmistakably shows traces of connection with the Antiochian as well as with the Alexandrian type of theology. Dr Kunze, on the basis of other indications, seeks to establish a probability that Marcus was Abbot of the Cloister of Ancyra, in Galatia, and that his Baptismal Confession represents the form in use in the church of that city. The reasonings are not without force, but the conclusion must be pronounced somewhat conjectural.

As respects the Confession itself, considerable pains are taken to produce a complete reconstruction of it, and the main features and language are at any rate given in c. 23 of the text. It is clearly a confession of old standing, and is probably quite independent of Nicene influence. Dr Kunze enters into a careful comparison with the views entertained of the history of the Apostles' Creed by Harnack and Kattenbusch, and decisively separates himself from many of the conclusions of these writers. They have, he thinks, gone entirely astray in overrating the old Roman baptismal symbol, and in regarding it as the source of the other forms in East and West. The East, he contends, had its independent development. Only when this is recognised "can a history of the 'Apostolicum' be written, but no longer as a history of the 'Roman Symbol,' but as a history of the Baptismal Confessions of the ancient Church, in the number of which the Roman Symbol will rank only as one among others, although one of the oldest and most original."

JAMES ORR.

Das Classische Heidenthum und die Christliche Religion.

Von Dr Franz Hektor Ritter von Arneth. Wien: Konegen, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xii. 396, viii. 332. Price, 15s.

THIS is a work of immense range. The author brings us down from the first dawn of religion to the age of Justinian, and contrives to pack into his two volumes a perfect mass of information, including the latest discoveries of the French Archæological Society at Delphi. He is deeply impressed with the powerful hold which religion has upon all men from the savage to the savant. Thus he tells us how even Voltaire, when he thought he was dying, wrote, "I die in the fear of God, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, and cursing all superstition." Similar testimonies to the strength of the religious instinct are quoted from Heine, Darwin, Ranke, Bismarck, and Moltke. In fact man, according to Dr Arneth, is distinguished from the animals by these two things,

rational speech and the effort to place himself in relation with the supernatural. Some writers, indeed, such as Du Bois Reymond, hold that the deepest problem of life, the relation of the material to the spiritual, will never be solved. Others, however, such as Suess, and Sir John Lubbock, change the "*ignorabimus*" of Reymond into a simple "*ignoramus*," and are more hopeful of the future. The writer then proceeds to enquire into the origin of religion. This part of his work is less satisfactory. He supposes that primitive man was impressed by the more sublime phenomena of Nature and by the awful dissolution of death, and that the religious feelings were first excited by such causes. It is questionable whether the earliest man was capable of conceiving of Nature as a whole, or of being impressed by anything save his immediate environment. The simplest form of religion is animistic, in which every part of nature, trees, rivers, stones, &c., are conceived of as moved by a spirit akin to the spirit of man; and in particular, animals were regarded as powerful spirits, and the most formidable were presently worshipped as gods. Hence Totemism. Dr Arneth is quite aware of all this, but thinks there was *pari passu* a sense of the "*Universum*." Professor Sayce on the other hand, in his lectures on the Babylonian Religion, argues that we do not find Nature worship in the higher sense until man has passed through the lower stages of Animism, Shamanism or Witchcraft, and Totemism. Then, with regard to the effect of death upon the primitive mind, the author barely refers to ancestor worship. De Coulanges (*La Cité antique*) has shown what large remains of this primitive custom survived, even in classical times, in Greece and Italy.

But once plunged into his subject, Dr Arneth is full of interest and information. In Pelasgic times in Greece the worship of Zeus (at Dodona) and of Demeter seems to have prevailed. If, as Professor Sayce argues, the highest stage of Animism be that in which the great Cosmogonic spirits of heaven and earth are worshipped, we seem to see the Greeks just arrived at this stage when they entered Greece. *Ζεὺς πάτηρ* (Dyaus-piter) is the "Sky-Father." Similarly Demeter is the "Earth-Mother." The later hierarchy of gods in the Greek and Roman Pantheons represent not a religious development, but rather a degeneration. Arneth notes how the Greek and Phœnician cults met on the coast of the *Ægean*, and how gradually, from a variety of causes, Polytheism arose. Thus Demeter and Hera were originally both names of the same goddess, the Earth. "*Hera*" is taken to be connected with *ἔρα*, a Doric word for "the Earth"; and "*Demeter*" with *δᾶ*, Ionian for "Earth." Then special parts of nature received special worship, as *e.g.*, Athene, who, according to our author, was the goddess both

of "Fire" (*αἶθευ*) and of "Water," as her patronymic Tritogeneia "Water-born" (*τρέω*, of the "tremulous" waves) indicates. Similarly Pan was the god of pastures (*πάειν*, to graze). Probably these deities were originally regarded simply as manifestations of the Supreme Deity. Water, *e.g.*, in the form of rain was spoken of as *τὸ ἐκ Διὸς ἰδῶρ*, and the original source of Fire being the Sun, Athene is said to have sprung from the head of Zeus. Curious survivals of Tree worship appear to have remained in the form of the earliest images of the gods. At first Zeus was worshipped on mountain tops as the Bright God of the Sky, and had neither temple nor image. But the old deeply-rooted instincts of earlier Animism asserted themselves, and so we find the image of Hera in Samos and at Thespiæ was a mere board, that of Athene Lindia a beam, that of the Attic Pallas a stake, that of the Icarian Artemis a block of wood. The "Asheras" of the Old Testament are thought by not a few to have been similar wooden pillars, and I suspect the Greeks derived the idea from the Phœnicians, with whom it probably originated in Tree worship. An altar was set up under a sacred tree, and a pillar of the sacred wood stood by the altar to represent the god or goddess. It is not so easy to account for the worship of stones. But the fact that several cities claimed to possess "the image which fell down from Jupiter" suggests that these sacred stones were aerolites. Is it altogether fanciful of Dr Arneth to assign a similar origin to the veneration felt for the Scone coronation stone?

The introduction of foreign cults still further multiplied the number of gods, as also the tendency to Anthropomorphism, which grew with the growth of Greek art. The worship of Apollo (the Sun god) and the baser form of Aphrodite worship are traced to the Phœnicians. The shrine at Delphi is said to have been originally dedicated to Gaia (the Earth), which may account for the fact that it was regarded as the centre (*ὀμφαλός*) of the Earth. Arneth supposes it became associated with Apollo somewhat as follows:—Asia minor first received the "mantic art" from the East, and here the earliest Sibylls arose, one of whom at a very early date found her way to Delphi. The Sibylls were special devotees of the Sun-god. Hence Apollo became the presiding deity at Delphi. A special chapter is devoted to the history of the Sibylls and the Delphic oracle, and is full of interest.

The history of Greek religion is carried right down through Plato and Aristotle and the schools of Epicurus and Zeno, to the Sceptics. Then the religion of Rome is briefly traced from Numa Pompilius to its decay at the end of the Republic, and the practical Eclectic philosophy of the cultivated man of that epoch is described. The rise of Cæsar worship is traced not only to Oriental

ideas, but to the sacred rites of the Julian gens, in which the genius of the head of the Family was worshipped, so that this "Gentile" worship of the Julian family was not unnaturally extended to the whole Empire, when the Julii attained supreme power. The utter corruption of morals in the time of the first Cæsars, and men's despairing efforts to find some new and satisfactory religion, as evidenced by the readiness with which all sorts of foreign cults were welcomed in Italy, showed that the Western world was ripe for Christianity. Similar was the moral state of the Jews as described by Josephus. The author devotes one chapter to Judaism, and another to "Jesus Christ and His teaching," though of course these are off the main line of his work, which is only concerned with Christianity in its relation to Paganism. The following passage is indicative of the writer's standpoint: "We must therefore both expect to find, and do find in Jesus Christ 'the Divine,' after which Plato and Cicero . . . yearned, that 'Divine' which every one will interpret for himself in his own way, just as every man will give a different answer to a whole number of transcendental questions." Whatever this may mean, it is followed by a full admission of the fact that our Lord stands morally supreme. The author fails to my mind in his attempt to explain the "darkness" of Calvary by an eclipse of the moon on April 3rd, A.D. 33. For, setting aside the question whether 33 was the year of the Crucifixion, and however inexact the notation of time in the Gospels may be, one can hardly put the hour of our Lord's death early enough in the morning to make such a theory of any use.

In what follows, the account of Constantine is perhaps the most interesting part. His strange mixture of Pagan and Christian ideas is illustrated with great fulness. But one grows weary of the length of the book. In a special work of this kind one does not want such a recapitulation of historical landmarks, which are sure to be familiar to most readers.

J. H. WILKINSON.

Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la Religion d'après la Psychologie et l'Histoire.

*Par Auguste Sabatier. Paris: Libraire Fischbacher, 1897.
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp.
xvi. 416. Price, 6s. 6d.*

FRENCH Protestantism has in recent years made several noteworthy contributions to theological science. This volume, in which the venerable Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris sums up his life-work, is worthy of the special attention of theological thinkers. It is emphatically a modern book, dealing in

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a thoroughgoing fashion with the problems of religion and Christianity which are at this moment pressing for solution. It is, in the best sense of the word, *radical*; it takes us down to the roots of religion in human experience, and to the roots of Christianity in the experience of its Divine Founder. It is at the same time profoundly religious and profoundly Christian; all through the author strikes a positive note. Old positions, tenaciously clung to by traditional orthodoxy, are indeed surrendered, but from beginning to end the volume bears witness to the author's enthusiastic conviction of the supreme truth and worth of the religion of Jesus Christ.

The book is a message for that large class of thoughtful persons who wish to be loyal at once to spiritual ideals and to scientific methods. The author sees no reason why we should be shut up to a choice between the two alternatives—pious ignorance or brutal science. He believes that a loyal love of truth may be in profound harmony with the pure worship of the God who dwells in the heart. Reason need not be sacrificed to faith nor faith sacrificed to reason. It is from this point of view that M. Sabatier has written his "apology." A perusal of the volume has given us the impression that it is one of the most powerful pieces of apologetical work Protestant theology has produced in recent years.

The volume has three main divisions:—First Book—Religion; Second Book—Christianity; Third Book—Dogma.

The first book is divided into four chapters:—1. The Psychological origin and nature of religion; 2. Religion and Revelation; 3. Miracle and Inspiration; 4. The Religious Development of Humanity.

The motto which appears on the title page: *Quid interius Deo?* is specially appropriate to the chapter on the psychology and nature of religion. Religion is an inevitable element in a true human experience, and by religion M. Sabatier means not the institutions of religion, or theological knowledge, but "God felt in the heart." Pascal has drawn out the moral antinomies in human experience; Kant has drawn out its intellectual antinomies—"From this feeling of distress, from this initial contradiction in man's inward life religion is born, from the fissure in the rock springs the vivifying stream" (p. 19). At the beginning of a striking section entitled "Religion the prayer of the heart," religion is thus defined—"a communion—a conscious and voluntary relation—into which the soul in distress enters with the mysterious power on which, it feels, both it and its destiny depend." Prayer—including not only the feeling of dependence, but also the faith which gives birth to liberty and victorious energy—is the heart of religion.

The chapter on Religion and Revelation is introduced by a quotation from Pascal, by whom our author has been deeply

influenced: "Thou wouldst not have sought Me, if thou hadst not already found Me." Religion and revelation are correlative. In all piety, there is a manifestation of God. Prayer implies the presence of God in the heart. The God to whom the prayer is addressed Himself inspires the prayer, and therein reveals Himself to the heart. From this conception of revelation as necessarily involved in religious experience, the mythological and dogmatical conceptions of revelation are criticised. It is shown how in the history of Israel, revelation comes to be conceived less as divination, and more as internal and moral, till in Christ revelation is one with religious experience. The dogmatical conception of revelation—the communication of divine doctrines attested by signs—is shown to overlook the essence of revelation as the manifestation of God's presence in the heart, and to separate God's revelation of Himself from his redeeming and sanctifying action.

The chapter on Miracle and Inspiration has an instructive discussion of the meaning of miracle in antiquity, and in the Middle Ages, and of the attitude of science to miracle. For religion, the value of the notion of miracle is an absolute confidence in the all-Good and all-Powerful God to respond to the prayer of His children, and to deliver them. "The real and active presence of God, the hearing of prayer, the liberty of hope"—these are the three things in which the pious heart is interested, and of which science cannot rob us. The mystery of inspiration is just the mystery of religion itself—the presence of God in the heart. "Religious inspiration is nothing else than the organic penetration of man by God, but by a God altogether inward; so that, when this penetration is complete, man is more really and more fully himself than before. This mysterious action of the Spirit in the heart of humanity may be compared to the action of the solar heat on plants. It is where the heat is strongest that the same plants, which are elsewhere stunted, attain their richest development and their greatest fruitfulness" (p. 100).

In the last chapter of the first book on the Religious Development of Humanity, there is an admirable section on the social element in religion. "Psychology discovers the root of religion, but it is history alone which reveals its power and scope" (p. 103). "The secret of the future of a race is hid in its religion." "There is ever a mutual penetration of social development and religious development." A brief sketch is given of the evolution of religion, with the view of showing that the whole religious history of humanity has been leading up to and preparing for Christ. "The religious evolution is without meaning and aim, or it has its issue in the Gospel of Christ" (p. 132).

The second book, dealing with Christianity, is divided into three

chapters—1. Hebraism or the Beginnings of the Gospel ; 2. The Essence of Christianity ; 3. The Great Historical Forms of Christianity. In the first chapter on Hebraism, M. Sabatier shows how, through its relation to the religion of Israel, Christianity links itself on to the religious evolution of humanity. The work of the prophets stands in specially close relations with the Gospel. "The miracle of the history of Israel is prophecy." Three elements are singled out as the legacy of prophecy to the Gospel—first, mercy joined to a severe ideal of righteousness in the conception of God ; second, morality introduced into religion by the subordination of ceremony to rightness of heart and will ; third, hope of a future of happiness and peace through the realisation of righteousness. On the other hand, these two features of the teaching of the prophets is noticed—first, that the object of God's love is not so much the individual as the elect nation ; and second, that the Jewish nation occupies the place which is given to humanity in Christ's teaching about the Kingdom of God.

The most important chapter in the volume is that which deals with the essence of Christianity. Taken along with the chapter on the psychological origin and nature of religion, it gives the key to our author's whole theological position. Christianity is traced back to the spiritual experience of Christ—His perfect communion with God—the creative and inaugural experience which has been the fountainhead of Christian experience throughout the ages. "Christianity at once ideal (inasmuch as in Christ the ideal of religion as perfect communion with God has been realised) and historical, is indissolubly linked not only to the moral precepts and doctrinal truths of Jesus, but to His person, and to the permanent action of the new spirit which animated Him, and which lives again, from generation to generation, with His disciples" (p. 177). A man is a Christian in the exact measure in which the filial piety of Jesus is reproduced in him. "Those who have thus raised their inward life from the sphere of egoism and pride to the higher sphere of love and life in God, who have found in this profound conversion, along with the pardon and oblivion of their past life, the germ and hope of a higher life, the perfect, and therefore the eternal life, are the true religious offspring of Christ throughout the ages ; they cause His Spirit to live again, they continue His work, they are dependent on Him, and marked with His image like the descendants of an ancestor whose blood and life have never ceased to flow in their veins" (p. 185). Christianity is the absolute and definitive religion of humanity just because in Christ, and those who share His spirit, God and man so mutually penetrate each other that a moral unity of love is attained, in which God becomes inward (*intérieur*) to man and lives in him, and man becomes inward

to God, and finds in God the complete blossoming of his being. The Gospel is the immediate application of the principle of the piety of Jesus to the social life around him. He promulgates no law or dogma, He founds no official institution. He desires above all to awaken the moral life, to draw the soul out of its inertia, break its chains, lighten its burden, and to make it active, free, and fruitful. He considers His work accomplished when He has communicated His own life to those who are dead. Jesus encounters sin with its results in moral degradation and in physical suffering. A double appeal is made upon Him, the voice of the Father in His soul and the plaint of His brothers around Him—a double appeal, which gives birth to His ministry of restoration, comfort, and salvation. This was His vocation as Messiah—the servant of the Lord, bearing the sorrows and sins of His people, stricken and humbled, dying to win for them healing and life. “By His union with the Father, the heir of the past felt Himself the master of the future. On the throne of sacrificial love He has founded a kingdom which shall never have an end. Such is the inward secret of His hope, and the moral and religious meaning of His coming triumph, and of His return in the clouds of heaven” (p. 199).

Just because Christianity is life, and has its seat in the spiritual experience of Christ and His disciples, the Christian scholar may handle the New Testament documents with the freedom of a scientific investigator. He can admit, without prejudice to religious interests, that the words of Christ may have been wrongly interpreted or wrongly recorded, and even that Christ may have shared currently received ideas in the non-religious sphere which are out of harmony with the knowledge of to-day. Again, because Christianity is life, we may expect that in its historical development there will emerge imperfections and errors. “The Christian seed is never sown in a neutral and vacant soil.” The soil is already occupied by ideas, rites, customs, and institutions which react upon the seed. In Judaism, the soil tends to turn Christianity into legalism; in Paganism, the soil tends to localise and materialise God, and to introduce all sorts of intermediaries between the Christian and the Father in Heaven.

In the third chapter of the second book we have a masterly sketch of the three outstanding historical forms in which Christianity has successively manifested itself—Jewish or Messianic Christianity, Catholic Christianity, Protestant Christianity. Catholicism and Protestantism both err in imagining that they reproduce primitive Christianity. Messianic Christianity—distinguished by its acceptance of the authority of the law of Moses, and for a longer period by its apocalyptic element—was a distinct form by itself, which it is impossible to reproduce. In Catholic Christianity

our author notices the influence of Roman organisation and Greek philosophy, and especially the influence of Paganism in materialising the Christian principle. Throughout this part he writes with the suppressed enthusiasm of a French Protestant delivering a message to his own generation. A quotation will indicate his treatment of Protestant Christianity:—"It is not one dogma maintained against another dogma, one church in competition with another church. . . . It is something more and better than a doctrine, it is a method; something more and better than a superior church, it is a new form of piety; it is a different spirit, creating a new world, and inaugurating for religious spirits a new régime. Hence it becomes equally plain that Protestantism cannot be confined or fixed in any definite form. It issues in a variety of formulas, rites, and societies, as necessarily as the Catholic principle issues in unity. One can put no limit to its development. Always inward, invisible, ideal, the religious principle which it represents accompanies the life and activity of the spirit in all the paths which man can try, and in all the progress he can make. Nothing human is foreign to it, nor can it remain foreign (*étranger*) to anything human. It solves the conflict of liberty and authority, as free and orderly governments solve it; it does not suppress either, but reconciles both in reducing authority to its pedagogic rôle, and in giving the Christian spirit to be the soul and inward rule for liberty" (p. 252). In the last section of this chapter there are some eloquent paragraphs, in which M. Sabatier gives expression to his conviction of the mighty influence which Christianity, rightly understood, is to exercise upon the whole social development of humanity in the coming century.

The third book or Dogma is divided into four chapters:—1. What is a dogma? 2. The life of Dogmas, and their historical evolution; 3. The Science of Dogmas; 4. The Critical theory of religious knowledge.

One might complain of a slight lack of orderly arrangement of the material in this part of the volume, but there is throughout a wealth of suggestive discussion.

Dogma merits neither apotheosis nor anathema. The real root of dogma is to be found in religious experience. Dogma and religious experience go together, just as language and thought; but as thought is the *prius* of language, so is religious experience the *prius* of dogma. Dogma is the language which faith speaks. It is sometimes said that because Christianity is life, it is therefore not doctrine. The contrary is true, that Christianity is doctrine just because it is life. A religious life which does not express itself cannot know itself, and cannot communicate itself. If thought needs language, so does Christian life need dogma. But dogmas are

not immutable. In every dogma there is, in addition to the religious element, an element supplied by the philosophy and science of the day, as, for example, in the dogmas about the creation, the history of humanity, and the Descent into Hades. Revision of dogma is therefore indispensable. "Except it die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." In the last chapter we have an application of the critical principles of Kant to the whole question of religious knowledge—as the true cure for dogmatic pride and the true foundation for tolerance and humility. This chapter reveals strong affinities with the Ritschlian School.

The bare abstract we have here given of the topics treated in M. Sabatier's volume gives no adequate impression of its wealth of thought and brilliance of expression. Sentences like these are abundant: "A man is an atheist only with regard to his neighbour's God" (p. 28); "A man must first mock himself before he can mock God" (p. 28). With reference to the religion of humanity which Comte felt compelled to establish in later years, we have this remark: "It is said that those who have undergone amputation sometimes feel lively itchings in the limbs they have lost: Auguste Comte and his disciples have experienced something similar" (p. 11). "One cannot believe in himself without believing in God; one cannot believe in God without finding Him in self" (p. 365); "Orthodoxy is mistaken about the nature of the *body* of religion, rationalism is mistaken about the nature of its *spirit*" (p. 407). "It is the chief weakness and misfortune of rationalism to be anti-religious" (p. 408).

Each chapter, it should be added, is provided with a bibliography—full in respect of French and German works, somewhat scantier in respect of English works.

D. M. Ross.

The Times of Christ.

By Rev. L. A. Muirhead, M.A., Broughty-Ferry. Edinburgh:
T. & T. Clark. 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 179. Price, 2s.

MR MUIRHEAD'S *Times of Christ* is a welcome addition to the *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* edited by Dr Dods and Dr Whyte. The first part is historical, and narrates the course of events that led to the situation of affairs in Palestine with which the Gospel period opens. Part II. deals with the secular life of the Jews, social features, local government, and the parties in Church and State; while Part III., the most important of all, discusses the expectations current among the Jews regarding the Messiah and the growth of the Messianic idea. The author is

well read in the literature of the subject, and brings a ripe scholarship and independent judgment to bear on the settlement of the difficult points that meet the inquirer in this region. The literary ability of the book is conspicuous, although here and there one desiderates a more simple style to obviate the necessity of reading a sentence twice to take in the full sense. The book will be found most valuable in introducing the student to the many matters of interest bearing on the understanding of the Gospels of which it treats, and in helping to right judgments regarding them.

D. SOMERVILLE.

Bible Class Primers: The Miracles of Our Lord.

By Rev. Prof. J. Laidlaw, D.D., New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 93. Price, 6d. Cloth covers, 8d.

DR LAIDLAW explains, in a prefatory note, that this Primer is in substance, though in greatly reduced form, an adaptation of the author's larger work on the miracles of our Lord. It is a marvel for the amount of matter compressed into small bulk. The style is clear and terse, and the spirit is warm and evangelical. Others besides teachers of Bible classes will be grateful to the author for this little book. It will be found of great use by preachers as well. The evangelical lesson of each of the parables is set forth in a few pointed sentences that suggest as much as they explicitly state. Occasionally one desiderates a word of explanation. What, for example, does the author mean by saying that storms, earthquakes, famines, &c., are part of the "disorder that *sin* has brought into God's creation"? (p. 40). Again, what do the words mean with which he winds up his account of the miracle wrought on the man born blind—"the whole chapter shows modern criticism its own portrait"? Modern criticism includes many varieties. Of which of these is this chapter the portrait? It is a pity Dr Laidlaw should seem to countenance the prejudice "against modern criticism" by language of this kind.

D. SOMERVILLE.

Christian Conduct: a Further Study of New Testament Morality.

By Rev. T. B. Kilpatrick, B.D., Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 145. Price, 6d. Cloth covers, 8d.

THIS forms the second part of Mr Kilpatrick's "Study of Christian Morality," and is a most admirable piece of work. It covers the whole ground of Christian duty, and contains a mass of most valu-

able ethical teaching. An enumeration of the subjects included will give an idea of its completeness:—The family, the work of life, social relations, law of love, the State, the Church. Each of these receives a treatment that is both full and exact, while the spirit of the whole is elevating and impressive. Nothing could be more suitable for the purpose of an advanced Bible class. We trust that Mr Kilpatrick will expand and work up the material contained in these two primers, and give us a book on Christian ethics, such as is needed.

D. SOMERVILLE.

The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch.

By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. New Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 288. \$1.75.

DR BRIGGS has given us a new edition, enlarged and thoroughly revised, of the volume on the Hexateuch which he wrote about five years ago as a kind of Apologia for his opinions, rendered necessary at the time "in the circumstances in which the author was placed" (vii.). Among the now numerous books on the Hexateuch written from the critical point of view, we do not know anyone more likely than this to meet the wants of the general public, for whom, "rather than for Hebrew students," the author says this work is intended. It is especially interesting as a history of opinion on the subject. The tale of the rise and progress of the Higher Criticism, of the introduction and modification of the various hypotheses, and of the gradual convergence of opinions as to the historical sequence of the laws and narratives of the Hexateuch, is told with much spirit and ample learning. "As the work of criticism has advanced," says the writer, "the concord of critics has steadily increased, and differences have disappeared with every fresh effort." He gives a list of 45 living German scholars who are essentially agreed as to the critical analysis of the Hexateuch—10 French, 6 Dutch, 22 British, and 20 American (144-5). Since the first edition of this work, Dr Green has given a list of anti-critics as an offset to the list of critics, but Dr Briggs points out that Dr Green can produce on his side the names of only four professional Old Testament scholars—Bissell, Mead, Vos and himself. "The roll of professional scholars leaves Dr Green in such a contemptible minority that, if it were not for his dogmatic environment, he could hardly have the face to advise the Old Testament scholars of the world 'to revise their ill-judged alliance with the enemies of evangelical truth'" (145). The author has frequent

occasion to refer to Dr Green in the new parts of his book, and always does so with a certain severity. Perhaps he is too severe when he says that Dr Green "has studied the whole question as counsel for the defence of the traditional theories, and not as a seeker after the truth and the facts of the case" (98). Be that as it may, Dr Briggs is certainly no mere "naturalist," and no enemy of evangelical truth. He dissociates himself explicitly from "the rationalism and unbelief that characterise Kuenen, Wellhausen and Reuss" (95). He regards the Mosaic legislation as "a divine ideal, a supernaturally revealed instruction, to guide the people of Israel throughout their history, and lead them to the Prophet greater than Moses who was to fulfil and complete his legislation" (161). The apologetic aim of the book adds to its general interest. Dr Briggs has formed his opinions very deliberately. "In 1866 it was the author's privilege to study with Hengstenberg," and at that time his studies were, of course, on the orthodox side. But the champion of traditionalism shook his faith. "Hengstenberg convinced him in his own lecture-room that he was defending a lost cause" (62). Since then he has advanced steadily and slowly, by constant revision and rectification of his opinions, until he has attained the results stated in this volume (viii.).

The book presents a clear and forcible statement of the leading critical arguments from language, from differences of style, from parallel narratives, from Biblical theology and the witness of history; and on all these points the writer has much that is fresh and suggestive to say. Nobody is better entitled than Dr Briggs to press the argument from language, for he has been engaged for many years on the work of the new Hebrew Lexicon, in the course of which he has found fresh evidence in favour of the critical view constantly appearing (69). A considerable amount of the evidence he has gathered into the present volume; and this word-study is in fact the writer's original contribution to the problem of the Hexateuch. Chap. VII., in which thirty characteristic words are carefully examined, their presence in or absence from the different documents, J, E, D and P, tabulated, and the exact number of their occurrences generally noted, shows the critic's faculty for taking infinite pains. But having the general public in view, he has reserved a large amount of technical matter for an appendix, "which thus becomes a volume by itself" (100 pages). Some of the twelve sections of this appendix, in particular one on the Genesis of the Ten Words or Commandments; another on the Greater Book of the Covenant and its parallels in the other Codes; and a third on the Types of Hebrew Law as seen in Word, Commandment, Statute, Judgment and Torah, are of much interest and value as the fruits of the research and reflection of a strong

and independent mind. The "characteristic type" of the Words, in the Decalogue and elsewhere, is the second person singular of the verb; and Dr Briggs thinks it improbable that the fourth and fifth Words of the Decalogue originally differed from the normal type. It is easy to find the original Word IV.: "Thou shalt not do any work on the Sabbath Day"; and the original Word V. was probably, "Thou shalt not set light by thy father and thy mother." This is conjectural, but the critic is on surer ground when he demonstrates that each of the four writings which constitute our Pentateuch has enriched the Ten Words and enlarged their interpretation. "The Divine Spirit has inspired the several writers, each in his own way, to illustrate and enforce them by specifications, reasons and exhortations." It would be a serious loss if we were deprived of any of these (186).

In a long and skilful analysis of the Greater Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx. 20-xxiii. 33), Dr Briggs elaborates the idea of Bertheau and Ewald that this primitive code consists of a series of pentades, or groups of five commands, and decalogues, or groups of ten. He finds in it (1) two pentades and one decalogue of Words (דברים) of the type just mentioned) regarding *worship* (Ex. xx. 23-26; xxii. 27-29; xxiii. 10-19), and two pentades regarding *social duty* (xxiii. 1-3, 6-9). In addition to these it contains (2) laws of another type, משפטים, the judgments or decisions of cases by a שופט, governor or judge. Of these he finds two pentades and three decalogues (xxi. 2-11; xxi. 37-xxii. 3; xxi. 2-11; xxi. 26-36; xxii. 6-16). One is at first suspicious that a little violence is being done to some of the verses to get them fitted into these frames, but the idea is plausible and the reasoning forcible; and even if some of the details may not be properly adjusted, the author deserves credit for a very acute and ingenious piece of analysis.

Among the best things in the book are the numerous fresh renderings of passages under discussion, which serve to show that a good deal might still be done, especially by bold modernising, to bring out the meaning of the original more clearly than the Revisers have succeeded in doing. It deserves to be noted that as regards some vexed questions Dr Briggs is essentially conservative: he stands up for the historicity of Chronicles (115); holds that the Redactors of the Hexateuch were inspired (160); and maintains that "the temple of Solomon is easier to explain on the basis of the Tabernacle of Moses than the latter on the basis of the former" (116). There are slight misprints: יכה for יכה at p. 217; Word V. for IV. at p. 187; and חש'י has a point too many at p. 215.

JAMES STRACHAN.

1. The Exile and the Restoration.

By A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark 1897. Pp. 115. Price 6d., or in cloth, 8d.

2. Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments.

Rede zur Rektoratsfeier des Jahres 1896 und zur Einweihung der neuen Basler Universitätsbibliothek am 6. November gehalten von B. Duhm. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams and Norgate. 1897. 8vo, pp. 31. Price, M.0.60.

3. The Prophets of Israel.

By Prof. C. H. Cornill. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company; London: 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E.C. 1897. Pp. xiv. 194. Price, 25 cents.

4. Heilige Schrift und Kritik.

Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der heiligen Schrift, insonderheit Alten Testaments, von Dr Wilhelm Volck, Dorpat. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert (George Böhme). 1897. 8vo, pp. x. 216. Price, M.3.25.

1. The editor of the *Bible Class Primers* could not have made a happier selection than that of Professor A. B. Davidson, to deal with the difficult subject of the Exile and the Restoration of Israel. The author's rare insight and ability to grasp and to portray a historical situation, evidence themselves in his account of the reforms of Josiah, which failed because "they had been imposed by authority, they were not the effect of a rising tide of conviction in the hearts of the people generally." The two religions of Jehovah that prevailed side by side in Israel—the pure religion of Mosaic Israel, and the debased religion arising through amalgamation with the native population—are shown to furnish the key to the understanding of much of the history and of the activity of the prophets. The real significance of the "false prophets" is explained, and there is no explanation more needed in some quarters. As to prophecy in general, our author, while rejecting the old view which identified it with the prediction of future events, shows that this view has important elements of truth in it. "The prophet's face was always turned to the future." While the scope of his book prevents our looking for many references to questions of literary or historical criticism, we yet gather some indications of Professor Davidson's opinions on these. He regards the Book of Lamentations as "the work of an eye-witness of the last days of the siege" (p. 35), but "it is not the

work of a great prophet, but comes from the heart of the people" (p. 53). We may call attention also to the footnote on p. 79 and the final note (p. 115), in which the current controversies are dealt with concerning the date of the founding of the temple, and the part played respectively by the returned exiles and by the remnant that had been left in the land. The spiritual significance and influence, both of the Exile and the Restoration, are traced in the way we have learned to expect from Professor Davidson. "The destruction of the State was the greatest step towards Christianity taken since the Exodus. . . . The death of the people was the birth of the individual, and the ruin of the State the rise of the Church." The rise of the Synagogue is sketched and the activity of the new institution of the Scribes, in connection with which the caution is given that "we must beware of identifying the Judaism of Ezra's time and the centuries which followed with the official Judaism reflected in the New Testament."

Perhaps the most striking feature of this little book is the amount of what we might call *suppressed erudition* it displays. There is the danger that its unpretentious form and style may cause this to be overlooked in some quarters, but all who know anything of the multiplicity of problems connected with the period of history discussed, will gladly recognise that in Professor Davidson they have a guide who has thoroughly explored the whole field. The utility of the text-book is enhanced by a map of "Assyria and the Adjacent Lands" and by a Plan (provisional) of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah.

2. This is a lecture, delivered on the 6th November 1896, by Professor Duhm of Basel, on the occasion of the opening of the new University Library there. It sets forth in popular language, but with scientific exactness, the views of its author regarding the formation of the "library" of the Old Testament. From a careful examination of the well-known passage in 2 Mac. ii., Duhm infers that while a "library" practically identical with the present Old Testament existed then (second century B.C.), the conception of a Canon was as yet strange, or, at most, that only the Torah was included in such a category, all else was fluid and unsettled. In speaking of the date when writing became current in Israel, Duhm emphasizes a consideration which is often overlooked in discussions about the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. A book requires not only an author to write it, but *a public to read it*. Granted that Moses knew the art of *writing*, is it in the least likely that the nomadic hordes of Israel knew the art of *reading*? A very interesting while necessarily rapid survey is taken of the various stages through which the formation of the Old Testament literature passed—beginning with compositions like the Song of Deborah,

"by far the most valuable pre-Davidic historical document," which must have circulated orally long before being written down, till we come upon the work of royal "recorders," or the chronicles preserved by priestly families, both of which supplied materials for the historical books. The work of the prophets and the influence of Deuteronomy, "at once the destroyer and the saviour of Judah," the editing that went on during the exile, the introduction of the Law by Ezra in 432 B.C., the work of the Chronicler, the weight allowed respectively to the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa—all these points are summarily but exhaustively discussed. Although the process of Canon-forming may appear to be a purely human one, Duhm believes that "the hand of that God, whose working the prophets saw and felt in history, has worked also in connection with the history of the collecting of these books, without which, not to speak of Judaism and Mohammedanism, there would have been no Christianity."

3. Some three years ago Professor Cornill of Königsberg delivered at Frankfort-on-the-Main a course of lectures on Hebrew Prophecy. These were intended for educated laymen rather than professional theologians. When afterwards published, the little book met with a warm welcome, and we have often wondered that long ere now it was not translated into English. In the First Lecture, Cornill discusses such points as the derivation of נָבִי (prophet) and the contrast between prophecy as it had its home in Israel and amongst other peoples. The Second Lecture traces the prophetic activity from the beginning of *written* prophecy to the death of Hezekiah. Amos has for his watchword *righteousness*, Hosea *love*, Isaiah and Micah have each their characteristics, which are firmly grasped. Hosea and Jeremiah seem to be our author's favourites, the latter prophet's teaching being in his estimation surpassed only by that of Jesus. Jonah, the last constituent of the prophetic literature, also receives an enthusiastic eulogium. "In it Hebrew prophecy leaves the field a conqueror, and that in the hardest struggle, *the struggle against itself*."

We have the utmost confidence in recommending this brilliant little work to the attention of all who desire to know what the prophets really were, and what their message meant. The translation, where we have verified it, is upon the whole accurate, and reads smoothly. Perhaps it errs a little upon the side of freeness, thus missing occasionally the fine point of the original. Of actual mistakes we need note only one. On p. 8, l. 7 from bottom, "word" is not the correct translation of "Sache," and its use obscures the argument of Cornill, which is not so much that the *word* nābî is of foreign origin, as that *prophecy itself* is not specifically of Israelitish origin.

4. Professor Volck of Dorpat is well known as a competent scholar, with somewhat conservative leanings. The latter circumstance does not, however, interfere with his fairness and candour. In the work before us he cheerfully acknowledges how much he has learned from opponents, and not a discourteous word does he utter in the course of his long investigation. His object, he explains, is not to convince those who are thoroughly committed to theories like Wellhausen's, but to help those who feel as if they were compelled reluctantly to accept of such theories, and at the same time to throw light upon some questions which divide scholars who occupy the same general standpoint as himself. The book opens with a careful historical inquiry into the various doctrines that have prevailed at different times regarding Scripture and its interpretation. There need be no hesitation about pronouncing this an extremely valuable dissertation. Our author shows himself equally at home in traversing the barren wastes of apostolic tradition and allegorical exegesis, in sketching the attitude of the Reformers to Scripture, in describing the degeneration which marked the exegesis of the seventeenth century, in tracing the rise of rationalism, and in estimating the work of the "positive believing" school. When he comes to state his own position, we welcome his distinction between Revelation and Scripture, his vigorous defence of Textual Criticism and the necessity of investigating the history of the Canon, and his masterly exhibition of the hopeless inconsistency and helplessness of the champions of verbal inspiration. "We are Christians, not because we believe in the Bible, but because we believe in Christ." He has no faith in determining the canonicity of a book simply by the *testimonium spiritus sancti*.

After stating his general principles, which seem for the most part unexceptionable, Volck proceeds to show their working in concrete instances. In the patriarchs he sees historical characters, and in the early narratives of Genesis finds more real history than some who are by no means extreme critics would be prepared to allow. His argument shows, however, intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and is always interesting, if not convincing. On the important subject of Hexateuchal criticism, Volck regrets the suspicion with which some defenders of the faith view the literary analysis of the narratives. For himself, he accepts as a matter of course the main results of such analysis, while protesting against the confidence with which some distribute the material between J¹, J², E¹, E², etc. Nor does he see any danger to Biblical theology in denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, in accepting of Deutero-Isaiah and the Maccabæan date of Daniel, or in rejecting most of the titles of the Psalms. The main part of the

work is naturally devoted to a critical examination of Wellhausen's position, and we trust we shall not be accused of presumption in pronouncing that Volck has failed in all his chief assaults on the Göttingen critic. It is too late in the day to offer us such a beautifully harmonistic explanation of Ex. xx. 24 f.; nor can we pronounce a more favourable verdict on his argument for the existence of the Tabernacle of the Priests' Code, his remarks on the attitude of the prophets to sacrifice, or his attempt to discover in Hos. viii. 12 an acquaintance with a Deuteronomic Torah. If what Professor Volck says on these points is the best that can be said from his standpoint (and we believe it is), the Göttingen flag will not be hauled down for a while yet. At the same time, we have read the book with the utmost pleasure, and we feel sure that no reader will fail to learn much from a work whose tone is so admirable, and whose arrangement and style are a model for German writers.

J. A. SELBIE.

God the Creator and Lord of All

By Samuel Harris, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Yale. 2 vols. 1897. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. x. 597, 576. Price, 16s.

DR SAMUEL HARRIS has a distinguished position among the theologians of America. His name is also held in honour among the discerning on this side of the Atlantic. He has earned the high reputation which he enjoys by the production of a series of writings projected on the scale of the great systems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but modern in their spirit and scientific in their method. In his *Philosophic Basis of Theism* he has made a weighty contribution to the Theistic argument. In his *Self-Revelation of God* he has continued the preparation for a constructive statement of doctrine. These volumes are of large scope and massive make. We know of no more adequate or better reasoned treatises on the great Apologetic questions with which they deal. They are written with remarkable logical power, and with the grasp of one who knows both the philosophy and the science of his time. With conspicuous ability and patience they work out a connected, rational account of the questions which lie at the foundations of a Christian Theology, and they do this in a way suitable to the form which these questions have taken in our own day. They have been a great help to many minds, and have won a place which they are not likely to lose for a long time in the literature of their subjects.

The ground having been cleared and preliminary questions dis-

posed of in these volumes, Dr Harris now addresses himself to the Christian doctrines themselves. In these new volumes he gives a systematic statement of the Christian conception of God, arranging his matter in four parts. In the first, which has the title *God the One absolute Spirit*, he deals with God as the absolute Being, in His self-existence, omnipresence, eternity, plenitude; then with God as Spirit, possessed of reason, will, and feeling. From this he proceeds to unfold a system of Theodicy, and next takes up the doctrine of the Trinity, in its philosophical and its practical significance. In Part II., which is entitled *God the Creator*, he goes into a careful examination of the idea of creation, the cosmogony of Genesis, the speculative objections, and the Biblical statement in three forms. In Part III., which has the heading *God the Lord of All in Providential Government*, he discusses in the same way God's Government in its generic significance, and His Providential Government in respect, first, of its universality, and, second, of its relations to Sin and to Redemption. An acute and interesting chapter on Special Providence brings this Part to a close. Part IV., which is designated *God the Lord of All in Moral Government*, opens with an important discussion of moral character, what it means, how it begins, and how it develops. This is followed by a series of chapters dealing mainly with the ethical side of doctrine—the principle of the Law, the essential and distinctive characteristic of sin, the nature of Christian love, the rules of duty, love as benevolence and as righteousness, love as manifested in trust and service, duties to God and to man in his relation to God, the distribution of duties to men, and the sanction of the law. The conclusion of the whole is an exposition of the Christian doctrine of civil government.

The volumes, therefore, form part, and a large part, of a complete system of theology. They will be followed, we hope, by others devoted particularly to the questions of grace, and giving the constructive statement of the Christian doctrine of Redemption, as also that of the Last Things. These topics are not left untouched in the present volumes. Dr Harris comes across them at more than one point of his argument, and has much of value to say of them. But they require larger and more special treatment, and there are hints that they will receive that. But so far as these volumes go, they do much not only to establish the great Christian verities and to define them in the light of modern knowledge and experience, but also to give each its proper place in a co-ordinate system. They are written, too, with a healthy and invigorating sense of the possibility of attaining positive truth, and of expressing it in terms that will satisfy reason. At each step in his construction Dr Harris shows not only how the truth with which he is dealing has its foundations in

the Word of God, but how it can be set forth rationally and defended philosophically. Dr Harris is not of those who doubt or deny the possibility of having any real and immediate knowledge of God and things divine. That way of thinking is popular at present. Large and powerful schools are engaged in the formation and vindication of a version of Christian truth ruled by it. Its spell is upon many minds. We could wish that this strong and stimulating work might find many readers among those under the influence of these schools.

The opening chapters of Dr Harris's treatise have a two-fold value. They give a welcome and useful summary of important positions which are worked out at length in his previous volumes, and for this many will be grateful. They give also an able defence of theology as a science; a notable exposition of the relative claims and positions of Revelation, Belief, and Reason; and instructive discussions of nature and the supernatural, as also of the ideas of transcendence and immanence. On the last of these subjects he has some just remarks on the tendency which has shown itself to "isolate either the transcendence or the immanence," and on the necessity of recognising both in every revelation which God makes of Himself, "not only in the evolution of the universe and its greater cosmic agency, but also in every individual thing that lives or moves." The whole question of Revelation and the Bible receives very satisfactory treatment. Revelation is to Dr Harris primarily a manifestation of God in historic action, and it is of reason to reason. The difficulties sometimes felt on this subject are removed, as he puts it, "when we return to the fundamental position that God reveals Himself primarily by what He does in the constitution and evolution of the physical universe, in the constitution of man, and in his progressive education and development. The Bible is then seen to be the record of the special line of God's action redeeming men from sin and developing His Kingdom, which was intended to issue, and in the fulness of time did issue, in the coming of Christ, and has been perpetuated through all subsequent ages in the Holy Spirit. What God reveals is primarily Himself, the living and loving God, acting in the universe and among and upon men. He reveals truth only in a secondary sense; for the truth revealed is simply man's intellectual apprehension of what God really is and does as He has revealed and is revealing Himself in His action, and pre-eminently in His action redeeming men from sin and developing His kingdom of righteousness and good-will as recorded in the Bible." And Revelation thus understood is in fit relation to reason. That the two are incompatible or contradictory, is a false assumption. There are those who disparage human reason, "as if reason were silenced in the presence of revelation."

there are others who reject revelation, "as if revelation were silenced in presence of reason." Both are equally wrong. The "revelation is the revelation of the highest reason to rational man. Man as rational must receive and interpret it. Neither is sufficient of itself. Revelation is of reason to reason." These sentences indicate the views on which Dr Harris proceeds, and the kind of system he expects to construct.

Dr Harris's discussion of the Divine Attributes deserves attention. Referring to the different classifications of the Attributes which have been given by theologians, he prefers one based on the two aspects of God's being as the absolute Spirit. "By unfolding what God is as the absolute Being, so far as He has revealed Himself, we get one class of His attributes. By unfolding what He is as absolute Spirit, so far as He has revealed Himself, we get another class of His attributes. These would comprehend all which we can know of what God is in Himself." That may be granted. A classification of this kind, however, tends to an inconveniently abstract presentation of the Divine Attributes, and this is felt in the very able pages of the first volume which are devoted to the question. It seems to us to be greatly inferior in more than one respect to the classification that takes for its basis the idea of a Personal God as the highest doctrine of Deity and co-ordinates the Divine Attributes with the several constituents of Personality. Perhaps the most striking thing in this part of Dr Harris's work is the section given to the Divine Knowledge. Here he is at his best all through, and most particularly when he has to deal with the alleged incompatibility of God's foreknowledge of human actions with free will. He enters into a masterly examination of the positions of theologians like C. H. Weisse and Richard Rothe, and of the various arguments advanced in support of the denial of an absolute foreknowledge in God. It is said that to suppose God to foreknow the acts of rational agents is to ascribe to Him something inconsistent with free will both in Himself and in man. To the one side of this assertion, Dr Harris replies, that "God has, in the light of eternal reason, the archetypal ideal of all perfection and well-being possible in a finite universe, and He is immanently active in the universe in the progressive realisation of this ideal. His knowledge of the thoughts, actions, and characters of his rational creatures is no hindrance to His continued action among and on them in the fulness of His love." And he illustrates this by the simple analogy of an architect who plans a building to its minutest details, and makes every arrangement for the execution of the plan. "If he could foresee," he says, "with absolute certainty that he would procure the necessary material, employ and direct skilled workmen, and finish the building as planned to its minutest details, this would not supersede his own

continuous activity in its erection, nor hinder the constant exercise of his free will in his work, but would stimulate and encourage him in it. And if this is true, even of a finite man, much more is it possible for the infinite God. He has in His mind the archetypal plan of the universe, He knows that the universe will be developed in accordance with it, and He is continually active in progressively realising it. And all His action is in the continuous exercise of His own free will in free accordance with His eternal free choice of the archetypal ideal of the universe, to be realised in its creation and evolution."

On the other side of this alleged contradiction he replies, in the second place, that, instead of annulling or abridging the free agency of men, God's foreknowledge of their rational acts rather "insures and perpetuates it." Otherwise we should have to say that God's ideal fails of its realisation. In point of fact, the denial of God's foreknowledge involves the mistake that knowledge and causal efficiency are identical. But "the subjective certainty of any mind that an event will happen exerts no causal energy in causing or hindering it." As Dr Harris points out, it is true to-day that certain acts will be done to-morrow, and it remains true whether it is known by any mind or not. "If any mind obtains to-day subjective certainty that this is true, the certainty does not in the least affect the freedom of the agents. The futuration of the event is objectively certain, whether any mind knows it or not. The subjective certainty of a mind that discovers it does not make the futuration of the event any more sure and fixed than it was before. But according to Rothe, this fixed objective certainty or futuration of an act destroys its freedom. It necessarily would follow that all future acts of free agents are necessary and under fate, whether any mind foreknows them or not."

What Dr Harris has to say on Sin, the Kenotic Theory, the hypothesis of an Incarnation apart from the necessities of a Redemption, the Doctrine of Creation, and many other subjects, will be found suggestive, though in some cases his statements will provoke dissent. One of the weightiest sections of the second volume is the one dealing with the *Sanction of the Law*. The whole statement of the subject of *penalty* deserves close attention. But if we were asked to say which of all Dr Harris's discussions seems to us the best, we should prefer, on the whole, that on the *Trinity*. There is more of the directly Biblical element here than elsewhere, while at the same time the position to be claimed for this doctrine in the forecourts of reason, philosophy and history is expounded with great fulness and precision. The history of the technical terms which have been used of the Trinity, the objections that justly apply to certain forms of the doctrine, the concessions of

Unitarian and other schools of thought, the practical worth of the doctrine and the connection it has had with the life of the Church, are handled with like ability and fairness. But Dr Harris is at his strongest when he comes to the philosophical significance of the doctrine, and shows how the Christian idea of a Trinitarian God "presents to the intellect the clearest, most comprehensive, and reasonable idea of God and of His relation to the universe." Other conceptions of God fail in different ways and measures to comprehend in unity both sides of His being as absolute Spirit. But the Trinity as revealed in Christ "presents, as no other conception of God does, the full-orbed idea of God as at once the absolute and the personal Spirit."

These volumes form one of the most important contributions which have been made to doctrinal theology by American scholars in recent years. They should have the attention of many readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Cyprian : His Life, His Times, His Work

By Edward White Benson, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xxxvii. 636. Price, 21s.

It is not often that a book comes before the world under circumstances so pathetic as those which have surrounded the publication of Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian*. It would have been strangely appropriate if he who in his *Cyprian* speaks to us as the historian of the most important ante-Nicene Councils had been spared to preside a second time over the assembly of English-speaking bishops, and to guide their deliberations *de unitate*. Thoughts like these are naturally suggested by the book itself. It is essentially a living book, nor can it be understood unless we realise that in it we have a ruler of the Church, absorbed in the problems of the present, seeking guidance for their solution in the interpretation of the past.

Three characteristics lie on the surface of the book, each of which claims attention.

(a) The first thing which strikes the reader is the *maturity* of the work. It has slowly grown. "At Trinity Lightfoot and I read the *De Unitate* together on Sunday evenings in my Freshman's term." "Thirty years ago," his son tells us, "when he was headmaster of Wellington College, he . . . resolved . . . to undertake some definite work, which might provide both a contrast to and an illus-

tration of modern tendencies and recent problems." The firstfruit of these Cyprianic studies appeared some ten years later (1877) in the article on Cyprian in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. "More than fifteen years before" the completion of the book, the Archbishop's son tells us how, "when he was at Truro, he [came] out of his study one evening, and announced that his Cyprian was 'practically finished.'" On Sunday, March 22nd, 1896, the Archbishop notes in his diary: "Have now practically finished a big book." These dates, records of a slowly ripening harvest, are significant. This courageous patience was characteristic of that remarkable group of Cambridge men to which Dr Benson belonged. The Preface to Bishop Lightfoot's *Ignatius* opens with the remark, "The subject has been before me for nearly thirty years." Bishop Westcott describes one of his most characteristic commentaries—that on the Epistles of St John—as "the accomplishment of a dream of early youth." The Biography of Dr Hort has impressively reminded us how, almost since undergraduate days, he and his coadjutor had built up, stage by stage, their work on the Text of the New Testament. No band of scholars ever clung so fearlessly to the motto, "Ohne Hast, ohne Rast." It is, of course, true that such deliberateness in literary work, when the actual composition of the book is spread over so many years, must have some drawbacks. The ideal of the writer grows with his work. The earlier portion can be only relatively "up to date." Of this danger the Archbishop was himself conscious. "If the earlier part of this Life," he says in the Preface, "is somewhat thin, that is because I have not thought it worth while to bring up its *primitiæ* to the same level and same fulness as those days of Cyprian when the real problems of Church and World were upon him and he wrestling with them." We may regret, perhaps, that the space devoted to the "refutation and overthrow" of the now forgotten Rev. E. J. Shepherd was not given to the discussion, for example, of more recent work on the subject of the Christian ministry. But the gain of such patience and self-restrained care in the book as a whole is out of all proportion to the loss in matters of detail. The investigation which is simply "up to date" may be of ephemeral interest. It is the independent, well-considered treatment of great questions and of momentous historical epochs at the hands of a finished workman which is of permanent value, and endures as a conspicuous cornerstone in the growing fabric of knowledge. Archbishop Benson's work will live, as that of Archbishop Ussher and that of Bishop Pearson have lived.

(b) Among English theologians it often happens that the work of the specialist is sadly hindered by the press of practical duties; but it is also quickened and disciplined by these. The judgment of a

recluse on the opportunities, motives, and methods of Cyprian would probably have been very different from that which we find in this book. We have here a man of affairs, whose life was spent in dealing with men and in guiding the work of a great historic Church, following with extraordinary care the career of a leader of men at a great crisis of the Church's and the world's history. I do not think that the Archbishop is ever guilty of adding even a shade of colour to his picture of the past in order to create a likeness to our own days. But, as he says, he has "not ever been unmindful of the present," and we feel that Carthage in the third century is not so very widely sundered from Canterbury in the nineteenth. Thus (p. 241) he speaks of "Carthage, in some respects so like England, with its blended races, its contracted home, world-wide intercourse, and ready interest in theories which had their birth elsewhere." It is curious too to stumble upon a note (p. 245, n. 4) which explains the origin of the epigrammatic title of a former book of the Archbishop's—*Christ and His Times*—in which such modern problems as "Suffering Populations" are discussed. Pontius, the earliest biographer of Cyprian, used the phrase, "Fulness belongs to the times of Christ"—"cuius [sc. Christi] temporibus plenitudo debetur." The Archbishop held with Sir J. R. Seeley that "history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object." The book, as a whole, cannot be rightly understood unless it is regarded as in some sense a *concio ad clerum*.

(c) "It is the most marked characteristic of the Cambridge school that it starts from a basis of first-rate classical scholarship." These are the generous words of Dr Sanday in an article on Bishop Lightfoot, published in the *Expositor* many years ago. I may be pardoned for quoting here a few words from a letter of Dr Hort's (*Biography*, i. p. 232). Speaking of the Trinity Fellowship examination of 1852, Dr Hort writes: "In Classics Lightfoot was of course first, and Benson second, chiefly, I believe, from a beautiful translation of 'Then quickly rose Sir Bedivere, and ran' in *Morte d'Arthur*, into Greek Hexameters.¹ I gather that I was third in Classics." *Cyprian* is emphatically the work of a trained scholar. This is clear in every line—in the neatness and forceful ease of the translations; in the careful study of words and idioms contained in the foot-notes; in the discussion of matters of text; not least in the appreciative remarks on Cyprian's style, and its contrast to that of "his master," Tertullian. But with the Archbishop, as with his two friends just mentioned,

¹ They will be found in *Arundines Cami*, p. 313. Lovers of Latin verse may remember a copy of Elegiacs, a translation of Gray's, '*Twas on a lofty vase's side*, signed E. W. B., and done, I believe, in the examination for the Chancellor's Medals, 1852.

scholarship was used as a key to knowledge. His book is full of learning, often curious and recondite; a storehouse of material, new and old, gradually brought together from many different quarters.

There is no characteristic of the best recent work on the New Testament and on Church history more striking and more hopeful than the scientific precision, and therefore the picturesqueness, which it has gained from the study of inscriptions and of archæology. Now, for the first time, the life of Cyprian, and the many collateral subjects which gather round it, receive systematic illustration from this source. Thus, to take some examples of different kinds, a curious use of *perferre* in one of Cyprian's letters (*coronam non potuisse perferre*, the accusative expressing the object to be attained), of which Forcellini does not give an example, is paralleled from an inscription found at Lambæsis: "Conjugis absentis *reditum perferre* nequisti," of a lady dying before her husband's return (p. 223, n.). Again, the Roman confessor, Celerinus, had two sisters who fell away in the persecution (Ep. xxi. 3); of them he writes: "*istis sororibus nostris Numeriæ et Candidæ. . . Nam hanc ipsam Etecusam semper appellavi . . . quia pro se dona numeravit ne sacrificaret.*" The passage has been felt to be unintelligible, and several emendations have been suggested for *Etecusam* (for which the only variant is *et recusam*). Dr Benson changes chaos to cosmos by (1) showing that the name *Tecusa* occurs in several inscriptions, and that the true reading therefore is probably *et Tecusam*; (2) taking *hanc ipsam* as predicative—"for so indeed (*i.e.*, by this particular name *Numeria*) have I always called *Tecusa*, because she *paid down* bribes to be excused from sacrificing." He then points out that in de Rossi's collection we have possibly "an interesting trace of the family at Rome, and of *Tecusa's* restoration" (pp. 74 f., 71). Again, the impression made by Cyprian's *De Lapsis* is shown (p. 177) by "an adaptation of two passages from it on an African inscription"—the epitaph of an "innocent boy"—"*quam te letum excipet mater ecclesia de oc | mundo revertentem. conprematur pectorum | gemitus. struatur fletus oculorum*" (see *de Lapsis*, 2, 16, *Quam vos laetos excipit mater ecclesia de praelio revertentes. . . Comprimatur pectorum gemitus; statuatur fletus oculorum*). Again, seldom has the warning "there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed" been more strangely exemplified than by the discovery and publication, within the last few years, of two *libelli*; they show, at least, two things—(1) that Decius' policy was nothing less than "an application of the great Roman administrative forces to any and every individual in the Empire"; one *libellus* ends with "I Isidorus wrote for them as unlettered"; (2) that a *libellus* might,

and sometimes did, contain two declarations—the one a declaration of innocence on the part of the person accused of Christianity, the other a declaration received by him from the magistrates attesting his “sound paganism” (pp. 541 ff., 81 ff.).

To give one more example: archaeology throws light on the repressive edict of Valerian, issued in August 258. Christians had been forbidden to enter the cemeteries. Why this sudden new severity? An entry in the Hieronymian Kalendar, when examined, seems to prove that, in this very year, on June 29th, the bodies of St Peter and St Paul were removed to the Catacombs, and there laid in a temporary resting-place. Between June and August there was abundance of time for tidings of Christian doings at Rome to reach the Emperor at Byzantium. “It is tempting to think that the Emperor may have been induced to sharpen his decree by tidings of the translation” (p. 481 ff.).

A word may be permitted here on what is a salient feature of the book, the Archbishop's own style. It is indeed closely connected with his classical training. Of Cyprian he says (p. 531), “He had that gift of gifts, the breathing of life into dead or languid phrase.” The good gift of the hero was coveted earnestly by the biographer. His son, in the prefatory note, reports a conversation in which the Archbishop, speaking of his own style, said, “I only wish to say the obvious thing without the customary periphrases:—it all comes of hours and hours spent with intense enjoyment over Thucydides, weighing the force of every adjective and every particle.” What he says of a certain “truly Tertullianesque expression”—“there he leaves it down for readers to think about” (p. 282)—applies to many of his own epigrammatic and sometimes quaint sentences. The result is that the style, though always pure and always masterful, gives the impression of being, as it were, too conscious of itself—an impression confirmed by such alliterations as “faultily and fatally,” “owed and owned,” “earliest and earthiest,” “rend and end,” and by the occasional use of such unexpected and enigmatic epithets as “the *breathless* harbour” (p. xxx.). In the portions dealing with matters of principle and of doctrine, the reader is perhaps always conscious that he and the writer are not wholly at ease with each other. But I cannot help calling attention to the eleventh chapter—“The Birthday”—as a model of strong, dignified, restrained English. Few students who catch the spirit of the book will be content with reading the story of the martyrdom once.

Further points in the book will emerge if we turn more definitely from the writer to the subject of the biography, and consider some points in this presentation of Cyprian as a writer, a theologian, a statesman.

(1) As a writer Cyprian did much to mould the language of Latin Christendom. For this his earlier history fitted him. "He was so thoroughly what we call a scholar that he edited for Christians a phraseological lexicon of Cicero" (p. 531). To the *simplicitas* of the African Bible he never, as it seems, became sufficiently attached to weave its phrases into his own language, or to catch its style. It is, of course, true that he inherited much from Tertullian, but what he inherited he shaped and enriched. Tertullian collected the magnificent unhewn masses of material. It needed a more disciplined spirit to fashion these and form them into the stately fabric of ecclesiastical Latin. Cyprian "left what he had not found, a language which Divinity could use as a facile, finely tempered, unbreakable instrument" (p. 531).

The student of Leo's *Dogmatic Epistle* is conscious that in the massive folds of Latin periods the full significance of Christian thought is sometimes hidden. There is a satisfaction in the magnificence of the expression which makes us forget to ask whether the vastness and the mystery of the doctrines are recognised. Not very different is our feeling as we read the Latin of Cyprian. "To the well-moulded strength of Roman eloquence Africa, 'nurse of pleaders,' had added a fervour not unlike that with which Ireland has enriched the English bar" (p. 3). This power of graceful and impressive rhetoric, which Cyprian transferred from the service of the courts to the service of the Church, not seldom rounds off the sharp, jagged edges of difficult problems. Sometimes I cannot but think that the Archbishop in his presentation of Cyprian's thoughts infuses into them an insight and a meaning which is lacking in the original. Take, for example, part of the summary (p. 261 f.) of the *De Mortalitate* in which, when the plague was raging at Carthage, Cyprian encouraged his flock and gave his "interpretation of sorrows": "These same grounds create in him the conviction that moral causes in society have an effect on the conditions accorded to humanity, not only immediately by the recompense earned by the individual's vice or virtue, but mediately by affecting general laws, exterior and physical, through exercise of the moral judgment of God. Not only is the world in order a field for human excellence to expand on and an external instrument for it to utilise, but a world in physical disorder is an instrument of correction, converting selfish and abject thoughts to interior and wider considerations." But Cyprian himself is an orator, hardly a philosopher.

From this treatise I turn to a letter (Ep. 63) which stands apart from the rest of the collection, and deals with the Eucharist—a Greek word, which, it may be noted, Cyprian himself here studiously avoids. A practice prevailed with some bishops in the Province of using water in the chalice instead of wine. Cyprian felt it his

duty to address a letter on the subject to Caecilius of Bitha as senior bishop. In this letter "the wildness, it must be admitted, of the Biblical interpretations and the looseness of the logic is equalled only by the quiet insinuating beauty of its style, the soundness of its conclusions, and its value in evidence" (p. 291). The last words refer to the question of the use of the "Mixed Cup," on which the Archbishop gave judgment in the so-called Lincoln case. Of this usage Cyprian draws out the symbolical meaning, water signifying the people, wine "the blood of Christ, with whom His people are blended in inseparable union and conjunction." The Archbishop does not notice here a bold theory of Harnack's (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, vii. Band, 2 Heft, 1891), that the use of simple water was a survival, not an innovation; that till about the middle of the second century a cup of wine *or* a cup of water was used; that about that time, partly for Scriptural reasons (Lc. xxii. 18), partly as a protest against Gnostic asceticism, the Church insisted on the use of wine, and (perhaps by way of compromise) emphasised the "Mixed Cup." This is not the place to summarise or to discuss the evidence which Harnack finds in Justin Martyr and elsewhere in support of his theory. As to this letter of Cyprian's, however, he notices (1) that Cyprian does not speak of the practice which he condemns as heretical (*e.g.*, *vel ignoranter vel simpliciter* § 1); (2) that, while Cyprian wrongly explains in reference to Baptism the passages adduced by the Aquarii, which speak of *drinking* water (Is. xliii. 18 ff., xlviii. 21; John iv. 13 ff., vii. 37 ff.; Matt. v. 6), he is disingenuous in slurring over (§ 9) what must have been a *locus classicus* with his opponents, *viz.*, the words, "His *bread* shall be given him; his *water* (sing., lxx. *ὕδωρ*) shall be sure" (Is. xxxiii. 16), a passage which Justin (*Dial.* 70) had long before interpreted of the Eucharist; (3) that Cyprian's own words (§ 14 *si qui in praeteritum . . .* § 17 *si quis de antecessoribus nostris . . .*) point to the antiquity of the usage which he condemns; and that this evidence, combined with that derived from the Martyrdom of Pionius (§ 3 *προσευξαμένων αὐτῶν καὶ λαβόντων ἄρτον ἅγιον καὶ ὕδωρ*), justify the position that the "usage of the North African and the Asiatic Aquarii, just because they were not inclined to asceticism, points back to the earliest period." I believe that the arguments of Harnack can be met. But his investigation is one which demands discussion.

The letter to Caecilius exemplifies Cyprian's position in regard to the interpretation of Holy Scripture. Though his first literary work after his ordination was a book of "Helps to Laymen's Scripture Studies"—the *Testimonia*—a collection of passages in support of various Christian doctrines, remarkable as the feat of a memory "unassisted by concordance or index," yet only in the *De Dominica*

Oratione does Cyprian undertake the task of systematic exegesis. This little treatise, "produced under the flaming heat of controversy, amid the whirl of organisation, in the atmosphere of a plague-stricken city," is not wholly original either in conception or in detail; it is a "softened echo" of Tertullian's tract, *De Oratione*. The relation of Cyprian's to Tertullian's work, its characteristics, and the question of its genuineness, are treated by the Archbishop with scrupulous minuteness. Two matters, however, of text may here be noticed. First, the Archbishop writes thus (p. 271): "Both [i.e., Tertullian and Cyprian] give and comment upon the third petition as 'Thy will be done in heaven (the heavens) and in earth,' which form also, Augustine [*De Don. Persev.*, iii. 6] says, was more in use, and to be found in a majority of manuscripts." The "as" (*ὡς*, sicut) is omitted, it should be noticed, in one Greek MS. (*Cod. Bezae*) and in Old Latin MS. of different families. There is, moreover, some confusion in the Archbishop's reference to Augustine. His evidence is exactly inverted. His words run thus: "*Fiat voluntas tua in caelo et in terra*; vel, quod in plerisque codicibus legitur, magisque ab orantibus frequentatur; *Sicut in caelo et in terra*; quod plerique intelligunt; Sicut sancti Angeli, et nos faciamus voluntatem tuam." Secondly, "The clause '*Lead us not into temptation*' is explained by Tertullian [*De Orat.* c. 8] as 'Suffer us not to be led,' and without a hint of the genuine form Cyprian uses the Master's gloss as his own text of the prayer" [*ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem*]. So the Archbishop writes (p. 272). But this account of the matter is hardly adequate. The following points are worth noting:—(1) The source of the gloss is clearly 1 Cor. x. 13, which Cyprian quotes (*Test.* iii. 91) in the following form: "Qui non patietur vos temptari super quod potestis"; (2) The gloss, incorporated in the text, appears in somewhat *different* forms in several Latin MSS. of the Gospels, and hence probably originated in some other way than in the comment of one writer; (3) Though (as Augustine notes) the reading does not seem to be found in any Greek MS., yet Cyprian's contemporary Dionysius of Alexandria (*Migne P.G.* 10, col. 1601) uses the gloss; *τουτέστι μὴ ἐάσης ἡμᾶς ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν* (cf. 1 Tim. vi. 9); (4) The Pauline passage (*πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε . . . τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν*) suggested an expansion of the petition of the Lord's prayer constantly found in the *embolismus* of the several Liturgies, and this gloss is found as part of the text of the Gospel given by some Latin Fathers, e.g. Jerome (*Migne P.L.* 25, col. 484): "*Ne inducas nos in temptationem quam ferre non possumus.*" A consideration of this evidence points to the conclusion that in this *ne patiaris nos induci* we have a relic of very early Carthaginian liturgical usage, such as

we also probably find in the clauses of the *De Mortalitate* (26): "Illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus, illic prophetarum exultantium numerus, illic martyrum innumerabilis populus" (p. 264 n). The Cyprianic evidence as to the history of the early Latin text of the Bible is one of the subjects as to which the Archbishop modified his purpose as his work progressed. On p. 25 he promises to return to these questions. In the *Preface* he speaks of their discussion as "too special and too large a work to be included here."

(2) Cyprian is a theologian only in a limited sense. He made no contribution to the Church's thought on the nature of God, or on the nature and issues of the Incarnation. The problems which fascinated him were those whose solution could be translated into action. Of the life of the Christian Society "Cyprian formulated the 'Theory' as Brahe, Copernicus or Newton gave the 'Theory' of the Solar System" (p. 525, cf. p. 191). Probably the history of the Archbishop's book is the reason why, so far as I can see, the theory is nowhere stated or reviewed as a whole. It may be well to bring the points together. Cyprian's doctrine of the Church may be summarised in two sentences from his *De Unitate*. "He cannot have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother" (p. 183). "Outside the Church [men] cannot live, inasmuch as the House of God is one, and no one can be safe but in the Church" (p. 189). What of the constituent elements of the Church? With Cyprian, as with Tertullian, "the position of the clergy had been expressed in terms borrowed from the civil constitution . . . The laity were the Commons or *Plebes*, the Clergy were the *Ordo* . . . the regular name of the Senate, the Decurions, in the provincial and Italian towns" (p. 19). Further, "the office [of Bishop] carried the thoughts of men (whether consciously or not) back to the *Origines* of the three ruling principles of constitutional governments; to Democracy, to the power of the *Aristoi*, to Hierarchy—Levitic or earlier" (p. 525). The Bishop in the local Church is the element of unity. "The Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop, and if anyone is not with the Bishop he is not in the Church" (Ep. 66. 8; p. 37). "What the Bishop was to his own Diocese that the united Body of Bishops was to the whole Church" (p. 190). "The one undivided episcopate constituted not the authority only, but the unity of the Church" (p. 525). The Lord gave the commission to St Peter (Matt. xvi. 19) to indicate the Church's unity; He renewed the commission to *all* the apostles (Jn. xx. 23) to show that He placed all alike on the same level. As to the Church of Rome, in Cyprian's view, "*Principalis Ecclesia* it was. It had a lofty undeniable primacy among all Churches which believed it to be the Foundation of St Peter, and to have in it St Peter's *Cathedra*,

ascended by his successors," but the reverence due to it did not differ in kind from that due to "the Alexandria of St Mark, or the Ephesus of St John" (p. 192). Lastly, in regard to the functions of the Ministry, "the presbyterate is the Levitic tribe" (p. 34). "The Bishop is the sacrificing priest. Christ was Himself the Ordainer of the Jewish Priesthood. The Priests of that line were 'our predecessors.' . . . Each congregation (diocese) is 'the congregation of Israel'" (p. 33). Of this last point—Cyprian's use of the word *Sacerdos* in exclusive reference to the Bishop—one would have welcomed a full discussion. There is something to be said on the early history of the word in the Christian Church¹; something too of the exact idea of the episcopal office which the term connotes in Cyprian (comp. Ep. lxiii. 14, *utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur et sacrificium verum et plenum [i.e., wine in the cup] tunc offert in ecclesia Deo patri*). Lastly, that Cyprian's position is historical evidence bearing on modern problems of organisation and order is clear. The Archbishop's interpretation of it is: "Cyprian and his times were as innocent of presbyterian and of congregational, as they were of papal catholicity" (p. 528). The use, indeed, or misuse, of Cyprian by modern champions of the Roman See is again and again exposed and rebuked. The reader becomes almost weary of the relentless vigour of the pursuit. In particular, the history of the celebrated Roman interpolations in Chapter IV. of the *De Unitate*, and the text of the whole passage, are treated with a minute and elaborate care (pp. 200 ff., 544 ff.) which make this part of the work final. "The papal apologists have framed, and at all hazards, and against evidence full and understood, have steadfastly maintained the grossest forgery in literature" (p. 193). Yet "even the glozed extract is inadequate without glozing comments" (p. 527).

The questions raised by Cyprian's "Theory" are not of a kind to be even touched on here. "The alternative," writes the Archbishop (p. 41) in reference to the two chief views which have been held, "is an important one. It will be answered by thinkers according to their schools, and cannot be determined by history

¹ Thus (1) Justin (*Dial.* 116), referring to Mal. i. 11, says of all Christian people ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος εἶμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. . . . οὐ δέχεται δὲ παρ' οὐδενὸς θυσίας ὁ θεός, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ. (2) Clem. Rom. 40 f., enforcing the lesson of order, draws an analogy between the Christian Church and the High Priest, the Priests, the Levites and "the lay people" of Israel, but he does not descend to details. (3) In the *Didache* xiii. 3 we find the injunction "thou shalt give the firstfruit to the prophets: αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν." (4) In the *Canons of Hippolytus* xxiv. 199 (ed. Hans Achelis) we read: Sit diaconus qui episcopum comitetur omni tempore illique indicet singulos infirmos. Magna enim res est infirmo a principe sacerdotum visitari: reconvalescit a morbo, quando episcopus ad eum venit, imprimis si super eo orat.

alone. . . . It becomes at this point a debate of metaphysical theology."

(3) Of Archbishop Benson's picture of Cyprian as a statesman, I have left myself no space to speak. The main outline was drawn long ago in the article in *Smith's Dictionary*. It is superfluous to dwell at length on the rigorous care with which the many tangles of Cyprian's earlier controversy are unloosed, and the minutest details elucidated, or the almost sternness with which the decision on the baptismal question of Cyprian's councils, in which "the laity were silent" (p. 426), is condemned. It was "uncharitable, anti-scriptural, uncatholic—and it was unanimous" (p. 425).

In drawing out "the character [of Cyprian] which endeared him to the laity, and which excited warmer and more affectionate feeling than that of any leader in the antient Church," Archbishop Benson dwells upon his "exact habits of business suiting a lively innate courtesy"; "that grave and sweet serenity which his contemporaries thought that his manners, his face, his very dress betokened," "his charity" as the "greatest of his great gifts" (p. 528 f.). The sum of the characteristics thus described might perhaps not inaptly be expressed by Clement's twice-repeated phrase—*ἐκτενὴς ἐπιείκεια*. If we feel that in this great biography the limitations of Cyprian's mind are scarcely sufficiently recognised, we may find the qualification we desire in Dr Hort's well-weighed words (*Six Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 109): "His writings show hardly any appropriation of the deeper elements in Tertullian's thoughts, those in which he claims affinity to Greek theology, perhaps partly due to borrowing from it; but the Roman legalism, which was so potent an ingredient in Tertullian's ways of thinking and speaking, acquired still greater force in its guidance of a man of simpler and more direct mind like Cyprian, accustomed through life to derive his thoughts of social order from the provincial administration of the Roman Empire. . . . The depth and purity of his own religious feeling makes itself felt almost everywhere in his writings: yet the conceptions of the Church and its institutions which he sets forth, and which thenceforth dominated Latin Christianity, were, indeed, most natural in all their circumstances of time and place, but not less truly involved injurious limitations and perversions of the full teaching of the Apostles."

Cambridge men have been wont to think with a far deeper feeling than that of pride of the triumvirate of theologians—Bp. Westcott, Bp. Lightfoot, Dr Hort—to whom they owe a debt of teaching and inspiration greater than they can express. Since his death, Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian* has revealed to them that

his name as scholar and historian of the early Church must be ranked with those of his three friends. Bp. Lightfoot has written of "Clement the Doctor," "Ignatius the Martyr," "Polycarp the Elder"; Bp. Westcott of "Origen the Theologian." To this great series there is now added Archbishop Benson's portraiture of "Cyprian the Saintly Statesman."

F. H. CHASE.

Sibawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik.

Nach der Ausgabe von H. Derenbourg und dem Commentar des Sirâfi: übersetzt und erklärt und mit Auszügen aus Sirâfi und anderen Commentaren versehen, von Dr G. Jahn. Lieferungen 6-13. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard, 1894-96; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Price M.4 each part.

THE origin and scope of this work have already been explained in these pages (*Critical Review*, vol. v. p. 181). The eighth *Lieferung* closes the first volume in two parts, the one containing the translation of Sibawaihi, and the other the comments of Sirâfi and others.

Fleischer and his immediate contemporaries have passed away, but a publication like this is the most substantial proof of the solidity with which he laid the foundation of a school of grammarians. The *Altmeister* himself did not disdain to deliver to an audience of two or three students his prelections on the *Mufassal* and the abstruse rules of Arabic grammar; and his distinguished pupils bestow the most unwearied labour on the production of books which must, in the first instance, appeal to a strictly limited class of specialists, and only by degrees percolate into the wider channels of ordinary scholarship. For the opinion of Fleischer is now generally accepted that the study of Arabic grammar must be conducted on the basis of the native grammarians, proceeding backward to the fountain-head.

It is well known that there were bitter controversies between rival schools of ancient Arab grammarians. Even Sibawaihi, in spite of himself, was a man of strife; and the publication of this translation of his immortal "book" has given occasion to quite a sharp controversy between German scholars. Professor Praetorius of Halle published in the *Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen* a criticism of the work which has drawn from Dr Jahn a reply of twenty-one pages, prefixed to the sixth *Lieferung* of the translation. The reply consists rather in a defence of the method pursued by Dr Jahn than a vindication of his own accuracy in the performance of his task; and it gives him an opportunity of explaining, more fully

than he could do in a prospectus, the purpose and practical value of his undertaking.

Dr Jahn maintains that he has done the best or the only practicable thing in the circumstances. They were these. The text of Sibawaihi is now accessible in the edition of Derenbourg. But it is confessedly hard to be understood, and in fact can only be understood by the help of the commentators, among whom Sirāfi holds the first place; and Dr Jahn, by his title page, undertook to give the book of Sibawaihi after the text of Derenbourg and the commentary of Sirāfi. Since, however, a great part of Sirāfi is already to be found in Jahn's edition of Ibn Ja'ish, it was advisable to print only such extracts as are essential, and then to throw the whole of Sibawaihi's work into the form of a connected translation. In pursuance of this plan, Dr Jahn has produced, not indeed a strict translation, but an adequate and connected exposition of Sibawaihi's book as it was understood in the best tradition. Where there were no difficult or disputed matters, and the original was diffuse, the translator has used abridgement. Where, on the other hand, the original was brief or obscure, he has expanded it in the sense of his guides, but, by throwing the whole into the form of a translation, he has attained the end of giving a connected representation of the author.

No doubt it seems tantalising that a translation, in the ordinary sense, of such a monumental work is not available. Dr Jahn himself admits modestly that his work on Sibawaihi is not a final one; and he emphasises the point that the translation has to be constantly compared with the original. Grammar was the one science which the Arabs elaborated for themselves. Their technical terms have in many cases no counterparts in our terminology; and the whole subject took system by degrees in the hands of generations of scholars. Certain terms are provisionally employed by European scholars, but in many instances they are merely the rendering of an Arabic expression into an etymological equivalent of undefined significance, as, *e.g.*, when the *ṣifa* is called the *qualificative*, the *badal* the *permutative*, and so on. An attempt at greater precision may even result in an inadequate rendering, as when *apposition* is given as the equivalent of *badal*. Sibawaihi himself was not uniformly consistent or precise in the use of terms, as Dr Jahn points out. Accordingly, in larger grammars, like Wright's, the Arabic terminology is carefully preserved, as the best guide to an exposition of grammatical principles as these were understood by the native grammarians. The great value of Sibawaihi's book is that it exhibits the formation of this terminology and the exposition of these principles, which were then more systematically formulated by later authorities. And a coming

generation of European scholars will have cause to thank Dr Jahn for the untiring labour which makes accessible a rich storehouse of materials, and follows the stream of this Arabic science back to its fountain-head.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

**Das Johanneische Evangelium und seine Abfassungszeit.
Andeutungen zu einer veränderten Datierung des
vierten Evangeliums.**

Von Lic. O. Wuttig. Leipzig: Deichert. 1897. Cr. 8vo., pp. iv. 134. Price, M.2.

THIS book attempts to make good the same general position as that which has been so strenuously advocated by Mr Halcombe in his *Historical Relation of the Gospels*, a work, by the way, which the author seems not to know. Its object is to prove that chaps. i.-xx. of St John's Gospel were written before the Synoptics and before the destruction of Jerusalem, while chap. xxi., written at least after the death of Peter, may be later than a part or even the whole of the Synoptic narrative.

The writer feels that his task is venturesome, and speaks of his attempt with due modesty. But it is somewhat startling to find it laid down at the very outset that he has no intention, in the first instance, of dealing with the Synoptic problem. For it is hard to see how the priority of the Fourth Gospel can be established apart from a thorough discussion of the conditions, or supposed conditions, in which the other three have arisen.

Wuttig draws out an elaborate plan, dividing his investigation into a number of separate discussions. These are more numerous than the size of the book warrants. And the result is that the progress of the argument is constantly interrupted, while the discussions themselves are too short and superficial to be cogent.

With so many separate points calling for examination or criticism, it is difficult to make a selection. One cannot read many pages without discovering a contradiction, which goes far to vitiate much of the reasoning. Wuttig accepts the Fourth Gospel as the authentic work of John. He distinctly disowns all idea of a free handling, either of incidents or discourses. He refuses to see any traces of "tendency" in the composition. And yet, over and over again, he rests his position on arguments which presuppose a colouring of the narrative. Thus, *e.g.*, in seeking to prove the early date from the plan and aim of the Gospel, he emphasises the fact (p. 9) that there is no polemic against heathenism, and no apologetic directed towards heathen; not even a reference to them in the manner of Paul in his letters to the Churches of Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, or in

his speeches at Lystra, Athens, &c. (as reported in "Acts"). But Wuttig's own standpoint excludes such reference. Again (p. 27 *sq.*), much is made of the fact that John gives no hint of the destruction of Jerusalem, and speaks of the institutions and feasts of the Jews as still existing. But if, as Wuttig firmly believes, the Evangelist was writing history as an eye-witness, why should he for a single moment go out of his way to explain that the Treasury, the Prætorium, and Solomon's Porch were now in ruins, or that the Pass-over and the Feast of Tabernacles had lost their glory?

The distinctly Jewish background of this Gospel is also used as an argument for its being written in Jewish surroundings and for a Jewish circle of readers. And in this connection, great prominence is given to the frequent allusions to the O.T. and the assumption of a familiar acquaintance with it on the part of those for whom the book is written. But surely this is quite compatible with the traditional view. John, writing at Ephesus, in the midst of a Christian community, now almost fifty years old, and, of course, embracing many persons of Jewish descent, might well presuppose a most accurate knowledge of those Scriptures which were the daily reading of the Church.

To give another example, the author thinks it scarcely conceivable (p. 71) that, after the separation of the Christian Church from its birth-place in Palestine, and in a region comparatively distant from that land, the person and testimony of the Baptist should stand so prominently in the foreground. He seems to forget the specially close relation of the Evangelist to the Forerunner who had introduced him to Jesus, as well as the outstanding place which the Baptist must always have occupied in the apostolic reminiscences. And was it not at Ephesus that Paul had found actual disciples of John?

As has been previously noted, the discussion of the inner relation of John's Gospel to the Synoptics, upon which, after all, the whole burden of proof must rest, is quite inadequate. Wuttig seems, indeed, to ignore the commonly-accepted result of investigations. We have no hint of one or more common sources of the Synoptic Gospels. And surely it is rather late in the day to bring forward as an argument for the priority of "John" the fact that the other Evangelists do not narrate the miracle at Cana, the healing at the pool of Bethesda, the cure of the blind man (John ix. 1 *sq.*), the raising of Lazarus, &c., &c., which, it is assumed, they would have done, had it not been rendered unnecessary by John's narrative. It is easy to see how the same method of argument might be used to prove the opposite.

But while the cumulative proof carries no conviction with it, the book contains many interesting and penetrating observations, several of which are useful as contributions to the evidence for the authen-

ticity of the Fourth Gospel. It would require a firmer grasp of the problem in hand, and a far more searching discussion of the data, to make out even a plausible case against the universally-accepted chronological order of the Gospels.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Notices.

THOSE who wish a good handbook, of moderate size, to the History of Dogmas, cannot do better than provide themselves with the *Leitfaden*¹ of Professor Fredrich Loofs of Halle. The book passed rapidly from edition to edition, the third being improved in not a few things in the light of criticisms on previous issues. There are writers to whom, in our opinion, it does somewhat scant justice. One of these is Thomasius. But it is generally fair. While it gives a particularly good view of the idea and the history of Dogmas, according to the teaching of the school of Ritschl and Harnack, it furnishes valuable direction to the student over the whole field. It consists of three great divisions, which treat successively of the rise of a system of dogma in the Church, the development of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, the transition from this to the Roman Catholic system, and the change to the Protestant system. Like Harnack, Professor Loofs regards the dogmatic process as virtually closed with the Reformation. Perhaps the most valuable parts of the book are those dealing with the movements which resulted in the accepted Trinitarian and Christological definitions. The sketch of the dogmatic developments within the Roman Catholic Church since the sixteenth century is also of considerable interest, though brief. The book is full of information, and shows the historian's insight.

The first part of the *Lehrbuch der Evangelischen Dogmatik*, contributed by Professor Friedrich Aug. Berth. Nitzsch, of Kiel to the well-known *Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher*, was published in 1889. It was well received, as was also the second part, which followed in 1891. We have the satisfaction of noticing the issue of a new and improved edition.² The first edition was reviewed by a competent hand in these pages,³ and was described as a book that well maintained the reputation of the important series to which it belonged. It is enough to say of this revision, that it has

¹ *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*. Zunächst für seine Vorlesungen. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Halle: Niemeyer. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 482. Price, 5s.

² *Zweite verbesserte Auflage*. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xviii. 610. Price, M.14.

³ Vol. II., p. 375.

made full and judicious use of the best literature which has appeared in the interval. The book accepts the more usual German idea of a system of Dogmatics as a statement and defence of the contents of the Evangelical faith or consciousness. But it carries out this idea in an independent spirit and with some peculiarities of method. Starting with the fundamental testimony of the Christian consciousness to what Christ is, it deals first with Christianity as Religion, Revelation, and Protestantism. Then passing on from the general to the special, it unfolds its system of Dogmatic truth under the three divisions of Anthropology, Theology, and Christology. This is a somewhat unusual order, and among the peculiarities connected with it we find that the doctrines of the Church, the Sacraments, and the Last Things are given under the topic of Christology. The book is an able one. It makes a very good handbook, and is worthy of the acceptance which it has gained in Germany.

Mr T. Bailey Saunders, M.A., continues his interesting series of translations of select writings of Schopenhauer. The volume now before us, entitled *On Human Nature*,¹ consists of Essays, partly posthumous, in Ethics and Politics, taken from the chapters *Zur Ethik* and *Zur Rechtslehre und Politik* in the *Parerga* and in the posthumous writings. They give much that was characteristic in Schopenhauer's views on Human Nature, Government, Free-Will and Fatalism, Character, and Moral Instinct. The volume is a very readable one. It concludes with a collection of Ethical Reflections, in which the philosopher descants on the natural stupidity of innocence, the contradiction in the categorical imperative, the duty of exercising "an almost boundless toleration and placability," etc.

Friedrich Nippold's *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte*² is now in its third edition. That is sufficient testimony to its acceptability. It fills a space which was too long left vacant in theological literature, and it fills it well. It would be difficult to say which of the volumes is of most interest. The first gives an Introduction to the Church History of our century; the second tells the story of the Papacy in recent times; the third does the same for Protestantism; and the fourth is devoted specially to the recent history of the American Churches. The second part of the third volume is now before us in this revised issue. It follows up the sketch of *German Theology* which formed the contents of the first part by a statement of *Interconfessional Questions*, etc. It is full of instructive matter on the various religious and theological movements on the

¹ London: Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. 132. Price, 2s. 6d.

² Dritte umgearbeitete Auflage. Dritter Band. Zweite Abtheilung: Interconfessionelle Zeitfragen und Zukunftsaufgaben. Hamburg: Gräfe und Sillem; Glasgow: Bauermeister, 1896. 8vo, pp. viii. 246.

Continent of Europe, most attention being naturally given to Germany. It gives abundant references to the literature of each question and each development. It is, in general, as fair as it is well informed. It is a most useful and readable history.

The new edition of Winer's *New Testament Grammar*¹ proceeds with pleasing regularity under the competent editorial care of Professor Schmiedel. We have now before us the first portion of the second division of the work—the Syntax. It deals with the article and part of the pronouns. Everything is done to bring Winer's full and masterly treatment of these up to date, and to make the book as exact, as exhaustive, and as handy for reference as possible.

Gustav Freytag's *Martin Luther*² has had a great and well deserved acceptance in the German Fatherland. It is one of the best popular accounts of the Reformer with which we are acquainted. It gives a vivid picture of the times, an appreciative study of the man, and a just estimate of his work. It is at the same time a work of literary art. An English translation is most welcome, and the one furnished by Mr Henry E. O. Heinemann will be read by many with pleasure.

We give a cordial welcome to a new series of publications with the general title of *Books of the Heart*. They are to be under the editorial care of Mr Alexander Smellie, M.A., and are to be confined (with one exception) to masterpieces in devotional literature by authors who have already gone into the world of light. The first two volumes are *The Confessions of St Augustine*³ and Dr John Pulsford's *Quiet Hours*.⁴ They are furnished with Introductions, giving some account of the writings. These are done briefly, with discernment and in good style. The volumes are most attractive in type and in form. They should be widely appreciated.

The *Christian Classics Series*, published by the Religious Tract Society, has been the means of bringing some of the religious books which belong to all time within the reach of the humblest English reader. To such works as Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, Augustine's *Enchiridion*, Athanasius *On the Incarnation*, Basil the Great *On the Holy Spirit*, and Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*, it adds

¹ G. B. Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Dr Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel. II. Theil: Syntax. Erstes Heft. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 145-208. Price, M.1.

² Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1897. Large 8vo, pp. 127.

³ London: Andrew Melrose, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 331. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ London: Andrew Melrose, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 341. Price, 2s. 6d.

*The Writings of St Patrick the Apostle of Ireland.*¹ They are given in the third edition of the Revised Translation. They embrace both the genuine writings (Hymn, Confession, and Epistle to Coroticus), and the doubtful (Sayings, Proverbs, Story of St Patrick and the Royal Daughters, Vision of the Future of Ireland, and Confession attributed to St Patrick). In addition to an appropriate Introduction and a very readable Sketch of St Patrick's Life, we have an Appendix, which furnishes Poetical Versions of the Hymn, and also some valuable notes. The ancient Irish Hymn is given both in the original Irish and in a translation in modern Irish. The book is an attractive and seasonable addition to this excellent series.

*The Four First Things and other Essays*² is the title given to a collection of papers by Mr J. E. A. Brown, author of *Thoughts Through the Year*, etc. They deal with such subjects as Life, Character, Childhood, Love, the Greater Glory, etc. There is nothing very novel in them. They are a series of musings, rather than connected studies. They discuss old themes in a pleasing way and in a style which is sometimes piquant. Now and again there is something of the quaint in both the title and the thought. This is the case with the Essays on "A little Crooked Lane" (a series of reflections on Compromise), "Spiritual Geology," the "Sense of Humour in its relation to a Future State," and the "Sorrows of our Guardian Angels."

Pastor Hermann Hachfeld publishes the first part of what is likely to be an exhaustive historical study of *Luther's Smaller Catechism*.³ The present section gives a full list of literature. It then goes into an elaborate statement of all that occurred in the way of preparation for this particular department of the Reformer's activity. Much curious information is given regarding Luther's sermons in 1523 and 1528, the visitation of the Churches of Saxony in 1528, 1529, the Catechisms of Brenz, Althammer, Lachmann and others, and various other subjects. A long and able chapter is devoted to an exposition of the evangelical character of Luther's Smaller Catechism and the use to be made of it, in which also we have some good paragraphs on the distinction between the Romish doctrine and the Evangelical on the articles of penitence, absolution, etc. The work is a study at first hand from the sources. It is executed with great pains and with a perfervid enthusiasm.

¹ By the Rev. Charles H. H. Wright, B.D. Third Edition, considerably enlarged. London: R. T. S. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price, 2s.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 155.

³ Der Kleine Katechismus Martin Luthers: ein wundervolles Buch in seiner jetzt erkannten Bedeutung. Erster Teil: Die Geschichte seiner Vorarbeiten. Helmstedt: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xviii. 150. Price M.2.50.

Professors Schlatter of Berlin and Cremer of Greifswald begin a series of *Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*. The first bears the title *Der Dienst des Christen in der älteren Dogmatik*,¹ and is by Professor Schlatter. It makes full acknowledgment of what we owe to the theology of the Reformation era. But it calls attention also to certain things in which the religious thought of the present day differs from that of these days, and to certain things in which the former was deficient. Among others it deals with the imperfect ideas which prevailed on such subjects as missionary duty, and the one-sided teaching on Sanctification, Freedom, Inspiration, the Humanity of our Lord, and other important sections of doctrine. The author finds in the survey cause for thankfulness that the change in all these things has been to the great gain of Christian faith and Christian thought, and reason for aiming at a new and profounder study of the Word.

*Buddha, Mohammed, Christus*² is the title given to a comparative study of the three great systems of Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. The author, Robert Falke of Erfurt, has published the first part of his contemplated work, in which the founders of these systems are compared. This is done with care and insight. The relative documents and the historical background form in each case the first subject of enquiry. The career of each of the three founders is then studied at length, and the tenets are used for the formation of historically valid estimates of the three personalities and characters. This makes the bulk of the volume, and it is followed by a rapid, but vivid and instructive, survey of the history of the three Churches. The book is meant for the general public, and is of a popular form. It is based, however, on the historical investigations of scholars like Oldenberg, Köppen, Bastian, Neumann, Sprenger, Weil, von Cremer, Geiger, Pichon and others. We shall look with expectation for its completion.

Another volume of *Sermons*³ reaches us, testifying to the unwearied industry of the late Canon Liddon in his ministerial vocation. It consists of a number of discourses preached on special occasions, covering a period of twenty-nine years, most of which have already been issued separately. But they will be welcome in this collected form. They include some of the most finished specimens of Canon Liddon's work. They are on great themes, Christ's Welcome to the Penitent, Profit and Loss, Christ and

¹ Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 81.

² Erster dárstellender Teil : Vergleich der drei Persönlichkeiten. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 211.

³ Sermons Preached on Special Occasions, 1860-1889. London : Longmans, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 359. Price, 5s.

Education, and the like. Those on The Conflict with undue Exaltation of Intellect (2 Cor. x. 5), The Victor in Times of Preparation (Isaiah xl. 3), and Love and Knowledge (Phil. i. 9) are particularly rich and effective.

Students of Richard Rothe owe much to Dr Rudolf Ahrendts for his *Uebersicht der Theologischen Ethik*.¹ It is taken from Rothe's own manuscript Lectures, and helps one much in the study of one of the greatest contributions made to theology in our century.

We are indebted to Dr Julius Lindenmeyer for the publication of Professor J. T. Beck's Exposition of *Peter's Epistles*.² Though exegesis was not the great Tübingen professor's strongest point, his work in this department, as well as in others, was of undoubted value, and his interpretation of these Epistles contains much that deserves attention. Of particular interest are the views which he takes of such passages in the First Epistle, i. 1; i. 12; i. 19; iii. 19, etc.; iv. 17, etc.; and in the Second Epistle, i. 5, etc.; ii. 4, etc. Beck put the impress of his vigorous mind on many. All who have come under his stimulating influence will value this volume.

A Survey of Foreign Missions,³ by the Rev. P. Barclay, M.A., gives a rapid, but interesting, sketch of the wide field of missionary effort in Asia, Oceania, Africa, and America. Following Paul's principle, "To the Jew first," Mr Barclay assigns the first place in his narrative to Jewish missions. From that he proceeds to the story of Armenia, which has so painful an interest at present, to missions in Bible lands, in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, India, and the great centres of the East, to those among the islands, in Egypt, Abyssinia, and all the parts of Africa, in North and South America, from Alaska to Patagonia. The book is furnished with good maps. It contains a good deal of matter which should be of interest to all who have a regard for the Church's missionary duty. It is written in the spirit of one who feels how sacred that duty is, and who has a deep faith in "the blessedness of its discharge."

There are some excellent things in the Rev. Henry Burton's *Gleanings in the Gospels*.⁴ Some of the studies have already appeared in the *Expositor*. But the author has judged rightly in publishing them in this form, and in adding others of a similar kind. They make an interesting volume. Among the most attractive papers are those on the *Wise Men*, the *Marriage at Cana*, and *Christ and the Temple*. That on *The Breakfast on the Shore* is also worth careful reading. The point of our Lord's

¹ Bremen: M. Heinsius Nachfolger. 8vo, pp. xvi. 302.

² Erklärung der Briefe Petri. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 300.

³ Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii. 272.

⁴ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 304. Price, 3s. 6d.

question, *Lovest thou Me?* seems, however, to be missed. The distinction between the ἀγαπᾶν and the φιλεῖν is but partially grasped. It is not enough to say of the former that it is the more distant term. It has the note of respect, and looks to the dignity of the person who is the object of the affection. Peter's grief was caused by the third question, not merely because it was the third, but because the change of the word seemed to imply that Christ doubted then whether he had even personal affection for him. Some of the studies, especially the one on Judas Iscariot, can scarcely be regarded as adequate. With respect to most of the papers we could wish that Mr Burton, having written well of the more obvious questions involved in the subjects, might have ventured further into those that are more difficult.

The author of *Evil and Evolution*¹ has written a book which, whatever opinion may be taken of its conclusions, holds one's attention, and we are not surprised to learn that the first edition has been rapidly taken up. It is described as an "Attempt to turn the light of Modern Science on the Ancient Mystery of Evil." It is entirely true to this profession. It makes no appeal to the Bible nor any use of its teaching, but confines itself vigorously to an examination of the old problem in the light of physical science, and more particularly in that of the theory of Evolution. Its result is that "the simplest and most satisfactory solution" of the riddle of all the ages is "just the old one—that the Supreme Ruler, in His beneficent activity in the Universe, is confronted by another power; that in the absolute literal sense of the word God is not omnipotent." The author is not content with a merely negative or defensive position. It is not enough for him to prove that the assumption of a second power in the universe limiting God is not inconsistent with the theory of Evolution. His object is to show that this assumption is a solid scientific hypothesis, and one that has the advantage of "explaining more of the moral and physical phenomena in the world than any other conceivable one." He makes a bold and vigorous stand for this answer to the enigma of evil. His argument is not conclusive, but it is presented with great ability; the book gives us much to think of, especially in its criticisms of the various theories of the place and purpose of evil. It may be a book to dissent from. It is certainly a book to profit by.

The latest addition to the attractive "Golden Nails" Series is a volume bearing the title of *Kingless Folk*.² It is a series of addresses to young people on Bible animals—the ant, the bear, the

¹ By the author of "The Social Horizon." London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 184. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

² By the Rev. John Adams, B.D., Inverkeilor. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 181. Price, 1s. 6d.

dove, the coney, the eagle, etc. The titles of the discourses are often very happy, e.g., "A born mathematician" (of the bee), "A house of gossamer" (of the spider). The style is simple and direct. The lessons are put briefly and with point. All is done with care and good taste. The book is very suitable for those for whom it is specially intended.

We have received *A Selection of Passages of Unpointed Hebrew*¹ (taken from Genesis, Isaiah, and the Psalms), admirably printed and likely to be of much use to students; the *Elements of Hebrew Grammar*,² a concise compendium with useful exercises, by Michael Adler, B.A., Minister of the Hammersmith and West Kensington Synagogue; a *History of Lay Preaching in the Christian Church*,³ a subject which has all the fascination of novelty, and is handled in a very instructing and interesting way; a compact and useful outline of *The Prophecies of Isaiah*,⁴ by Maximilian Lindsay Kellner, M.A., Assistant Professor of the Old Testament Languages in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, presenting the writings in their chronological order and in their relations to the contemporary Assyrio-Babylonian records, and giving the results of the studies of the best critics of our time; a *brochure* on the Stundist Movement in Russia,⁵ in which Dr Hermann Dalton gives to a larger public a paper of much interest, delivered originally before the Pan-Presbyterian Council in Glasgow last year; another section of Dr G. H. Lamers's *De Wetenschap van den Godsdienst*⁶ — a large and important contribution to the Utrecht series of *Nieuwe Bijdragen op het Gebied van Godgeleerdheid en Wijsbegeerte*; a tasteful volume in which a number of our Lord's Parables are explained in a simple and telling way for the benefit of young people;⁷ also a series of *Practical Studies on the Parables of our Lord*,⁸ which, while not attempting to give any complete or exact exegesis, bring out in a clear and profitable way the most obvious lessons of the Parables and apply their leading ideas to the direction and enrichment of the everyday Christian life; a series of Studies on the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, under the

¹ By W. H. Bennett, M.A. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, 1s.

² London: David Nutt, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 48. Price, 1s. net.

³ By John Telford, B.A. (Books for Bible Students.) London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 236. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ Cambridge: Mass. 4to, pp. 36.

⁵ Der Stundismus in Russland. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 59.

⁶ Wijsgeerig Deel. Vierde Stuk. Utrecht: Breijer, 1897. 8vo, pp. 510-700.

⁷ Thirty-one Parables Explained. By Louisa Horsley. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 76.

⁸ By B. W. Maturin, of the Society of S. John the Evangelist. London: Longmans, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 295. Price, 5s.

title *The Old Faith or the New—Which?*¹ dealing specially with the Person of the Son, His Official Positions, the Sanctuary, the Sacrifice, and the Exhortations, modestly stated, bringing out with some care the points in which this Epistle differs from others in its “range of truth and its design,” and showing how alien to Christianity, as it is presented in this letter, are all “ritualistic practices found on the Jewish form of worship”; a reprint of an incisive Open Letter on the question *May Baptismal Regeneration be Taught within the Church of Scotland?*² published originally in the *British Weekly*; an addition to the series of *Present Day Primers*, in which, under the title of *Old Testament Criticism and the Rights of the Unlearned*,³ Dr John Kennedy, Honorary Professor, New College, London, pleads in an earnest way for the rights and powers of non-experts in Biblical Study, and defines what these rights and powers are; the fourth⁴ and fifth⁵ parts of the fifteenth volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, containing the literature on *Practical Theology* and the Register for the year 1895, an invaluable guide to the student, so ably edited by Professors H. Holtzmann and G. Krüger; an outline of the run of thought in Frank's *System of Christian Truth*,⁶ carefully prepared and giving welcome guidance to the study of a theological treatise of great importance but by no means easy to understand; a second and improved addition of Orelli's *Das Buch Ezechiel*,⁷ a laborious, concise, and useful commentary, without much claim to novelty or brilliancy; *The Story of George Washington*,⁸ an admirable contribution to the *Splendid Lives Series*, from the skilful pen of Mr G. Barnett Smith, giving a just and appreciative sketch of the great American as patriot, scholar, and statesman; *Heroines of the Cross*⁹ and *Heroines of Travel*¹⁰ two additions to the *Heroines' Library* of the Sunday

¹ London: Marlborough & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 266. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small 8vo, pp. 48. Price, 6d.

³ London: R. T. S. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 96. Price, 1s.

⁴ *Praktische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst.* Bearbeitet von Marbach, Ehlers, Woltersdorf, Kind, Everling, Hasenclever und Spitta. Braunschweig: Schwetschke. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 475-616. Price, M. 6.

⁵ Register, bearbeitet von L. Plöthner. 8vo, pp. 73.

⁶ *Gedankengang des v. Frank'schen Systems der Christlichen Wahrheit.* Von Wilhelm Vollert, Oberlehrer am Fürstlichen Gymnasium zu Gera. Leipzig: Deichert. 8vo, pp. 96. Price, M. 1.60.

⁷ *Kurzgefasster Kommentar.* Hrs. von Dr Hermann Strack und Dr Otto Zöckler. München: Beck, 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 200. Price, M. 3.50.

⁸ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 1s.

⁹ Cr. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s.

¹⁰ Cr. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s.

School Union, both attractive in style, carefully written, of varied and interesting contents; a volume by Pastor Geo. Stosch on *The Origin of Genesis*,¹ written in a popular style and in a strongly conservative spirit, in strenuous antagonism to the "destructive criticisms of a disintegrating science," accepting the view, however, that "documents of most ancient times" are used in the narrative, but accepting that in the old form given to it by Vitranga; a treatise by Otto Ziemssen, *Makrokosmos*² by name, which attempts to give a theory of the world in harmony with Scripture and Science, contains some good sentiments on transmigration and related ideas, and discloses, among other curious things, the fact that about a quarter of a century ago there were German pastors who refused to accept the Copernican theory; an edition of *Milton's Comus*,³ with Introduction, Paraphrase, and a large and most useful collection of Notes, by Professor R. Scott of the Wilson College, Bombay.

In the fourth *Heft* of the current year of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* Dr Ernst Sellin gives a sympathetic sketch of the late Professor August Köhler of Erlangen, well known as an able Old Testament student of the school of Delitzsch and Von Hofmann; Professor Klostermann of Kiel continues his *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs*, dealing specially with Exodus xxv.-xxxi., and xxxv.-xl.; Pastor Wohlenberg of Altona writes on *Jesus Sirach und die soziale Frage*; and Professor Fritz Hommel contributes a brief paper on the *Arphaxad* question, in which he discusses Professor Cheyne's explanation in the *Expositor*, and rejects his conjectural emendation of the text into "Arpach (and) Chesed," to be taken as Arrapachitis and Chaldaea. In the fifth *Heft*, Professor Klostermann concludes his *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs*; Dr R. Zehnpfund writes on the "Law" in the Pauline Epistles; and Dr Fredrich Wiegand of Erlangen contributes a paper on *Die Kuppelmosaiken im katholischen Baptisterium in Ravenna*.

The April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* is remarkable for the number of articles of general interest which are found alongside its more technical discussions and reviews. Among others there is a very readable paper by Professor Frank Granger of Nottingham on *The Moral Life of the Early Romans*, the object of which is to show how much we owe to the old Romans in the realm of practice, how the natural hardness of the Roman temper was intensified by the institution of slavery, and in what measure the Latin people exhibited the "excellencies and the

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 211. Price, 5s.

² Versuch einer Systematik des Kopernikanismus. Gotha: Thienemann. Cr. 8vo, pp. 127.

³ Bombay: Cooper & Cooper. Pp. 321.

defects of a life which is controlled by rule and not by practice." Muhammad Abdul Ghani gives a view of *Social Life and Morality in India*, especially as regards the condition of women, which will look strange to most European readers. Professor Burnet of St Andrews contributes a brief but suggestive paper on *Law and Nature in Greek Ethics*.

The second part of the second year of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* gives M. Hippolyte M. Hemmer's second and concluding article on *Manning Before his Conversion*. In the same number, and in the third, M. Alfred Loisy contributes further papers on the *Prologue to the Fourth Gospel*, in which he discusses verses 12-18 at length, and with much acuteness. He makes a clever but unsuccessful attempt to recommend the reading *qui natus est* in verse 13. On the other hand, he gives a view of the reading, "only begotten Son," very like Hort's.

The American Journal of Psychology, vol. viii., No. 2, contains two papers, that will make entertaining and instructive reading—a *Study of Fears* by G. Stanley Hall, and a *Study of Conversion* by Edwin D. Starbuck. Both are elaborate papers, embodying the results of returns made to queries addressed to a multitude of individuals, and giving a mass of curious information on the impressions of different kinds of fears, and the mental and spiritual processes at work in religious conversions of different types.

The fifth number of the *Annales de Bibliographie Théologique* for the year contains, among other things, valuable reviews of Röhrich's *La Composition des Évangiles* by E. Ménégoz, and Montet's *Histoire du peuple Israël d'après l'Ancien Testament* by Adolphe Lods.

A boon of no ordinary moment is conferred on students of the New Testament by the completion of the *Concordance*¹ which has been in preparation for some years by Dr Moulton and Mr Geden. A new Concordance to the Greek New Testament has been long wanted. Since the publication of the Revised Version and the volumes of Westcott and Hort the need of such a book has been more and more felt by English scholars. The want is now splendidly supplied by this handsome and admirably printed volume, which does the utmost credit both to the publishers and to the editors. It has had the benefit of the general superintendence of the head of the Leys College, Cambridge, a veteran in matters of

¹ A Concordance to the Greek Testament according to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, and the English Revisers, edited by Rev. W. F. Moulton, M.A., D.D., etc., and Rev. A. S. Geden, M.A., Tutor in Biblical Literature, Exegesis, and Classics, Wesleyan College, Richmond. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1897. Crown 4to, pp. xii., 1037. Price, 26s. net; in half-morocco, or in half-calf, 31s. 6d. net.

New Testament Greek. The work of revision and correction has also had the advantage of the careful eye of the Rev. J. H. Moulton, who has made a special study of the grammar of the Greek New Testament. But for the bulk of the work we are indebted to the trained and patient hand of Mr Geden. It has been an exceptionally heavy task, but it has been discharged with conspicuous faithfulness and success. So far as we have had occasion to test the book, we have found it a reliable and most useful guide. Nothing has been spared by the editors in respect of toil, nor by the publishers in point of outlay, to make the book all that is desirable. The result is a Concordance which must displace all others, and which will remain for many a year the trusted companion of the student of the New Testament. It costs one a pang to part with Bruder. But useful as it has been, and greatly improved as it is in its latest edition, it represents in the main only the *Textus Receptus*, and any service it can render us beyond that is partial and unsatisfactory. In this new book, on the other hand, we have the guide which we need to the new critical text, Westcott and Hort's being properly taken as the fundamental form, but the special readings of Tregelles and the Revisers being also given. The abbreviations are simple and easily understood. The Hebrew is given beneath the Greek in the case of all direct quotations from the Old Testament. Another feature of the work which should be specially mentioned is the help which it furnishes us in comparing the use of the characteristic terms of the Greek New Testament with their occurrence in the classical writers, the Apocryphal books, and the Greek versions of the Old Testament. This has been a difficult thing to do. It has been worth attempting, and much valuable light is shed upon the history and significance of important terms. The book should be speedily in the hand of all students of the New Testament.

*The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*¹ is the title given to the series of Yale Lectures on Preaching for 1896. The author is Dr Henry Van Dyke, the well-known pastor of the Brick Church, New York. He has selected a subject which, at first sight, seems less germane to a course of lectures on preaching than others that have been delivered on the Yale Foundation. But his treatment of it makes it appropriate to his special task, and most seasonable. He deals with the matter, not the manner, of preaching, and attempts to show how the message of the Gospel, if it is to be a message to the present generation, must be at once an old message in touch with the past, and a new message, "in line with the upward movement of humanity through the ages." This reconciliation of the old and

¹ New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 457. Price, 8s. 6d.

the new, this presentation of the Gospel in the vividness and originality which it ought to have for every new age, and yet in "reverent harmony with the faith and hope and love which have already cheered and purged and blessed the best of human lives," is to be found, he thinks, in a "personal view of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." What he proposes, therefore, to do is to give a view of Christianity, not as "a complex system of doctrine," but as "a spiritual life"—a religion with a Person at the heart of it who "carries in Himself the evidence of a spiritual world."

With this object in view he speaks first of our age as one of doubt, and then unfolds what he means by the *Gospel of a Person* in a series of chapters on the Unveiling of the Father, the Human Life of God, the Source of Authority, Liberty, Sovereignty, and Service. It is, perhaps, inevitable to the development of a subject of this kind that certain things should be put in somewhat overstrained terms. We feel this now and again in what is said of the place of Doctrine in Christianity, of the Divine Fatherhood, and of the Divine Sovereignty. In these Dr Van Dyke's statements require some balance. But in the main his argument is just, reasonable, and conciliatory. He touches on many subjects, some of them of great difficulty. He has always something of practical value to say. His remarks on such questions as Evolution, the Trinity, the Kenotic Movement, are good instances of that. He is the master of an attractive style, with little to offend the English ear. The book carries the reader pleasantly on from chapter to chapter. The devout and candid spirit in which it approaches all questions of faith, and the sympathy with which it meets the case of the uncertain and perplexed, make it the kind of book that should help many minds in these times. Its usefulness is increased by the addition of a large appendix, giving at length many interesting passages which are referred to as authorities in the several lectures.

Dr J. Murray Mitchell's *Hinduism Past and Present*¹ appears in a new edition. It deserves the acceptance which it has enjoyed. In brief compass it gives a lucid, interesting, and instructive survey of an immense field, and strikes the happy mean between what the professed scholar demands and what the ordinary reader requires. The best use has been made of the most reliable authorities. The book represents a vast deal of honest work, and furnishes a very useful outline of the course which Hinduism has run from the Vedic period till now. The outstanding facts regarding the social life of the Hindus, the system of caste, the ancient ritual, the modern feasts and fasts, the sects, the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the reconstruction of Brahmanism, are stated in a

¹ London: The Religious Tract Society, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price, 4s.

clear and interesting way. Excellent accounts are also given of the sacred books and the philosophical treatises, so that the reader gains an intelligent view of the main points of Hindu faith and thought. In this second and carefully revised edition, Dr Mitchell's volume will be more useful than ever.

Dr George Holley Gilbert, Iowa Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary, has published a new Life of our Lord, which he calls *The Student's Life of Jesus*.¹ It is written, as its title indicates, with a view to the particular needs of *Students*, and, therefore, on the plan of giving as clear and direct a statement as possible of the historical facts and these alone. It omits the entire subject of our Lord's *teaching*, and in giving the facts of His life on earth, it avoids any attempt to weave them into an artistic story, to indicate their devotional lessons, or to present them with an elaborateness that is inconsistent with a distinct and sharp outline. It is not so full as Andrews' admirable *Life of our Lord*. But it gives a careful and useful digest, such as a student values. It is carefully done, and will be appreciated by those for whom it has been specially written.

The Dean of Canterbury's book on *The Bible*,² which has been expected for sometime, is now in the hands of the public. It need not be said that, like everything which comes from Dr Farrar's pen, it is eloquently written. At times its eloquence is too much for us. More frequent relief from the rush of words and the heaping of epithets, would be welcome. It is, however, essentially a popular book, intended for the general reader, and designed to reach as large a circle as possible. In justice it must be taken in the light of its obvious purpose. It is impossible to claim for it scholarly value, or to speak of it as any contribution to the questions of weightiest moment touching the nature and function of Scripture and the mutual relations of Revelation and the Written Word. It has something in point to say of the boldness and independence of Luther. But it cannot be affirmed of it that it shows any adequate acquaintance with Luther's doctrine of the Word of God as a whole. Still less does it give any evidence of a first-hand knowledge of Calvin's view, while on subjects like the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti* in relation to the inspiration and authority of Scripture, it is disappointing.

What it does is to dispose of certain mistaken or exaggerated ideas of the Bible which have prevailed from time to time, and to prepare the popular mind for a worthier and more reasonable con-

¹ Chicago: Press of Chicago Theological Seminary, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 412.

² *The Bible: its Meaning and Supremacy*. By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 335. Price, 15s.

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ception of what it is. It gives, therefore, a short account of the way in which Scripture has come to be what it is by the process of a gradual collection, separation, and canonisation of certain writings out of many. It shows in what sense these writings exhibit essential unity with immense variety. It exposes the absurdities of the allegorical method of interpretation, and deals with the fact of the non-homogeneity of the morality found in the different sections. It has much to say of the evils of the theory of "supernatural dictation," the wresting of tests, and the difficulties of Scripture which have been made objections to its authority. It closes with some interesting chapters on the supremacy of Scripture, its consolations, and what it has been both to individual souls and to nations.

Too much is made of forms of opinion, such as the theory of verbal inspiration, which have now small importance. Too much is said of the mistakes of theologians. It is the easiest matter in the world to make a parade of the weaknesses and blunders of which great men, whether in theology or in science, have been guilty. But a little of that goes a long way; and if Dr Farrar's book has an existence of a century or two, our wise children may possibly find something to smile at even in it. On the whole, it must be confessed that this is not the book to bring satisfaction to the most exercised minds. There are those, however, whom it will help, and its object is one with which all can sympathise. It is to save Scripture from being wounded in the house of its friends; to tell how much it has suffered in that way in our own time and in former centuries; and, by showing what it is and what it is not, to provide a support for faith which has been shaken by assaults on Scripture, or confused by erroneous notions of its mission. It is also an eloquent vindication of Christian liberty in relation to the criticism of the Scriptures, and for this and other things it will be gratefully received.

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Letter Apostolic of His Holiness Leo XIII., by Divine Providence Pope, concerning Anglican Orders.

Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Divina Providentia Papae XIII., Litterae Apostolicae de Ordinationibus Anglicanis. London: Burns & Oates, 1896. 8vo, pp. 49. Price 6d.

Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on English Ordination, Addressed to the whole Body of Bishops of the Catholic Church.

London: Longmans, 1897. 8vo, sewed, pp. 48. *Latin Version*, 1s. *French Version*, 1s.

THESE two official documents are of great importance for the present and the future relations of the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Communions. The decision of the Pope is adverse to the validity of Anglican orders, and the Anglican Archbishops maintain their validity. From this point of view it seems as if an insuperable obstacle to reunion had been reached. Yet a more careful study of these documents makes it evident that a very great advance towards reunion has been made and a door to further opportunities is still open.

1. It is a decided gain that the Pope has narrowed the range of the discussion and concentrated it in his statement that "in pronouncing the decision in the Gordon case in 1704 weight was given to no other reason than the *defect of form and intention*"; and the Pope limits his re-examination of the case to these two points. Thus an immense amount of irrelevant material is swept out of the field of discussion for all future time.

2. A further gain is in the position taken by the Anglican Archbishops when they say: "We acknowledge therefore, with the Pope that laying on of hands is the matter of ordination; we acknowledge that the form is prayer or blessing appropriate to the ministry to be conferred; we acknowledge that the intention of the Church, as far as it is externally manifested, is to be ascertained, so that we may discern if it agrees with the mind of the Lord and His Apostles and with the Statutes of the Universal Church." This still further limits the range of difference to the questions, what constitutes valid form and intention in ordination, and

whether the Anglican form and intention are so defective as to render ordination invalid.

3. The question is in part an historical question, and is to be decided on matters of fact by historical evidence. The Pope re-opened the case which had been decided in 1704, and reviewed the evidence with the help of twelve judges, "whose opinions in the matter were known to be divergent." They had access to "all documents bearing on this question which were known to exist in the Vatican archives," and had authority "to search for new ones, and even to have at their disposal all acts relating to this subject which are adduced by learned men on both sides." There can be no reasonable doubt that the case was considered in a careful, calm and judicial manner. It was unanimously decided on the evidence before the court, and then after further deliberation this decision was ratified by the Pope. And yet the Pope's decision cannot be accepted by the Christian world as final. The best words in the Answer of the Anglican Archbishops are those in which they challenge the evidence and demand its publication. "Therefore all those documents ought to be made public if the matter is to be put on a fair footing for judgment." "The documents are preserved in the keeping of the holy Office and ought to be published if the interest of historical truth is to be consulted."

There is no reason to doubt the goodwill of the present Pope—his intent to give the case a careful, honest, and upright consideration and to make an equitable final decision. But the Anglican Archbishops contest the accuracy of the evidence and its sufficiency. How could the Pope be certain that all his evidence was accurate and that all the evidence was before him? It is quite possible that the Anglican Archbishops might invalidate some of the evidence, and that they might present valuable counter-evidence from the archives of Great Britain if they had the opportunity. This demand for the publication of the evidence is a righteous demand. There is no valid reason why the Pope should not comply with it. It is greatly to be desired that he should, in the interest of historical truth, and for the vindication before the world of his own decision. Then if the evidence can be impeached, the Anglicans must do it; if they have other evidence they must adduce it. Then the Pope may be justified in re-opening the case. He must do so, according to Canon Law, if a sufficient amount of new evidence is presented to materially alter the case. He would doubtless do so gladly under any such circumstances. At present the Anglican Bishops have the advantage of the discussion at this point, and they will retain this advantage until the Pope yields to their reasonable request and publishes his evidence. Then it is altogether probable that the advantage will pass over to the papal side; for it is im-

probable that any evidence of importance can be produced which has not already been duly considered by the papal courts. The historical question after all is simply this, whether the form of ordination in the Edwardine Ordinal was valid. As the Pope says, "the judgment of the Pontiff applies universally to all Anglican ordinations, because, although it refers to a particular case (that of Gordon) it is not based upon any reason special to that case, but upon the *defect of form*, which defect equally affects all these ordinations." The defect, according to the Roman opinion, is a defect in the Ordinal itself and not in any particular thing in the ordination of Gordon. This is sound reasoning. Unless the Archbishops can show that the Edwardine Ordinal contains a valid form of ordination, they have no case. The Pope well says :

"The words, which, until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly ordination, namely, '*Received the Holy Ghost*,' certainly do not in the least definitely express the grand order of priesthood or its grace and power. . . . This form had, indeed, afterwards added to it the words, '*for the office and work of a priest*,' etc., but this rather shows that the Anglicans themselves perceived that the first form was defective and inadequate. But, even if this addition could give to the form its due significance, it was introduced too late, as a century had already elapsed since the adoption of the Edwardine Ordinal ; for as the Hierarchy had become extinct, there remained no power of ordaining." The Anglican Archbishops seek to avoid this powerful argumentation in this way ; they say : "This form, then, whether contained in one sentence as in the Roman Church, or in two as in ours, is amply sufficient to create a Bishop, if the true intention be openly declared, which is done in other prayers and suffrages (which clearly refer to the office, work and ministry of a Bishop), in the examination, and other like ways." But this argument was anticipated by the Pope when he says : "In vain has help been recently sought for the plea of the validity of orders from the other prayers of the same Ordinal. For, to put aside other reasons which show these (prayers) to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, let this argument suffice for all : from them has been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and offices of the priesthood in the Catholic rite." In other words, the plea that "true intention" is expressed in other parts of the services is overcome by the contention that that intention itself is void of the essential significance of priesthood. Thus the whole question rests, according to the Anglican Archbishops, on the "true intention" of the other parts of the ordination service.

(4.) The essential question in debate is thus evidently that of *intention*. Here, again, we need not go further than the Edwardine

Ordinal. As the Pope says: "The history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church, as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox sects, and as to the end they had in view—under a pretext of returning to the primitive form, they corrupted in many ways the liturgical order to suit the errors of the reformers. For this reason in the whole Ordinal, not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the priesthood, and of the powers of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but, as we have just stated, every trace of these things which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out. In this way the native character, or spirit, as it is called, of the Ordinal clearly manifests itself. Hence, if vitiated in its origin, it was wholly insufficient to confer orders."

How do the Bishops meet this strong argument? It would have been their glory if they had said, Yes, it is true the Anglican Church took part in the Reformation. It became thereby a National Reformed Church. It removed all these Roman errors from the Liturgy. It was not the intention of the Reformers to ordain priests to offer sacrifices. But instead of this, the Anglican Archbishops try to maintain the validity of the intention of the Ordinal. They urge that the intent of the Edwardine Ordinal was to ordain priests to offer sacrifices. "We confidently assert that our Ordinal, particularly in this last point, is superior to the Roman Pontifical in various ways, inasmuch as it expresses more clearly and faithfully these things which, by Christ's institution belong to the nature of priesthood and the effect of the Catholic rites used in the Universal Church." Again: "For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; then next we plead and represent before the Father the sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's Passion for all the whole Church; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblations of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice." This, then, is the priesthood and sacrifice which the Anglican Archbishops find in the intention of the Edwardine Ordinal.

(a) The first thing to be considered is whether the Anglican Archbishops have correctly interpreted the intention of the Edwardine Ordinal. This is an historical question, which can only be determined by the Ordinal itself, in the circumstances of its composition and use, and in the opinions of its authors and users.

The Anglican Archbishops are not competent witnesses for the reign of Edward the Sixth; they must present historical evidence from that reign. They do not, in their Answer, overcome the Pope's statements as to the "animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church," and the deliberate removal from the prayers of the Catholic rite, which they retained, of every trace of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the priesthood and of the powers of consecrating and offering sacrifice. The Archbishops are weak in their Answer at this essential point. It is of great importance that it should be made very clear by indisputable evidence whether the Edwardine Ordinal was intended to ordain priests to offer sacrifices, and if so, in what sense of priest and sacrifice.

(b) The Archbishops wisely say: "Too precise definitions of the manner of the sacrifice, or of the relation which unites the sacrifice of the eternal Priest and the sacrifice of the Church, which in some way certainly are one, ought in our opinion to be avoided rather than pressed into prominence." All who have at heart the Reunion of Christendom must sympathise with these words. At the same time, it is necessary that there should be a definition of priesthood and of sacrifice, which shall be at once historic and intelligible. If we recognise that priest and sacrifice may be used in various significations, we should seek a definition sufficiently comprehensive to embrace all these legitimate significations. That is the pathway to Reunion. The first question which emerges here is whether the terms priest and sacrifice are used by the Anglican Archbishops in their Answer in a legitimate sense. It is not sufficient to show that the sense given to these terms by the Archbishops is well known in the Church of England at this time, or that it has been a common Anglican opinion since the Reformation; no sense of priest or sacrifice can be legitimate which does not rest upon Biblical and Catholic usage. This is recognised by the Archbishops, as we understand them. They "confidently assert" that "our Ordinal, particularly in this last point, is superior to the Roman Pontifical in various ways, inasmuch as it expresses more clearly and faithfully those things which by Christ's institution belong to the nature of the priesthood and the effect of the Catholic rites used in the Universal Church." But it was not sufficient for the Archbishops to "confidently assert" this. They were called upon to prove it by indubitable evidence; for it is not evident in itself, and has not been recognised as yet by Roman Catholics, or indeed, so far as we know, by any but Anglicans, and not even by all Anglicans. We may be permitted to doubt whether the Archbishops would find it easy to prove their confident assertion to the minds of theologians of other Churches. In their Answer it is doubtful whether they have carried conviction of it to anyone but themselves.

(c) If, now, we should admit that the Archbishops are correct in their interpretation of the intent of the Edwardine Ordinal, and that the Anglican Ordinal is more faithful to the Biblical and Catholic conceptions of priesthood and sacrifice than the Roman Pontifical, there would still remain the question whether it is possible to reconcile the Roman conception of priesthood and sacrifice with the Anglican. This, after all, is the greatest question for the Pope and for the Anglican Bishops. The Roman doctrine is definite. It is open to the objection that it is "too precise." It has, however, this advantage in the question under consideration, that it was the doctrine of the Church of England before the Reformation, and it was deliberately rejected by the Church of England at the Reformation, and another doctrine—less precise and less definite—was eventually substituted for it. There can be no doubt that a serious change was made in the intention of the Church of England in the matter of ordination. It was a deliberate rejection of the pre-Reformation intention, and it was the substitution of a new intention, which may have been truer to the intention of the original institution and of the ancient Catholic Church, but which certainly was not the intention of the Church of England for centuries before the Reformation. The Pope makes a great deal of this. The Anglican Archbishops slip easily over it. It is not difficult for the Anglicans to recognise the intention of the Roman ordination as valid, for the reason that there can be no doubt whatever as to the form and intent of the ordination. It is "too precise," but it includes all that the Anglicans regard as essential. It is very different with the Roman Catholics. The Edwardine Ordinal had no intention of ordaining priests to offer the sacrifice of the Mass; but the Anglicans of the time deliberately rejected all that Roman Catholics regarded as essential to priesthood and sacrifice. The Anglican priest has not been ordained to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. He cannot offer that sacrifice unless he is ordained with the intention to offer it. He must be ordained with that intention, if he has not been ordained with that intention before. All that the Anglican Archbishops urge as to the Anglican conceptions of priest and sacrifice amount to little, because they are so essentially different from the Roman that they are incapable of reconciliation. From this point of view, it is difficult to see how the Pope could have made any other decision than he has made. There is no real priesthood and no real sacrifice in the Anglican communion which Rome can recognise.

(d) A still higher question remains, and that is of vast importance for the whole Christian world—namely, whether it may not be possible to comprehend the Roman conception of priesthood and sacrifice with the Anglican conception, and all other conceptions, in

some more comprehensive conception. Such a comprehensive conception has not yet been conceived, but it is possible that the time may come, in a new Reformation of the Church, when it may be conceived and commonly accepted as the solution of all the great problems which centre about that most essential institution of our holy religion, the Holy Communion in the Body and Blood of our Lord. It is a distinct gain that the attention of the world is again called to this supreme question, and that the question of sacrifice is made the central one in connection with the Reunion of Christendom. Theologians of all Christian communions should give it more profound consideration in mutual charity and Christian love, seeking to contribute to that solution of all our difficulties which in the order of Providence, under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, will at last be made.

(5.) This question in debate between the Pope and the Anglican Archbishops is of interest to all Christian communions. Many Anglicans have been too arrogant in their claims as to the validity and superiority of their ordination over ordination in other Protestant communions. They will doubtless continue to set a high value upon their ordination. But they have received another and a very wholesome lesson, that in the eyes of all the rest of the Christian world, the ordination of the Church of England is of no more validity than that of the other national Churches of the Reformation. The other national Churches base their ecclesiastical right upon an appeal from the Pope to Jesus Christ. The Anglican Reformers agreed with the other Reformers in this particular. It would be wholesome if the Church of England would return to the principles of its own Reformers. Protestant orders all rest firmly on the ground of the right of reformation and revolution. History justifies that right. When the time of the greater Reformation comes, the Roman Church will recognise the right of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and then, and then only, will the mutual recognition of orders take place in a reunited and reconstructed Christianity.

C. A. BRIGGS.

Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.

Von Adolf Harnack. Erster Theil. Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, bearbeitet von Lic. Erwin Preuschen. 2 Bde. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1893. 8vo, pp. lxi. 1021. Price, M.35, geb., M.38.

Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.

Von Adolf Harnack. Zweiter Theil. Die Chronologie. Erster Band; Die Chronologie der Litteratur bis Irenaeus, mit einleitenden Untersuchungen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1897. 8vo, pp. xvi. 732. Price, M.25.

PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK is the *Adamantius* of these days. His industry is an astonishment to the most indefatigable. His works are a surprise to the most capable, for their mass as well as for their variety and ability. To all his other toils he has added another undertaking that most men would think sufficient for the best energies of a life-time. He has set himself the immense task of constructing a complete critical history of early Christian literature. And the scale on which he has projected it is like the general largeness of his ideas. His purpose is to give as exhaustive a reply as is possible with the materials in our possession to these three questions—What were the writings of the Christians of the first three centuries? How many of them are extant now? And how have they come down to us? With this object in view he has to collect all the documents in question, to give critical editions of them, and to determine the many literary and historical questions which are connected with them.

It is a vast undertaking. If it is completed, it will rank among the monumental works of the Theology of our century. Nor is it beyond Professor Harnack to bring it to a successful issue. He has already accomplished a very considerable part of it. In 1893 he made his first contribution, and that a large and important one, to the execution of his project, by the publication of the massive volumes which are named above. These contain the literary material itself, and make a work that will stand comparison with the great historical collections of an older time. Nothing is left unrecorded. The smallest scraps, like the tiny Fayoum papyrus, are carefully reproduced. In the case of each document the manuscripts are indicated, with all the necessary information regarding their dates, localities, contents, and relations. Uncertain works and pseudonymous productions have their proper place. The

various *Acta* are given in their proper order, the genuine being distinguished from the spurious. Lists of Latin and Syriac translations, and catalogues of Slavonic and Coptic manuscripts are furnished. Nor is even this all. We have notices of Jewish works which were adapted to Christian use, and lists of the references to Christianity which are found in Pagan writings. Admirable indices are added, which make it easy for us to get at once at document, writer, or manuscript. In the preparation of these volumes Professor Harnack has had the able assistance of Mr Erwin Preuschen. They form a great storehouse of material, which will be of the utmost value to the student. No pains have been spared to make these collections complete. Nor will anything be left undone, we may be confident, to keep them abreast of the additions which may be made to our knowledge from year to year. Professor Harnack has already shown us, by communications to *Journals* since the issue of his volumes, how watchful an eye he keeps on all that happens.

He has now made a second contribution, also one of the greatest interest and importance, to the performance of his great task. That is the publication of the first part of the *Chronologie*. In this volume the period on to Irenaeus is dealt with. What comes between Irenaeus and Eusebius is reserved for subsequent treatment. The present instalment opens with important discussions of the chronologies given in the writings of Eusebius, together with statements on the oldest lists of Bishops, the Post-Eusebian Oriental lists, the chronologies of the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and relative matters. These extend over nearly 230 pages, and make the First Book.

The Second Book is occupied entirely with the literature itself. It is given in two divisions. Of these the first contains the writings which may be dated with reasonable certainty within comparatively narrow limits. The second deals with the writings which cannot be dated with the same measure of certainty. In the former are placed First Clement, Pliny's Letter, Hermas, the Apologists, the writings of the times of Basilides, Marcion, Celsus and others, on to the Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius. In the latter we find Barnabas, the Didaché, Second Clement, the five writings bearing Peter's name, Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, James, the *Acts* of Paul, John, Andrew, Thomas, Peter, certain writings attributed to Justin, Melito, and a number of others; while finally, and in a list by themselves, we have the various Gospels, canonical and uncanonical. Chronological Tables, and statements of assured dates in the lists of Bishops, are added.

It is an extensive territory that we are thus taken over. Each successive investigation is followed out with the thoroughness

which characterises Professor Harnack's work. All is executed in a way at once patient, searching, and systematic. It is obviously but little that can be done within our present limits, either to characterise a volume of this compass or to examine the results which it asks us to accept. It is out of the question to attempt more than a general statement of its contents and a general estimate of its significance. There is much in it of which only the specialist could speak worthily. Many opinions are given which would require lengthened examination. Many arguments are developed, on the sources, the Patristic writings, the Gnostic influence, and much else, that would call for particular consideration. But these must be passed by. The interest of the volume centres in what it has to say of the New Testament books. It is natural to turn first to the important sections in which these pass under review. The conclusions deliberately formed and declared by a scholar of Professor Harnack's experience and theological leanings on questions of such moment as the historical credibility, date, and integrity of our Gospels and Epistles, deserve the closest attention. The pronouncements made by him on our canonical books are in many ways remarkable and of unusual significance. Special mention must be made of these. But there are also some things of general interest, and some things preliminary to these New Testament questions, which may be referred to, however briefly.

It is instructive to notice at the outset the esteem in which the ancient authorities on whom we have to depend for so much, are held by Professor Harnack. Eusebius, for instance, receives all the honour that is due to a careful and trustworthy historian. He is regarded as having had a high ideal before him, and as having done his work in something better than a narrow, prejudiced, ecclesiastical spirit. It is pointed out, among other things, that while he follows the succession of emperors in his chronology, and arranges his matter accordingly, he refrains for the most part from any attempt to give the exact chronological relations of the things he reports within the several reigns. And Professor Harnack speaks of it as being to the credit of Eusebius that he "abstains from giving more exact dates than he was really in a position to give." Irenaeus, too, is treated with great respect. Although some liberties are taken here and there with this Father's testimony, Professor Harnack recognises its worth and speaks of the "great work" of Irenaeus. The First Epistle of Clement is treated with like honour. And the same is the case with the Ignatian Letters, which are now taken to have been composed "in the last years of Trajan (110-117), or perhaps a few years later (117-125)." In Clement, Ignatius, and Irenaeus, we have in short a succession of authorities sufficient, according to Professor Harnack, to give us the "key to

the understanding of the inner history of the Church" for the periods 30-110, 110-180, 180-251 A.D.

This being so, Professor Harnack's reading of the case of primitive Christianity is all on the side of the general reliability of the traditional view. It is something to see that in this he agrees with our own representative English scholars, pre-eminently Lightfoot and Hort, and it is pleasing to notice the ungrudging praise he gives them. Of Lightfoot in especial he speaks in the highest terms, making much of his investigations and claiming for him that he has settled once for all a "whole series of the most important points," particularly as regards the early Roman Bishops.

So he frankly recognises the fact that "in the criticism of the sources of primitive Christianity we are, without doubt, embarked on a retrograde movement towards tradition." He expects that the familiar problems which have been long under discussion in the regions of primitive Christian doctrine and early Church history will soon assume new aspects and be looked at in new ways. He believes that the time is near at hand when the literary questions relating to primitive Christianity will lose their interest, and attention will be transferred to the historical problems. And he tells us why he entertains such beliefs and expectations. It is because, in his opinion, assent will be given to the "general accuracy of tradition," and because the "chronological framework in which the early Christian literature has come down to us," may be accepted as generally reliable. "The chronological framework," he says, "in which tradition has arranged the documents from the Pauline Epistles down to Irenaeus is in all main points right, and compels the historian to disregard all hypotheses in reference to the historical sequence of things which deny this framework."

These are significant utterances. They are made the more pointed and the more suggestive by what is said on the subject of the amount of pseudonymous literature and interpolations. The extent to which either the one or the other has to be conceded is reduced to little. The only writing now within the New Testament Canon that in Professor Harnack's view can be called "in the strictest sense, pseudonymous," is Second Peter. And on to the time of Irenaeus the whole number of such compositions is "small and soon counted," when the "fabrications of the Gnostics" are put aside. And as to interpolation, the practice certainly prevailed in the second century, but very few writings are allowed to be affected by it, while "some of the interpolations are as harmless as the interpolations in our hymn-books and catechisms."

The criticism, therefore, to which all this points, and which Professor Harnack anticipates as the criticism of the future,

is something widely different from that of the old Tübingen School. Baur himself is spoken of with respect, and what he did is admitted to have had its value in various directions. But his favourite positions are set aside, and his method is discredited as one that started with certain assumptions regarding the existence and work of certain operative elements in primitive Christianity and the early Church, and made the writings conform to these. The whole style of criticism, moreover, that has derived more or less from Baur, that is ruled by the idea of "tendency" and loses itself in details, that cannot see the wood for the trees, and takes refuge in the supposition of large interpolation, receives here a stroke that should be fatal. It has had its day, according to Professor Harnock, and has failed.

Coming, however, more immediately to the New Testament writings themselves, and the place to be claimed for them, we notice the view which Professor Harnack takes of the chronology of Paul's life, and, consequently, of the dating of Paul's Epistles. On the cardinal question of the time to be assigned to the recall of Felix and the arrival of Festus, he stands for Eusebius's early date—the second year of Nero, between October 55 and October 56. He goes, therefore, with Blass, O. Holtzmann, and others, as against Wieseler's arguments for a later date, and Lightfoot's preference for 60 A.D. He places Paul's conversion, therefore, about 30 A.D. Paul's martyrdom he puts at July 64, when the persecution opened that followed the burning of Rome. He supposes that the Apostle might arrive in Rome in the spring of 57 and be set free in 59. And he thinks there is time enough between the latter date and the year 64 for Paul to have visited both the East and the far West. It may be so. But two things naturally suggest themselves here. Is it so likely, especially in view of the progress of things as given in the Book of Acts, that Paul became a Christian so very soon after our Lord's death? And why should Eusebius, who is otherwise so trusted, be abandoned in the matter of the date of Paul's death? For he places it in 67 (68). Professor Harnack thinks a confusion has crept into Eusebius's statement here. He explains it as due to the fact that two early reports, of which only one deserved acceptance, were followed. These were the tradition that the Apostles left Jerusalem twelve years after the Ascension, and the tradition that Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years. These periods added to the date given for Paul's birth (30 A.D.) take us to 67 A.D., the time when Paul suffered martyrdom according to Eusebius. But the historian is supposed to be wrong in the use which he makes of the latter tradition. Professor Harnack's explanation is ingenious. But the doubt remains.

With this scheme of dates, therefore, for Paul's life, Professor Harnack refers the Pauline Epistles to periods earlier by four or five years than are usually given even by conservative critics. He places Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, before 54 (53); Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (with a qualification), and Philippians, between 57 (56) and 59 (58); and the Pastoral Epistles (again with a reserve) between 59 (58) and July 64. More particularly, and with allowance for a year or two, 1 and 2 Thessalonians may be assigned in this scheme to 48-49 A.D., 1 and 2 Corinthians to 53, Galatians to a date between 50 and 53. Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians are thought, on the whole, to have been composed in Rome, although it is admitted to be possible that they were written in Caesarea. In the latter case they must of course be dated earlier. All the epistles which stand in Paul's name in our Canon are accepted, though under conditions and explanations in the case of some. Seven of the thirteen are received without doubt; three are received with some reserve; three with larger qualification. The Epistle to the Colossians is regarded as establishing its claim to genuineness more and more. The uncertainty attaching to Ephesians is reduced greatly. The Pastoral Epistles, as we now have them, are placed in the period between 90 and 110 A.D., and some parts (*e.g.*, 1 Tim. vi. 17-21) may be a good deal later. These Epistles have suffered considerable interpolation, but they have a real Pauline nucleus.

These are notable conclusions. They mark a great return to the traditional account. The principles which have led Professor Harnack so far with so many of these epistles might well seem capable of leading him farther than he has yet gone in the case of the Pastorals.

With respect to the other New Testament writings, no decisive judgment is given on the Epistle to the Hebrews, either as to date or as to authorship. Tertullian may be right in ascribing it to Barnabas. It may have been addressed to Christians in Rome. As First Clement uses it, it must have been written before 95 A.D., possibly even thirty years before that. But on these questions Professor Harnack will not speak with confidence. First Peter is supposed not to be by Peter, but to be the work of some unknown person of note in the Church, and to belong to somewhere between 83 and 93 A.D., possibly even to 73 A.D. Here again a different conclusion might be not unreasonably looked for from Professor Harnack's method. Second Peter is held to be undoubtedly a forgery, assignable perhaps to an early date in the second half of the second century. Jude is referred to some time between 100 and 130 A.D. The Epistle of James seems not to have been known in the Jewish-Christian Churches, and consequently cannot be the

work of the head of the Church of Jerusalem. All that can be said of it is that it may have been composed about the third or the fourth decade of the second century by some person of note whom we are not yet in a position to identify. The Apocalypse is assigned to the late date, 93-96 A.D. As to the Gospels, Mark's is the oldest, belonging to between 65 and 70 A.D. Matthew's comes next, the substance at least of it belonging probably to between 70 and 75. Luke's Gospel and the Book of Acts are placed about 78-93. On the debated question of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, Professor Harnack, while dissenting from some of Zahn's positions, thinks that that scholar has succeeded in proving that Gospel to have been an independent work.

On the all-important question of the Fourth Gospel, he holds that it cannot have been written earlier than 80 A.D., or later than 110. The Johannine Gospel and Epistles are referred, however, to the Presbyter John, not to the Apostle. This is one of the most doubtful parts of Professor Harnack's book. It is his wont to attach importance to the statements of Irenaeus. Here he departs from his usual attitude. He attempts to dispose of the fact that Irenaeus believed the Fourth Gospel to have been the Apostle's work, and of the considerations which go to show that this was the belief of the Church of Asia Minor at the end of the second century. He makes little, also, of the finer indications which render it at least not improbable that Apollinaris (about 170 A.D.), and even Justin Martyr (155-160 A.D.), were of the same persuasion. He has to show it to be probable that by the last quarter of the second century the Church of Asia Minor had confused the Presbyter with the Apostle. We cannot say that he has succeeded in this. Neither has he done more than others before him to give substance to this shadowy figure. It will be felt, we believe, that he has not sufficiently considered aspects of the case as regards Irenaeus to which attention is called by Professor Gwatkin and other English scholars; nor has he given due regard to such reasonings as those which are followed out by Resch in his treatment of the Gospels. But it is right to say that he speaks with some modesty and reserve, and further, that he qualifies his statement by admitting that these writings, if they came from the hand of the Presbyter John, show clear traces of the influence of the Apostle John.

In these discussions of the problem of the Fourth Gospel, Professor Harnack is not so sure of his ground as he generally is. Neither is he, perhaps, quite consistent. In other parts of his book, as in those dealing with the Catholic Epistles, it will also be felt that his procedure is at times somewhat arbitrary and his judgments not sufficiently balanced. He seems now and again

to yield to some of the temptations to which schools of criticism, which are pronounced by him to be out of date, have been open. He is not free from a habit which has misled many in the region of Old Testament criticism—the habit of assuming that the date at which an idea or an institution first appears in the literature of a people is also the date at which it first appears in actual fact in their history. He still makes too much both of the Hellenic influence on the doctrine and organisation of the primitive Church, and of the influence of the Gnostic movement on the shaping of the New Testament Canon. But the book is likely to make an epoch in New Testament studies. It is full of brilliant thought and capable investigation.

It might be supposed that Professor Harnack's conclusions as to the early dates to which so many of the New Testament books must be referred, would seriously affect his views of the construction of Christian doctrine, the rise of Christian institutions, and the appearance of certain beliefs and narratives in the Canonical books. But it is not so. There is nothing to indicate any change in these views. He thinks that there is still room enough within the narrower limits to which he now commits himself for a large development. He does not admit that sixty or seventy years are needed for the formation of the historical deposit which is contained in the Synoptic Gospels. He thinks thirty or forty years sufficient. He does not admit that so long a period as seventy or eighty years after Paul are required for the rise of a phenomenon like the Fourth Gospel. He holds thirty or forty years again to be enough. So he does not regard the period between the Apostolic Convention and the close of the first century as too small to admit of a rapid and extensive development of doctrine and institution. And he is of opinion that he is borne out in this contention by the analogy of the changes which took place in such a period as that from 1517 to 1567, or even that between 1517 and 1530. This touches the most serious questions of the near future. What we get here is only an indication of Professor Harnack's mind on these subjects. No doubt he will have more to say of them by and by. We shall look with interest for a completer statement.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Man's Place in the Cosmos, and other Essays.

By Andrew Seth, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 308. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

IN three respects these essays of Professor Andrew Seth's mark the immense change which has come over philosophical studies in the English speaking lands. There has been a broadening of the conception of philosophy; there has been a wide reaction towards Idealism, almost as influential where Idealism is not the ultimate creed as where it is; and this Idealist reaction has ceased to be merely imitative of German systems, and has taken on a terminology and a dialectic of its own. All these facts receive emphasis from Professor Seth's new book. A student trained thirty years ago in what our Universities then called Philosophy, and who had read little philosophy since, might well be puzzled on reading these pages. Opinions he had been accustomed to condemn unheard, he would find presented with the most solemn conviction. Names which had been the synonyms for all that was fortuitous and unpractical, he would find cited with reverence. He would seem to have awakened in a revolutionised world, understanding of which demanded the learning of a new language and familiarisation with new ideas. Hence, however, the charm of this book to the philosophical student; it is so modern and up to date. It is a good guide, especially for the hard-worked man, to recent philosophical literature. Fugitive as these essays might at first sight appear, they are written by a man who knows, and who has lived through the philosophical movements of recent years, absorbing much, rejecting much, criticising all with a singular candour and an enviable subtilty. Psychology is not what it was a quarter of a century ago; under Wundt's initiation it has developed a new method, and has become much more conscious of its specific task; and these essays clearly, but with judgment, mark the advance. Logic, thanks mainly to Hegel, has entered upon a careful criticism of first principles, and in these pages the profounder views plainly appear. Metaphysics (and especially Epistemology) having ceased to be an incentive to ridicule, has shown itself to be of supreme importance, not to be ignored if we think deeply; without Metaphysics, as is understood to-day, there is no certainty in physical science; without Metaphysics, it is beginning to be understood, there is no solid basis in theology; even practical life is seen to be based upon a metaphysics of some sort, consciously

or unconsciously held, more or less correct in its postulates; and these irrepressible metaphysical problems, which Agnosticism has almost unintentionally compelled the modern thinker to face, find due, even affectionate, recognition here. Behind these lectures there lies an acute and patient thinker, who has assimilated the best in the great German systems of philosophy, the semi-Idealism of Kant, the subjective Idealism of Fichte, the objective Idealism of Schelling, the absolute Idealism of Hegel, the Realism of Herbart and Lotze, who has kept his head well above water in the swellings of that flood of thought associated with the names of the Cairds in Scotland, of T. H. Green, F. H. Bradley, and William Wallace in England, and of Josiah Royce, W. T. Harris, Elisha Mulford, and T. S. Kedney in America, and who has known how to assimilate the best in recent movements in Dualism from Martineau to Laurie. It seems to me to be the most useful feature of this book that it is so admirably and yet so critically in touch with the best in recent philosophy. Students of philosophy owe a debt to Professor Seth for his *Development from Kant to Hegel*, and for his two series of Balfour Lectures. But the hard-worked professional man, who is still interested in philosophical questions, will very probably thank Professor Seth most for his more popular, less technical, and not less scholarlike, *Man's Place in the Cosmos, and other Essays*.

The papers of which this volume is composed were written, the author tells us, within the last six years, and are together a criticism of some of the more significant contributions to philosophy which have appeared during that period. The first paper, "Man's Place in the Cosmos" (which gives the title to the volume), is a reprint of an article in *Blackwood* upon the late Professor Huxley's remarkable Romanes Lecture. The second paper, altogether admirable in tone and contents, on "The Present Position of the Philosophical Sciences," is a reprint of Professor Seth's inaugural lecture as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. The third paper, on "The New Psychology and Automatism," was an address to the Edinburgh University Philosophical Society, and has only been partly printed before, in the *Contemporary*. The other two papers, which have also appeared in the *Contemporary*, are reviews of Mr Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, and of Mr Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*. As a note to the last, a short paper on "The Use of the Word Naturalism," which formerly appeared in *The Philosophical Review*, is reprinted. All these essays were certainly deserving of a more permanent form, distinctly being, as claimed, seasonable criticism of some of the more significant contributions to recent philosophy. One could have wished that a paper had been included upon Hobhouse's

Theory of Knowledge, thus completing the more original philosophical work of recent years in English.

Professor Huxley's Romanes Lecture on "Evolution and Ethics" deservedly attracted a large amount of attention on its appearance for its tone, for its impressiveness, for its breadth of treatment, and, as the mature utterance of an evolutionist, for its novelty. But, as Professor Seth says, the subject as a whole was perhaps dismissed from public attention before its significance had been exhausted, or indeed properly grasped. Professor Huxley's protest against the naturalisation of ethics should certainly not be forgotten, and his deliberate opinion that "cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and the evil tendencies of man may have come about, but in itself it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before." This important opinion is certainly a milestone on the journey of the student of ethics. Now, Professor Seth first shows how timely the utterance was, instancing in proof the attitude towards ethical questions of Renan and Mr Thomas Hardy and others in current literature, and then considers carefully the consistency of Professor Huxley's argument and the ultimate tenability of his position. By that argument and that position Professor Seth stands, having shown, however, that some expressions of Huxley's were unguarded and open to an easy reply on the part of the evolutionists in ethics. This essay is certainly well worth reading.

In the inaugural lecture on "The Present Position of the Philosophical Sciences," it is pointed out that the discipline of the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh is of a threefold character—logical, psychological, and metaphysical (or philosophical in the strict sense.) It is also pointed out that these three lines of philosophical training are cognate, the first two being in a measure introductory or propædæutic to the third. Logic gives a training almost purely abstract or formal, comparable in some respects with the mental discipline of mathematics—a training in clearness of thinking, in accuracy of definition, in appreciation of what is meant by demonstration or proof. Psychology brings us face to face with a concrete subject matter—the actual facts of mental life. Philosophy carries us into a more difficult region, for here we deal, not with any particular department of fact, but with the ultimate principles of knowledge, and the ultimate constitution or meaning of the cosmos as such, including the prior question whether we are justified in speaking of a cosmos at all. The three departments having thus been demarcated, the present outlook in each of the three departments is rapidly but admirably described, with a notable aphorism here and there, as

when it is said "the horror of the true-blue experientialist for what he calls 'metaphysics' was amply repaid by the tone of condescension and indifference which the idealists adopted towards 'empirical psychology,'" and with an occasional humorous touch, as when Comte's Law of the Three States is described as representing metaphysics to be a sort of disease of childhood, *like measles*, which the race was in the act of outgrowing. Upon two principles, it is said, a true philosophy should lay stress at the present time. On the one hand, it should present a *teleological* view of the universe. On the other, it should be *anthropocentric* (ethical, that is to say).

In "The New Psychology and Automatism" the doctrine of human automatism, so clearly and forcibly put forth by Dr Münsterberg as one of his contributions to experimental psychology, is minutely considered. "The will is only a complex of sensations," says Münsterberg; what Seth says should be patiently read and weighed. His final words are, "If we were to recast Descartes' formula, in the light of all that has come and gone in philosophy since his day, not *cogito ergo sum*, but *ago ergo sum* is the form his maxim would take."

Mr Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* Professor Seth regards as the most important metaphysical work which has appeared in England since the publication of Green's *Introduction to Hume* in 1874. He thinks so, not because its conclusions are likely to become assured possessions of philosophical thought, but because of the intrepidity of the treatment and the singularly stimulating quality which belongs to all that Mr Bradley writes. Mr Bradley has always insisted on calling his soul his own. His volume is no easy reproduction of another man's thoughts. In the sweat of his brow its author has conceived and executed it. "I have a high opinion," said Mr Bradley in his preface, "of the metaphysical powers of the English mind," and his notable book is addressed to thinkers as such. Amongst critiques of Bradley I know nothing equal to this essay of Professor Seth's.

The final essay is entitled "Mr Balfour and his Critics," and is an examination of the philosophical importance of Mr Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*. For there is some danger, Mr Seth says, that the importance of Mr Balfour's book may be obscured by the very circumstances which gave it for a time extraordinary prominence. Yet *The Foundations of Faith* appeals to deeper interests than those of newspaper reviewers, and to a more permanent audience than the volatile general public. Therefore Professor Seth reconsiders Mr Balfour's book at some length, and what he says deserves careful study, although on some points he does seem to me to defend the indefensible in Mr Balfour.

Upon the general tone of all these essays a word should be said.

At bottom, as Professor Seth justly claims, they all treat of the same theme, namely, man's relation to the forces of nature and to the absolute ground of things. Therefore "Man's Place in the Cosmos" is a fair title for the whole series of essays as well as for the first. The main concern of every essay is to enforce the same view of the world and of man. That view is anti-naturalistic. It is therefore ethical. Inexplicable as man's personal agency is—nay, the one perpetual miracle—it is nevertheless, says our author, our surest datum and our only clue to the mystery of existence. The statement strikes me as too broad, but man's personality is assuredly a very important element in all philosophical inquiry; and the emphasis laid upon the fact and implication of personality makes this book at once timely and forcible. If I could not say, with Professor Seth, that "man, as rational, and in virtue of self-conscious reason, the free shaper of his own destiny, furnishes us with our only indefeasible standard of value, and our clearest light as to the nature of the divine," I can yet most gratefully acknowledge the able insistence in this volume upon the philosophical value of the ethical in man. But in my view, as a philosophical as well as a theological inquirer, the religious life of man is not identical with the ethical life, nor can it be explained solely by the ethical life. The Philosophy of Religion is to me more than the Philosophy of Activity. And only in the philosophy of religion, with its intuitions from another life than the human, do I find my clearest light as to the nature of the divine, my indefeasible standard of highest value.

ALFRED CAVE.

Die Altisraelitische Ueberlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung. Ein Einspruch gegen die Aufstellungen der modernen Pentateuchkritik.

Von Dr Fritz Hommel o. ö. Professor der semitischen Sprachen an der Universität zu München. München: Hermann Lukaschik, G. Franz'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. i.-xvi. 1-356. Price, M.5.75.

The Ancient Hebrew Tradition, as illustrated by the Monuments; a Protest against the Modern School of Old Testament Criticism.

By Dr Fritz Hommel, &c. London: S.P.C.K., 1897. 8vo, pp. i.-xix. 1-356. Price, 2s. 6d.

THIS book is professedly of an apologetic character, but it cannot be classed with the numerous apologetic works on the Old Testa-

ment which have appeared during the last few years. The defence of ecclesiastical traditions, which is the main business of the ordinary apologist, occupies but a small portion of Professor Hommel's treatise; by far the greater part of it is devoted to the exposition of certain novel theories respecting the history of antiquity in general, and of ancient religions in particular. These theories are so varied, and deal with such a mass of minute details, that it is very difficult to summarise them; but they may be briefly described, in the language of the newspapers, as "important if true." Of their truth the author himself has no doubt whatever; indeed, if the robustness of a man's convictions were always an accurate measure of the strength of his case, Professor Hommel might be reckoned among the greatest discoverers that the world has ever seen. Unfortunately in scientific researches sincerity, though a most valuable quality, is not everything, and it may be feared that, owing to his lack of other requisites, Professor Hommel will fail not only to convince genuine scholars but even to win the gratitude of conservative theologians.

It should be noted, first of all, that vehemently as Professor Hommel denounces Biblical critics in general, he has no hesitation in endorsing some of their most important conclusions. Thus, for instance, he denies that the Pentateuch, taken as a whole, is the work of Moses, and he accepts, in the main, the ordinary critical analysis, according to which the Pentateuch is a compilation derived from four principal sources (pp. 8-10, 12, 18-20). On this subject Professor Hommel expressly disagrees with Professor Sayce, who has lately informed us that if Moses did not write the Pentateuch, it would be "something like a miracle" (*Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1895). Professor Hommel thinks, it is true, that in many individual passages the critical analysis is very doubtful, owing chiefly to changes introduced by the compiler or by later copyists; but here he does not differ from the critics—though his language might sometimes lead his readers to infer that such was the case—since the same admission has repeatedly been made by Kuenen, Wellhausen, Driver, and, in fact, every prominent representative of the critical school. It is on historical, not on literary, questions that the divergence between Professor Hommel and the critics is most marked. He believes, for example, in the historical reality of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though it may be noticed, in passing, that he nowhere tells us clearly whether, in his view, the patriarchal narratives are trustworthy throughout, or whether they contain facts mingled with fiction. He likewise defends the antiquity of the so-called Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes. If this were all, there would be no cause for astonishment. But what especially distinguishes Professor Hommel is a passion for dogmatising about subjects which, from their very nature, are extremely obscure, such as the origin

of races, languages, and forms of civilisation. Thus he would have us believe that the Assyrians were of Arabian descent, that Abraham himself was an Arab, that the Israelites spoke an Arabic dialect down to the time of Joshua, that the religion of the Arabs in pre-historic ages was an exalted monotheism. To this last point Professor Hommel attaches great importance, but he does not seem to perceive the results which necessarily follow. If his theory were accepted, the religious significance of the Old Testament would be seriously diminished. The religion of Israel would cease to be a unique phenomenon in ancient history, as other writers, including critics like Wellhausen, invariably regard it; the faith of the Prophets would be a mere survival of an Arabian cult, the origin of which is utterly unknown. We can, therefore, hardly suppose that the theory will become popular among conservative theologians; they will be inclined to consider Professor Hommel, in spite of all his protestations, as an *ami compromettant*. In his attempt to strengthen the edifice of traditional theology he has really undermined it.

But if Professor Hommel's conclusions are often strange, the methods by which he arrives at them are stranger still. It is no injustice to say that he has hardly any notion of what is meant by a proof; when he wishes to establish a theory, he treats any evidence, however slight and however ambiguous, as absolutely decisive. A characteristic example may be cited from the very first chapter (p. 11). He there undertakes to "prove" that the prophet Hosea was acquainted with the book of Deuteronomy, and produces the following demonstration. In Deut. xxviii. 68 occur the words, "The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships"; in Hosea we read, "They shall return to Egypt" (chap. viii. 13), and "Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean food in Assyria" (chap. ix. 3). Therefore, according to Professor Hommel, the prophet "evidently had Deut. xxviii. 68 in his mind." But why, we may ask, is it more rational to conclude that Hosea copied from Deuteronomy than to conclude that the author of Deuteronomy copied from Hosea? Professor Hommel is ready with an answer—the allusion to Assyria in Hos. ix. 3 agrees with the circumstances of the prophet's time, and accordingly the mention of Egypt must be derived from an older source. But the fact that the mention of Assyria in Hos. ix. 3 is appropriate does not necessarily prove that the mention of Egypt is inappropriate. Professor Hommel seems to have forgotten that Hosea, like some other Prophets, repeatedly mentions Egypt and Assyria together (Hos. vii. 11, xi. 5, 11, xii. 1[2]). Are we to suppose that in all these passages Hosea is quoting some older book? If not, why should we assume it, as "evident," in the case of Hos. viii. 13,

ix. 31 Driver has remarked (*Introduction to the Lit. of the O. T.*, p. 292) that "nothing is more difficult (except under specially favourable circumstances) than from a *mere* comparison of parallel passages to determine on which side the priority lies," and the truth of this observation must be admitted by all sober-minded critics.

Professor Hommel's propensity to build arguments upon utterly insufficient data becomes all the more dangerous when he discusses inscriptions and the like, because it is here much harder for ordinary readers to test his statements. The greater part of his book deals with ages of which we have no *continuous* history, ages known to us only from scattered notices, many of them fragmentary, which are often separated from one another, in point of time, by intervals of several generations or several centuries. According to the general opinion of Assyriologists, the cuneiform inscriptions range over a period of more than 3000 years, that is to say, a period longer than the whole of European history, from the dawn of Greek civilisation to the present day. But the great majority of the cuneiform inscriptions hitherto deciphered are later than the year 1000 B.C. Of the earlier ages we know comparatively little, and that little is frequently derived from *copies* made under the later Assyrian kings. Whether these copies are quite trustworthy may sometimes be open to doubt. Under such conditions the lively imagination of Professor Hommel has free scope; the vast distance of time, the extreme meagreness of the evidence, instead of inspiring him with distrust, appear to exhilarate him. He does not realise that, though inscriptions may often throw great light on a period of which we already have a general knowledge, there is no hope of recovering, even in outline, the history of a long period from the evidence of inscriptions alone. For, in the first place, some of the most important events may happen not to be mentioned in any extant inscription. In the second place, we cannot, with any confidence, deduce historical arguments from an inscription unless we know something of the general conditions under which it was written. The names of countries and nations, of political and religious institutions, are liable to change their application in the course of time, and accordingly the same phrase may signify utterly different things in the inscriptions of different periods, or even of different districts. The impossibility of writing history by guess-work, as Professor Hommel is perpetually attempting to do, will be apparent if we consider what has happened in Western Asia during the last 1500 years. Within that time, countries and populations have changed their names; some nations have changed their religion while retaining their old language, others have changed their language while retaining their old religion. But how many of these great transformations would be known to us if we were

dependent upon inscriptions only? Arabia, for example, is particularly rich in inscriptions, yet it may be doubted whether there is in Arabia a single inscription which would give us any definite information as to the origin of the Mohammedan religion, if all Mohammedan literature had perished.

Of Professor Hommel's treatment of the inscriptions a few specimens must suffice. He has, of course, much to say about the so-called Tell-El-Amarna tablets, which, as every one knows, are a collection of dispatches sent to the Egyptian government from Palestine and other countries about 1400 B.C. From the fact that these documents are in the Babylonian language and the cuneiform character, Professor Hommel concludes with certainty that Syria and Palestine must, at some earlier period, have been conquered by the Babylonians (p. 33). But what right have we to draw this inference? The choice of a particular language for official purposes may be determined by many and various causes. In Egypt, for instance, the Aramaic language was largely used for official purposes in the days of the Achaemenian Empire, as is proved by the Aramaic papyri and inscriptions of that period. Yet it would be quite a mistake to suppose that Egypt had been previously conquered by some Aramaean potentate. Similarly, in the last century, the French language was habitually spoken and written at the courts of many European countries which had never been politically subject to France; while the modern Persian language was extensively employed at the court of the Indian Moguls, and is still written in some parts of Central Asia which have never been conquered by the Persians. Hence it must be evident that to assume a Babylonian conquest of Canaan, for the mere purpose of supporting a theory, is contrary to the principles of historical science.

Professor Hommel's disquisition on Gen. xiv. is another fairy palace of conjecture, built upon the slenderest foundation. Like several of his predecessors he endeavours to prove from the inscriptions the truth of the narrative in Gen. xiv., and identifies Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal with certain kings whose names appear in Babylonian documents. Whether all four names have been correctly deciphered is at least doubtful; thus the name which Professor Hommel reads as *Iri-Aku* (= Arioch) should, according to Winckler, be pronounced *Rim-Sin*, and Jensen calls the form with *-Aku* "a pseudonym invented by Assyriologists." This, however, is a matter which cannot here be discussed; we may assume, for the sake of argument, that Professor Hommel's readings are quite correct. But another difficulty arises. If the statements of the inscriptions are to be trusted, the king whom Professor Hommel identifies with Amraphel must have lived about 2300 B.C., whereas Amraphel is represented in Genesis as a contemporary of

Abraham, whose date Professor Hommel places about 1900 B.C. How does Professor Hommel surmount this obstacle? By the very simple process of striking out, as "entirely apocryphal" (p. 126), a whole dynasty of kings whose names are mentioned in the inscriptions! But even this liberty, astounding as it is, does not suffice for Professor Hommel's purpose. Nowhere in the inscriptions is it stated that a single one of the four kings in question ever invaded Palestine, and consequently not a single one of the *events* described in Gen. xiv. is shown to be historical. According to Professor Hommel, however, the correspondence of the *names* is enough to prove that the narrative in Gen. xiv. is "genuine and ancient tradition" (p. 192). But how did this "genuine tradition," about persons who lived some five hundred years before the time of Moses, find its way into the book of Genesis? Professor Hommel suggests that it was preserved in the library of the pre-Israelite kings of Salem and afterwards transferred, in a Hebrew translation, to the library of the Judaean Temple. The notion that a Jew, during the Exile, can have borrowed the names from some Babylonian record Professor Hommel rejects with scorn. Yet it is not easy to see why the latter theory should be pronounced more absurd than the former. If the names are contained in Babylonian documents extant at the present day they were presumably to be found in Babylonian documents extant at the period of the Exile, whereas we have no proof whatever that they were to be found in the library of the kings of Salem. But, as a matter of fact, even if we suppose Gen. xiv. to have been written during the Exile, it is quite unnecessary to assume that the author borrowed the names from a Babylonian library. Everyone must know that in the East fragments of historical tradition may be transmitted, from age to age, and from nation to nation, in a great variety of ways; and it is particularly important to observe that historical *romances* are much more likely to be transmitted than genuine historical narratives. The names of Solomon and Alexander the Great, for example, have been popular in the East for many centuries, yet almost all that Orientals relate of them is derived from romances in which a few scraps of historical truth are overlaid with masses of fiction. The Koran, in particular, contains a large number of names borrowed from Israelite history, but of the history itself Mohammed was notoriously so ignorant that he represents Haman as a minister of Pharaoh. These examples, and many others that might be cited, show that the occurrence of historical names in a narrative is no guarantee whatever of historical truth.

But Professor Hommel's disregard of critical precautions is most to be deplored when he treats of his favourite subject—the pre-historic Arabs and their religion. The evidence on which he here

relies is derived mainly from *proper names*, mentioned either in Babylonian or in native Arabian (Sabaean and Minaean) inscriptions. Unfortunately both classes of names present serious difficulties. So far as the names taken from Babylonian documents are concerned, it must be remembered that the ambiguity of the cuneiform writing, in which several of the Semitic consonants are either not represented at all or not distinguished from one another, often renders it impossible to say, with any confidence, what was the true pronunciation. But even when the pronunciation is certain, how are we to decide which of these names are really Arabic? Professor Hommel falls into the very serious error of assuming that any name which *admits of an explanation* from the Arabic, but not from the Hebrew or Aramaic, must necessarily be an Arabic name. He forgets that at the very remote period with which he is dealing (2000 B.C. or earlier) the distinctive features and the geographical distribution of the various Semitic languages may have been quite different from anything which we are able to imagine. Semitic languages may then have been spoken of which we know nothing. Words and forms which we are accustomed to regard as characteristically Arabic may then have existed in no Semitic language, or may have been common to all Semites. Even with regard to a much later period, our linguistic information is extremely imperfect; whether, for instance, the language of the Midianites, the Edomites, or the Amalekites, in the time of David, was more nearly akin to Hebrew or to Arabic is a matter of pure conjecture. Recent discoveries have repeatedly shown the danger of dogmatising on these questions. Thus, for example, we are now aware that a certain reflexive verbal form, which scholars once considered peculiar to Arabic, was used by the Moabites in the ninth century B.C. If this were all that we knew of the Moabite language we might conclude that it was a dialect of Arabic, but the inscription of King Mesha' proves that in general it closely resembled Biblical Hebrew. Again, the Zinjirli inscriptions have shown that, about the same period, there existed in the extreme north of Syria a dialect which combined certain features hitherto supposed to be specifically Hebrew with other features hitherto supposed to be specifically Aramaic. Hence it is quite possible that many of the names which Professor Hommel confidently puts down as "Arabic" are in reality derived from some other language. Names taken from Sabaean and Minaean inscriptions are, of course, open to less doubt as regards their form and Arabian origin. But, unhappily, almost all these inscriptions are of *unknown date*. Professor Hommel assumes throughout (in opposition to D. H. Müller, Mordtmann, and other eminent authorities) the correctness of his theory about the immense antiquity of the Minaean inscriptions, although that

theory received a rude shock, a few years ago, in consequence of the discovery of a Minaean inscription dated from the reign of "Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy" (see the papers by D. H. Müller in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, viii. [1894], pp. 1-10, 161-166). An ounce of fact is proverbially worth more than a ton of theory, and the fact that we possess a single Minaean inscription dated from the Ptolemaic period is of more importance than all the speculations in the world about the age of the undated Minaean inscriptions.

Thus it will be readily understood that, out of the vast number of proper names cited by Professor Hommel, there are very few of which both the form and the date can be considered certain. But let us give him the benefit of every doubt, and assume, for the moment, that the forms and the dates are all correctly stated. What has he then succeeded in proving? Merely this, that certain forms of proper names, which occur in the Pentateuch, were used in Babylonia and Arabia at a very early period. But this does not even raise a presumption in favour of the antiquity of the Pentateuch, unless it can also be proved that the forms in question were no longer used in later times. Here Professor Hommel unfortunately displays an almost total lack of criticism. He cites a number of proper names as *proofs* of the extreme antiquity of the Pentateuch, regardless of the fact that names of the same, or of a similar, type are common in inscriptions admitted on all hands to be quite late. Thus, for instance, he urges that names compounded with *El* (God) are frequent both in the Pentateuch and in early Arabian inscriptions (pp. 299-302). But he forgets to state that such names were also in use among the heathen nations bordering on Palestine long after the Return of the Jews from the Exile. The above-mentioned Minaean inscription, of the Ptolemaic period, is the epitaph of a certain זידאל (*Zaid-El*), who provided myrrh and spices to be used in the temples of the "gods of Egypt." In 1 Macc. xi. 17 we read of an Arabian chief named *Zabdiel*, and in the inscriptions of the heathen Nabataeans, written about the time of Christ, we find a profusion of these names—עליאל, והבאל, נמראל, חנאל, מקימאל, רבאל, and others. It should be noted that the names והבאל and עליאל are common to the Minaean and to the Nabataean inscriptions (see D. H. Müller's *Epigraphische Denkmäler*, 1889, pp. 26, 38). The Nabataean חנאל corresponds to the name חניאל in Numb. xxxiv. 23. From all this it is clear that, even if the Minaean inscriptions be really as ancient as Professor Hommel imagines, names compounded with *El* are by no means *restricted* to very early times, and the occurrence of such names in the Pentateuch consequently proves nothing in favour of the antiquity of the book. But Professor Hommel is no less rash when he infers from

names of this kind that the pre-historic Arabs were monotheists. He might as well infer that the Greeks were originally monotheists because they used such names as Θεόδοτος, Θεόπομπος, Τιμόθεος, etc. Among the Greeks, as among the Arabs and Aramaeans, names formed with a word for "God" alternate with other names in which some special deity is mentioned, Θεόδωρος, for instance, with Διόδωρος, Ἀπολλόδωρος and Ἀρτεμίδωρος. What right, therefore, has Professor Hommel to say (p. 87), in speaking of the religious significance of the early Arabian names, that "no parallel can be found for it in the nomenclature of any ancient people"? It may be true that the *proportion* of names in which some special deity figured was smaller among the ancient Arabs than among the Greeks. But this does not imply that the Arabs were originally monotheists. In small and relatively isolated communities, like those of ancient Arabia, the local or tribal god would naturally occupy a more important place, and hence be more frequently designated as "the god" or "our god," than among a people like the Greeks, who at an early period, in consequence of their political development, attained to the notion of a Pantheon, or organised commonwealth of gods. But to confound the cult of a local god with monotheism is a mistake, as Robertson Smith has so ably pointed out (*Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed. p. 39).

If only Professor Hommel had devoted more attention to the names used in later times, he would have realised how dangerous it is to base historical arguments upon proper names, unless we are accurately informed as to the circumstances of the period. Among the later Jews, for instance, Greek and even Latin names were by no means rare; in the list of Maccabæan sovereigns we find Aristobulus, Alexander and Alexandra. Some centuries afterwards, in consequence of the spread of Christianity, Hebrew names became very common among the Syrians and other nations who were neither Hebrews by race nor Jews by religion. Certain names (*e.g.*, *Ishō'yabh*, "Jesus has given," *Bokhtīshō'*, "Jesus has delivered") were, of course, confined to Christians; but these are exceptions, and in general it may be said that names used by Christians were also used either by Jews or by heathens. Even Christian bishops sometimes bore names of a distinctly heathen type (*e.g.* Demetrius, Diodorus). At the beginning of the sixth century there was a bishop of Tellā called *Barhadad*, *i.e.*, "Son of (the god) Hadad"; several bishops, including one of the popes of Rome, were called *Hormisdas*, after the name of the supreme deity of the ancient Persians, *Ahuramazda* or *Hormizd*. Can it be doubted that if we derived our knowledge of that period chiefly or solely from proper names, we should be liable to draw the most absurd conclusions as to the religious condition of the world?

From all that has been said it will be perceived that Professor Hommel's work is essentially speculative; instead of bringing the theories of modern Biblical critics to the test of facts, he offers us a new set of theories. Thus the controversy as to the origin of the Pentateuch remains precisely where it was before. For it is manifest that until Professor Hommel's opinions about Arabian monotheism, and a score of other subjects, are definitely proved to be true, they cannot be used for the purpose of proving or disproving anything else.

A. A. BEVAN.

The Ethics of John Stuart Mill.

Edited by Charles Douglas, M.A., D.Sc. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, p. 234. 6s. net.

WE already owe to Dr Douglas a competent and appreciative study of the philosophy of J. S. Mill. He has conferred on the student of philosophy the additional boon of a serviceable edition of the ethical writings of this influential writer. Only those who have striven to obtain a full and clear view of the ethical view of Mill, and have been compelled to search his voluminous writings with that purpose, can appreciate the service done to them by Dr Douglas. He has patiently and lovingly searched the writings of Mill, has gathered together every ethical utterance of his, placed every fragment in its appropriate setting, and has combined them into an organic unity, so that the student may rest satisfied that he has within easy reach all the ethical teaching of Mill, at least as far as it is contained in his published writings.

It is not needful to say much on the ethical teaching of Mill, nor to describe his exact historical position, or the changes he made on the utilitarian view. This has been well done by Dr Douglas in the introductory essays. On these essays we may say a few words. They are three in number. Ethics and Induction, Ethics and Psychology, and Ethics and Morality are the titles of these essays, and they form a fitting introduction to the study of ethics, such an introduction as the student needs on beginning the study of ethics. The sphere of ethics is well defined, and its relation to the process of induction set forth clearly. The relation of ethics to psychology is set forth with masterly precision. On this point we make the following quotation: "This necessity for an interpretation of experience different from mere analysis of them into their simplest elements, or description of the manner in which they come into existence, is not confined to those experiences in which we learn the nature of physical objects. If these stand in need of explanation

which is not afforded by the most complete account of the elements that compose them, it is not less necessary to seek such explanation of the experience which form the ground of moral judgment ; for the conduct and character which are judged to be morally good or bad do not exist in isolation from the world of things and persons ; in every change which they undergo, and every quality which they exhibit, they are inseparable from the order of nature and society ; and no account of them can be complete which deliberately regards them in an artificial abstraction from the world by which their nature is determined. But the moral quality of actions is specially dependent on this relation which they bear to a whole or system of which no complete account is given in the mere analysis of mental state. In the first place, actions are right and wrong only in their relation to the unity of mental life ; it is their membership in a system of which self-consciousness is the determining principle that gives them their moral quality. In the second place, the moral quality of self-conscious actions depends on the relation of the individual agent to a system wider than his individual life. Regarded merely as states or changes of the individual, actions have no moral character ; they are morally good or bad only because the individual belongs to a community, and his acts are thus connected with an order beyond the changes of his private life." Mill had attempted to derive ethics from psychology, and his editor has been constrained to show that the attempt was a failure. The foregoing quotation is part of the argument by which this is made good. The contention of Mill is clearly and sympathetically shown, and its inadequacy pointed out. The next question is the relation between the theory of morality and the moral consciousness itself, as this was apprehended by Mill. What then is morality ? To this Dr Douglas answers : "Morality is the system of beliefs in accordance with which actions are judged to be right or wrong ; and the morality of an act is its relation to the judgments which make up the system, or to the principle which those judgments express." What is the principle which determines moral judgment ? This is really the problem of Mill. He investigates the moral judgment in order to discover the principle by which it is determined. In a passage of singular beauty Dr Douglas sets forth the Hedonistic problem as Mill received it from his predecessors, describes the transformation it received at his hands, inquires into the validity of that addition, and shows that the addition made by Mill to the Utilitarian view was of such a kind as to necessitate the reconstruction of his ethical scheme from the foundation. The statement may be given in the words of Dr Douglas : "Mill was led to define virtue, not simply by its tendency to produce certain consequences, but also as a quality of

personal life. But he did not consider how far removed such ideas were from the presuppositions on which he continued to base his ethical theory. That every man desires his own pleasure, and nothing else, is no ground for believing that every man ought to produce the greatest possible amount of happiness for others; and virtue, when it is defined as conduct which is influenced by sympathy and by interest in society to the production of a common good, has no direct connection with a character which is conceived to be limited in its interests and motives to the sphere of private pains and pleasures. Mill modified his conception of human character and conduct; but he never learned to think of them in a way which was really consistent with his own ethical position. His conception of virtue is one which cannot be made intelligible except by supposing that human character and the human interests are organic to a personal consciousness capable of recognising itself as related to other persons, and thus becoming a member of a community. His actual theory of human motives—that they are all incidental to desires for pleasant feeling—implies the widely different view that personal life is merely a series of impressions, and the individual consciousness is without any bond of relation to the real world or to other persons.”

JAMES IVERACH.

A Study of the Psychology of Kant with reference to the Critical Philosophy.

By Edward Franklin Buchner, Ph.D., Professor of Descriptive Psychology in New York University, Instructor in Pedagogy and Philosophy in Yale University. Lancaster, Pa.: The New Era Print. 8vo, pp. 208. Price, \$1.25.

IF we may take it upon ourselves to give advice to Dr Buchner, we would humbly counsel him to study simplicity. We have toiled at his book, believing it worth our while, and we have not toiled in vain, for we have obtained some fresh insight into the meaning of the mighty Kant. We grudge, however, the hindrances put into our way; and the needless obscurity of his meaning which the writer somewhat gratuitously indulges in to the consternation of the reader we utterly deplore. Our time has been wasted by the need of reading an inflated rhetorical style and the necessity of guessing at the meaning of words which we have not met outside of the pages before us. On the first page the following sentence gave us pause:—"The discommoding dust and the beautiful crystal, the blooming plant and the psycholating cell are phantas-

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magoria coming from nature's adjustments of elemental atoms in their infinite valencies." To be introduced for the first time to a "psycholating cell" was a great event, but it was nothing to the feeling of wonder which arose within our heart when we found ourselves actually shaking hands with a phantasmagorium. As we continued to read we came across other words and sentences fearfully and wonderfully made, and words whose acquaintance we had not made before. We suppose it is Dr Buchner's way, and we must submit. Still we may say that it is not a good way. He might have learned something, as to simplicity, lucidity, and exactness, from Harris, Bowne and James, American writers in philosophy, who have been able to express the deepest things and thoughts in the most lucid language. By what right does Dr Buchner place a clumsy, barbarous and rhetorical style between us and his critical exposition of Kant? No man who has anything to say to his fellowmen has a right to say it after this fashion.

When we get accustomed to his style of setting forth his thoughts, we find that he has something to say. He has set forth the psychological problem of Kant with great care ; we see it as it was handed on to Kant from the workers in philosophy of former times ; how Kant set it anew, grappled with it in his own fashion, and gave it that form which has prevailed till the present hour. A chapter deals with the value and difficulties of Kant's psychology, with the sources of it, with the relations of psychology to metaphysics, to logic, to ethics, and to æsthetics. Then a chapter is given to a description of Kant's conception of psychology and the form of the critical philosophy. It is a closely-reasoned argument, in which further difficulties in Kant's psychology are pointed out, and many things are discussed with relation to the place and sphere of psychology, the gist of which will be seen from the following quotation :—"It is to be gathered from the preceding mention of the relation of the faculties that psychology is concerned with the tracing out the mechanism of what may be called knowledge in its most liberal meaning. It dare not estimate the value of the various elements, for then it becomes ethical ; nor can it pronounce upon the ultimate facts and their inherent worth, for then it becomes philosophical. Processes only are the goal of psychological inquiry. The impulsive queries which go beyond these must find satisfaction in the answers rendered by philosophy. So close do they lie, they are difficult to separate. One begins where the other ends. Thus knowledge and its manifold implications are to be submitted to the eye of reason ; and the breaking up into problems depends not on the faculties which have contributed to that knowledge, but on the

way in which that knowledge may be broken up. There first emerges that broad distinction which Kant recognised and is fundamental, viz., between that which is and that which ought to be. The former falls within knowledge in its more limited sphere, and breaks up into dirempted products of consciousness, affording the subject knowing and the object known. The latter provokes inquiry into the nature of the objective object and subjective object, the 'me' and 'not me.' The second broad distinction finds unique implications in manifold ways which philosophical analysis must bring to light."

The discussion moves on to the consideration of empirical psychology and the contents of the critical philosophy. It is partly expository and partly critical of Kant's position. It deals with form and content; describes Kant's idealism; states his view of sense-perception; gives in some detail Kant's views on sensation, perception, imagination, memory, understanding and reason. In this chapter the author has settled down to business, and rhetoric has been largely discarded; and we have from him a lucid account of Kant's views on the topics indicated above. He follows with patience and intelligence the argumentation of the master, not slavishly, but with the knowledge of what has been learned since he wrote. From sense to reason, through all the intermediate grades, the author leads us, until we are brought face to face with the ultimate questions of psychology. What are the ways in which our experiences fuse into knowledge? Our author tells us, these modes of fusion are the categories which have been so famous in the history of philosophy. To tell us what they are is the task of metaphysics; to tell us why we use them is the business of the theory of knowledge; but the way and manner of using them, and the how of their application throughout experience, this is part of the work of psychology.

What warrant have we that these modes of fusing our knowledge are such as give us certainty that we are in contact with reality? "We make affirmations or negations, positing them as true for all time and absolutely true in the experience of every rational being. What are the grounds on which rest these features of our knowledge? or, what is the evidence that our knowledge is dealing with reality?" For the answers to these questions we must refer to the book itself; but we must give a helpful quotation: "So far as the scepticism of criticism rests on the elimination of the effective factors in the cognitive consciousness, it remains without psychological warrant. All intellection is suffused with the element of belief. Judgments proceed with the conviction that they are dealing with something real. In its speculative aspects criticism unpsychologically considers mere intellection.

Though there is yet dispute among writers whether belief is intellectual or affective, there is no doubt about the conviction of reality being an accompaniment of rational processes. This is just the nature of belief, that thought is having reference beyond itself to a real object. Even in its most speculative flights knowledge is always coming back to the starting-point of all intellectual activity—namely, the lowly, broad basis of sense-experience. Thus Psychology's answer to the question of certainty is the feeling of belief or conviction of reality that attaches itself to and develops with the intellective consciousness. There is no real thing for us men until we can bring it within a consciousness glowing with the feeling that it is real. Here also is one of the most obvious relations that obtain between two of the so-called faculties, and a fact which makes intelligible this necessity of ours that we must have come up through a long development before we posit the realities of common or cultured experience. The feeling elements must intertwine all cognition and be the supporter and conservator of all that is gained in knowledge. The Kantian psychology cannot remain justified in the antithesis between faith, opinion and knowledge, and the scepticism which flourished on that stalk cannot be philosophically removed by inquiry into the realm of ethical faith."

The final chapter deals with the position of rational psychology in the critical philosophy. The discussion is able and competent. Beginning with the relation of rational psychology to the critical system, it proceeds to an analysis of the four paralogisms, inquires into the source of the rational psychology which Kant criticised, and gives us a criticism of Kant's criticism, which is one of the most valuable things in the volume. There are also criticisms of other doctrines of Kant which are of value. There is no doubt that this is an able book, and to the careful and patient student will yield a rich reward. But the student will need patience, for the thought of the writer does not make itself manifest on a first reading, and even a second reading sometimes leaves the meaning somewhat obscure. Why should we be compelled to submit a book to a process of distillation?

JAMES IVERACH.

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.

Das Buch Hiob von Karl Budde. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. lvi. 256. Price, M.6 ; bound, M.7.50.

PROFESSOR BUDDE'S new work on Job may be regarded as the final result of studies on the Book which have extended over twenty years. In his *Beiträge* (1876) he subjected the Elihu section to a thorough investigation on its linguistic side, and came to the conclusion that, so far as the language is concerned, the Elihu speeches may well be from the pen of the writer of the other parts of the Book. In *Stade's Journal*, vol. ii., he examined the line of thought in ch. xxvii., xxviii., and the examination led him to believe that these two chapters are original and reveal an essential stage in the progress of Job's mind under his afflictions. In these two results Budde diverged from the views held by some of the best known writers on the Book. It is interesting to find that further studies have only confirmed him in his former conclusions. No doubt he admits, with perfect candour, that the language of Elihu has a different complexion from much of the rest of the Book, but he maintains that this difference is not peculiar to the Elihu speeches, but belongs to other parts, particularly to the whole second half of the Book, with the exception of a few chapters (xxix., xxxi., xxxviii., xxxix.), and his theory is that the second half of the Book, including the Elihu speeches, did not receive the author's final elaboration, with the exception of the chapters mentioned, which were already completed and ready for insertion. This theory makes the author's manner of composition attractively modern; but we doubt very much if scholars in general will concede to Budde that the *kind* of peculiarities characteristic of Elihu is to be found in any other part of the Book.

The interest of readers of this important work will be mostly concentrated on the author's view of the purpose and general idea of the Book of Job, and on the extremely acute and able criticism to which he subjects divergent views; but there are certain subsidiary questions on which it is well to hear the mind of a scholar of Budde's distinction. One of these is Hebrew metre. There is such a thing as Hebrew poetry, though much difference of opinion prevails regarding it. To the ordinary reader of the poetry, as the Massoretic text exhibits it, the most that appears is a certain tendency in the lines to approximate in length. But this tendency does not seem to be the primary principle of the poetry, which is rather the parallelism of thought, and in this Assyrian and perhaps Egyptian poetry agrees with the Hebrew. But it was

quite natural that the parallelism of thought should tend to clothe itself in a rhythmical parallelism of expression. Still, this rhythmical parallelism, not being the real principle of the poetry, but only, so to speak, the secondary effect of it, was not rigidly sought and is certainly not to be found in Hebrew poetry as the Bible exhibits it. It is only, therefore, when consecutive lines differ very widely in length that the text becomes critically suspicious, though of course the possibility always remains that the divergence in length was purposely introduced by the poet for the sake of literary effect (Job xiv. 4). Several schools of metricists, however, exist which maintain that the poetical lines are of the same length, though one school (*e.g.*, Bickell) considers sameness to consist in equal number of syllables, and another in equal number of main accentual beats, that is virtually, seeing every independent word carries a main accent, in equal number of words. Metricists are, of course, entitled to their theories or their fads as one may please to call them. It is when they apply their theory as an instrument of textual criticism that they awaken interest. The procedure of Bickell, who inserts or omits syllables or words on no authority and for no reason except to secure sameness in the number of syllables in the consecutive lines, shows how powerful—and how arbitrary—an instrument of criticism a metrical theory is. In a notice of Duhm's *Isaiah* in this *Review* some years ago, an attempt was made to show that textual changes reached in this way, being based on no principle capable of proof, were wholly illegitimate. Since then two important pronouncements have been made on the subject, one by Wellhausen and now one by Budde in his present work. In his edition of the Psalter, in Haupt's Bible, Wellhausen divides the text into *stichi*. The principle on which the division is made is certainly not clear, but at any rate the division is not according to any metrical theory, but in the teeth of every theory. While Wellhausen silently ignores theories, Budde expresses himself plainly in regard to them. And if any man has a right to speak on the subject it is he; for the only thing to be called certain in Hebrew poetry, the Lament measure, is due to his discovery. Though speaking mainly of the metres in Job, he maintains (1) that the consecutive lines need not be of the same length, in whatever way sameness be estimated; (2) that the verse need not consist of only two *stichi*, it may have, and the Poet often of purpose gives it, three; and (3) that the strophes, assuming that there is such a thing, need not consist of an equal number of verses. Bickell's emendations, made in order to secure an equal number of syllables in the lines and strophes of four lines each, are subjected to a good-natured and amusing fire of sarcasm all through Budde's book.

Another point of interest is Budde's proceeding in textual criti-

cism. In this he is very moderate. Of course he rightly uses criticism of the text, for nobody supposes the massoretic text immaculate, and nobody denies the legitimacy of the same means of amending it as are employed in the New Testament, such as the testimony of the versions. The only version of importance is the LXX, which in this case is quite peculiar, omitting nearly a fifth of the Book. In opposition to Hatch, and in agreement with Dillmann, Budde denies that the *plus* of the Hebrew was introduced after the LXX translation was made. Hatch's view is wholly improbable. Budde enumerates several peculiarities of the Greek translator which go a great way towards accounting for his much briefer text. Even, therefore, when Budde in omitting a passage is supported by the LXX, he is not inclined to lean much on the support. The LXX translator may have had the passage before him, and omitted it for some of his own bad reasons, though, of course, to put a possible case, he may have omitted it for the same good reasons as Budde. The author's emendations look felicitous in some cases; few of them (and few of those proposed by others) have any important bearing on the general sense of the Book, and it is the meaning of the Book in the religious history of Israel that is of interest. It is naturally in the Elihu section, the worst preserved part of the Book, that the author finds most to amend. His emendations here would need to be scrutinised with great closeness. His omissions have the effect certainly of diminishing the offence or mannerism of Elihu, and so far of diminishing the difficulty of accepting the Elihu section as an original part of the Book, which he maintains it to be. The arguments by which the omission of several passages is supported do not appear quite conclusive; and some of the passages omitted seem to show that, whether they be interpolations or not, their author read the surrounding context in a different sense from Budde. So far as literary criticism is concerned, the author is also very conservative. The prologue and epilogue are in his view essential parts of the Book, which would be unintelligible, and can never have existed, without them, though they may well have existed as a folk-tale prior to the Book. The Elihu speeches are original, and indeed contain the solution of the problem. The chief interpolations which he finds are xxiv. 18-21, and xli. 4-26 (A.V. 12-34). This conservatism on the part of the author of the *Urgeschichte* and the *Bücher Richter u. Samuel* is very interesting.

The part of the author's Introduction, where he develops his idea of the scope of Job and criticises other views, is tough reading, and we may not always have caught his meaning. If we have failed to set his views in the right light, the failure is unintentional. Scholars have always found it difficult to perceive the unity of the Book of Job and discover a ruling idea under which all parts of it could be

brought. This difficulty has led writers on the Book to consider parts of it unauthentic, some discarding the Prologue or Epilogue or both, and others the divine speeches or some other portion. Budde has the same difficulty as his predecessors, but he surmounts it in a different way. Instead of rejecting the Prologue because its view of the meaning of Job's sufferings is irreconcilable with the view given in the rest of the Book, he maintains that the author of the Book consciously dissented and departed from the idea of Job's afflictions given in the Prologue and substituted another idea for it.

Budde's view is something like this : First, the Prologue and Epilogue is an ancient story or folk-tale which the author of Job found already existing in writing and used, and between the parts of which he inserted his own work. The story is much older than his own day, for Ezek. xiv. 14, 20 alludes to it, while the author of Job wrote about 400 B.C. In this original folk-tale the question raised was, Is there a disinterested, unselfish religion? It was a wager or bet between God and the Satan. Hence Job's sufferings were a trial of his righteousness, to his own growth in grace and to the glory of God. The assumption of the story was that Job was a perfectly righteous man; there cannot, therefore, have been in the original story anything corresponding to Job's blasphemous outbreaks; the position begun with must have been maintained: *In all this Job sinned not.* Possibly the story contained a final scene between God and the Satan, in which the latter acknowledged his defeat and retired in humiliation. Secondly, this explanation of Job's sufferings did not satisfy the author of the Book of Job—if it had satisfied him there was no reason why he should have interfered with the original folk-tale. He therefore introduces various persons discussing the question of Job's sufferings, who, being contemporaries of Job, are, of course, ignorant of the scenes in heaven described in the Prologue. The author retained the Prologue partly for popular purposes, but mainly because it gave him the starting-point and problem to which he wished to give his own solution, viz., a (hitherto) righteous man falling into grievous affliction. The three friends give their solution, which is practically a denial of the problem: either there is no such thing as a righteous man, or the righteous man will not be afflicted: Job must have been guilty of sins to account for his afflictions. This is not the solution of the author of the book. On the contrary, he maintains three positions—First, against the friends, that a man hitherto righteous (in deeds) may be afflicted—Job was so before the visit of the friends; secondly, against the average reader, that Job sinned after the visit of the friends; and, thirdly, against Job, that God was righteous in afflicting Job. It is, of course, in demonstrating the third point that the author of Job reveals his

explanation of Job's afflictions. This he does in the speeches of Elihu. His explanation is in a sense that of the friends—there is no such thing as human righteousness; only in estimating righteousness he does not operate with man's past acts, but with his mind. Human righteousness is never so pure or transparent but that it casts a shadow, and its shadow is what Elihu calls "pride." And the purpose of God, who tries the heart, in afflicting Job was to reach and eradicate this root of bitterness, and how bitter it was the blasphemous hardihood of Job's speeches shows. God's purpose of afflicting Job was formed before His encounter with the Satan, as appears from the fact that *He* introduced the subject of Job, saying—Hast thou observed my servant Job, a man perfect and upright? If the Satan had answered—Yes, I know him, he is a perfect man, God would immediately have said—Go and take from him all that he has! The speeches of Elihu reveal to us, as they did to Job, the cause of Job's afflictions, and justify the ways of God to man.—This is virtually Hengstenberg's theory, though very probably Budde has never read his essay on Job. It appears to us to be an attempt to get behind the conception of the author of Job, and to use his stage and *mise en scène* for playing another drama than the one which he puts upon the boards.

Professor Budde's brilliant advocacy of his theory, and his trenchant criticism of opposing theories, must be read in his own pages. Only a few disjointed remarks can be made here. First, it is an essential part of Budde's theory that the Job folk-tale was found by the author of Job in writing. This, of course, can never be proved. Ezekiel certainly knew a story about Job just as he knew a story about Daniel, but there is no more evidence that there was a written story about Job than there is that there was a written story of Daniel. The present Book of Daniel can have almost no resemblance to the story of Daniel current in Ezekiel's day, and there is no evidence that the present Book of Job has any close resemblance to the original Job story. The present Prologue is probably an almost original composition. It is also part of Budde's theory that the author of Job dissented from the view of the written story. Neither can this be considered likely. Why, if he found the written story and dissented from it, did he encumber himself with it? It would have been enough to refer to a righteous man called Job who fell into great afflictions. On Budde's own showing the author of Job involved himself in great difficulties by his procedure. Budde argues that the Prologue had so much the stamp of the popular mind upon it that it could not be got rid of, particularly the wager or bet between God and the Satan. We suspect that to most minds the Satan episode will

seem a difficulty in the way of Budde's theory. Is it probable that a doctrine of Satan so developed, exhibiting a personality so distinct and a character so pronounced as is implied in a bet between him and God, should have existed anterior to the time of Ezekiel? Budde himself feels this difficulty, and suggests that in the original tale the term "the spirit" may have been used as in 1 Kings xxii. But with an indefinite "spirit" the idea of a wager between him and God would be quite unnatural. On the theory of an ancient written story one would be tempted to hold that the Satan episode formed no part of it. And the idea that the author of Job dissented from the popular tale while retaining it as his Prologue is so improbable that one would rather accept the view of Kuenen, viz., that the Prologue, the Satan episode, and the scenes in heaven, were not intended to give any *explanation* of Job's sufferings, but merely to describe how they came about. The non-appearance of the Satan in the Epilogue gives countenance to this theory. The Satan in that case would be a mere symbol as in 1 Kings xxii., with no proper personality, and the scenes in heaven mere dramatic embellishment without moral meaning.

Another thing on which we feel bemuddled is the question of Job's "righteousness." Budde speaks of Job's "immaculate" righteousness, of his "pride" in it, and how his pride led him into unrighteousness. His idea of the Job of the Prologue is that he was a man absolutely blameless in life, but (as afterward appeared) wrong in heart, his wrongness of heart being just the reflection of his blamelessness in life. Some will think this a contradiction, but, supposing the character possible, is it a creation to be looked for in the Old Testament? And is the word "pride" anywhere used of what we call spiritual pride? So far as Job is concerned he certainly never pretended to be a sinless, only in truth a God-fearing, man, with a life conformable to his fear of God. And we cannot see that the Prologue when it calls and makes God call him "a perfect and upright man, fearing God and eschewing evil," means in the least to describe him as absolutely "immaculate." The righteousness which Job claimed against the three friends was that he had never been guilty of such sins as they insinuated against him and eventually openly charged him with. And it is the same righteousness which he claims against God, because he can explain his afflictions in no other way but on the supposition that God is imputing to him the same kind of sins as the friends did. Job is perfectly right in maintaining his righteousness both against the friends and against God, righteousness being what he understands by it. And if he is righteous it inevitably follows—his idea of the connection between sin and suffering being assumed to be

correct—that God is unrighteous. And the Poet is perfectly true to Job's character and conceptions in making him adhere to his charge of unrighteousness against God to the very end. The source of Job's perplexity and charges against God was just his fixed idea that his afflictions implied that God imputed to him such sins as the friends did—this being his idea of the relation of affliction to sin—and his conscience acquitted him of such things. What was needed was that this fixed idea should be dissipated and wider possibilities of the cause of his afflictions suggested to his mind. And this was done by the divine speeches, in which, if there is no actual explanation of his sufferings, there is not a word about any sin, but the whole tendency of which is to widen his view of God and providence. The divine speaker does not even charge him with impiety in his speeches, only with what might be called intellectual presumption. The gist of these addresses to Job is, as Budde says, *What dost thou know? What canst thou do?* We do not quite make out what meaning Budde attaches to Job's controversy with the friends and his victory over them. He remarks by way of minimising its importance that after disposing of the friends Job is as "eager for the fray" with God as he was before with the friends. Of course he is. He felt that God and the friends were making the same charges against him, the latter in words and the former by His afflictive acts. His real controversy is with God, as he often says, the friends he regards as mere special pleaders for God. Of course the controversy as to the facts of providence is subordinate, though necessary. But the purpose of the Book is not to disprove the doctrine of retributive righteousness, to show that a proportion between sin and suffering is not true, but to ask, *Why in the name of God is it not true?* The question of the Book is not the righteousness of Job, but the righteousness of God. It is the question whether religion be not a delusion. And was it unnatural that the author of Job should suggest two solutions of the anxious question, a general one, based on a wide consideration of the relation of the creature to the Creator, as in the divine speeches; and a particular one, viz., that sufferings may be a trial of righteousness, as in the Prologue—supposing this to be the meaning of the Prologue. We cannot help thinking that the view that it is God alone who composes Job's mind, and does so without any explanation of his sufferings, is infinitely loftier, truer to poetry and to religion, than the view that a human speaker like Elihu produces such an effect. To us now the question of God's rule may be overcome or silenced. It continues to have its interest as a question anxiously debated at one stage of Israel's religious history. But the position taken and held by Job suggests things of perennial

religious meaning, viz., that there is such a thing as being a God-fearing man, and that one who is so may be conscious of it, and that this consciousness is strong enough to maintain itself against all external evidence which men or the course of providence (for which Job can only say "God") can bring against it; and, finally, that in the contents of this consciousness there is an affirmation not only about man but about God, for when Job says, "Even now my witness is on high," and "I know that my Redeemer liveth," he says that religion is reciprocal, that man's having God is God's giving Himself to man. It is such things as these, and there are many of them in the Book, that make Budde's theory of Job's character distasteful, and, as we think, untrue.

Professor Budde emphasises very strongly the impious hardihood of Job's speeches, and finds in it a powerful argument for his theory of the Book. Of course "Job" is the author of Job. The writer of the Book expresses himself mainly in Job's speeches. In what sense does he do so? Is it with seriousness and sympathy? Or does he cause Job to go so far as he does just to suggest by the excess his own reprobation and awaken that of others? Budde appears to answer, For both purposes. The author had, or at one time had had, a "Job" in him, and this explains the power with which "the Job" is delineated and his sentiments expressed; but when he wrote he had overcome the Job and the Elihu had been formed in him. In other words, the author made Job go to the extremes he did in order to reveal the "sin" in him, and show it to be exceeding sinful. The divine afflictions were fomentations applied to Job's original sore to ripen it and make it ready for the knife. This makes a complicated character of Job—a man intensely in moral earnest, intensely wrong morally, and intensely ignorant of himself. Whether this be an interesting or an odious character, we venture to think it is as unlike the character of Job given in the Book as anything can be. If Job was not a righteous, but only a self-righteous, man, his outcries and protestations are worse than profane, they are ludicrous. The book is not a tragedy but a comedy. Is there not a more natural explanation of Job's excesses? Was it not the author's intention in making Job go to the extremes he did to emphasise the profound moral perplexity and even agitation into which providence, as they observed it, threw men's minds in that age? The whole post-exile period is full of this problem. The author of Ps. lxxiii. acknowledges that his feet were well-nigh gone. Nothing could be more false than to say that Job renounced God. The positions which Job took up and maintained to the end, as Budde says, were these: God is unrighteous; God must be righteous. But the God whom he called unrighteous was the

mere creation of his logic, of his understanding of what "righteousness" was. The God who must be and was righteous was the necessary postulate of his mind, the God whom he knew, and who he knew knew him. As to Job's excesses, the question is not what we think of them, but what the author of Job thought of them, who was not yet a Christian. And his view of them appears from the divine speeches. The divine speaker makes no charge of impiety against Job, only of the presumption of a creature in judging the action of his Creator. Budde's view that the speeches of Elihu had already shown Job his errors is nothing but a hypothesis. There is not in all the Book one word of the influence of Elihu's speeches on Job or on any other creature. On the contrary, when the author of the Book makes Job say in reply to the divine speeches, "Now mine eye seeth Thee, wherefore I abhor myself," does he not expressly attribute the change in Job's mind to the divine speeches? Budde seems to think it a presumption in favour of his theory that it explains every instance of affliction. It does so in a very one-sided way. It does so by saying that the causes of affliction are to be found exclusively in the defects of the person afflicted. But who will venture to say this? That afflictions have always some bearing on the person afflicted may be true, but they may have a wider bearing, and who will think himself wise enough to say in any particular instance whether God's chief purpose lay in the wider or the narrower bearing?

In a passage extremely characteristic, though not quite easy to understand, Professor Budde seems to reveal to us the genesis of his theory. The natural and original sense of the written folk-tale which the author of Job found was that Job's afflictions were a trial of his righteousness. But there were some things in it which suggested to the author of Job (as they do to Dr Budde) that God's purpose in afflicting Job was not to try his righteousness, but to purify him from an unrighteousness lurking in his heart, what Elihu calls pride (and Hengstenberg Pelagianism). One thing was that God opened the subject of Job with the Satan: Hast thou observed my servant Job? This shows an *arrière pensée* in the divine mind, He has something against Job. If it be objected that this makes the Deity disingenuous when he speaks in the same breath of Job as "a perfect and upright man," Budde replies that the words are ironical—the irony being at the expense of Job's "righteousness" or the Satan's shallowness, or both. He saw into Job's heart, and He knew that the Satan did not see into it. Of course the Satan will take exception to the praise of Job, which he takes as seriously meant, but the exception will be only such a vulgar commonplace as the suggestion of selfishness. Job's malady was deeper than that. Budde's reasoning is here so exquisitely

subtle that it is like vandalism to touch it and ask where is the evidence for this divine irony? Certainly the Satan did not detect it, and had not the faintest suspicion that he was being humbugged. But it is enough to mention the point. It is not for us to attempt to decide a question of interpretation between the Satan and Dr Budde, we have too profound a respect for the acuteness of them both.

No scholar in this generation has done so much to elucidate the Elihu section as Dr Budde, whether in regard to its language or its meaning. Still, even accepting his expurgated edition of the text and even his interpretation, one feels great difficulty in accepting the Elihu speeches as an original part of the Book. (1) There is the fact that outside of the Elihu speeches Elihu is nowhere alluded to. And this is all the more inexplicable when the great rôle is assigned to Elihu of revealing to Job and to us the mystery of Job's afflictions. (2) Then there is the difficulty of the language. Let anyone read over Elihu's speeches, even as given by Dr Budde, and then pass immediately to the speeches out of the storm, and no argument will be needed to impress this difficulty. And (3) Elihu's arguments are as unlike the arguments in the other parts of the Book as his language is unlike theirs. However precious the things be which he presents to us, they are dug out of the bowels of the earth. The arguments of the other parts of the book are profound just because superficial; they reflect the open face which the life of man and the world presents to the eye. Elihu's arguments are the result of *Grübeln*; their atmosphere is that of the mine, instead of the free air of the fields and the desert.

Apart from Professor Budde's theory, which, no doubt, many will like, his work is a very important one. It is full of fine suggestions; it will compel those who have theories of Job to reconsider them, and it will take its place as one of the ablest contributions to the exposition of the Book which have been made.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.

*By James Fred. McCurdy, University College, Toronto. Vol. II.
London and New York: Macmillan, 1896. 14s. net.*

THE merits of this work were so fully acknowledged in a notice of the first volume that it is necessary to do little more than draw attention to the appearance of a second part. The author had hoped to comprise the whole in two volumes, but his materials have so grown that a third will be necessary to exhaust them and do justice to his conception. The present part, carrying the

history down to the fall of Nineveh (608-6), traverses ground more familiar than that covered by the first, though not less important, and with all our knowledge of it, hardly less obscure. The volume falls into two general parts, the first dealing with the internal history of Israel from the Exodus, and the second more with the external history during the Assyrian age. It is the first part to which those interested in biblical science will most eagerly turn in the hopes of seeing some fresh light shed on the problems of the religious history of Israel. Such questions as these are waiting for a final answer: What is the origin and meaning of the name Jehovah, and what is the explanation of His connection with Sinai? On what religious level were the people of the Exodus, and what attributes did they assign to Jehovah their God? Were they pretty much on the same level as the other Shemitic peoples about, and, though they gave a distinct name to their God, did they conceive of Him very much as those peoples conceived of their gods? In other words, how far was Jehovah already ethical? This question of How far? is that which divides modern investigators into two schools. What can be the meaning of the command, Thou shalt have no other gods before Me? The command is a unique one in the religious history of the nations. To say that it is a preliminary one in preparation for the greater affirmation, There is no other God, is not satisfactory. Either the command implied already at the Exodus the idea of such a uniqueness in Jehovah as to make Him virtually God alone, or else the command is not so old as the Exodus—it is not a starting point that led to theoretical monotheism in later times, it is the reflection in later times of a monotheism already reached. Then there are such questions as these: How did the tribes settle in Canaan, and what relation to the natives did they take up? How did the native religion affect that of Israel, and how must we conceive the religion of Israel to explain to ourselves how it was so affected? What was its colour and its stability? And again, How shall we explain that religious and civil disorganisation existing in the time of the prophets and denounced by them? Was it a new thing, a degeneration that had at last come to a head? Or had it always been there, and the new thing not it, but the prophetic judgment passed upon it? Supposing the latter alternative true, How shall we account for this moral and religious elevation of the prophetic mind? Is all that can be said this: Genius, whether religious or of other kinds, is always inexplicable; Personality transcends explanation.

Professor McCurdy gives an answer perhaps to most of these questions in his own way. His work is not controversial. He has not before his mind the questions in the forms in which modern

writers on Old Testament religion have put them ; or, if so, he disregards the forms. He follows a good deal traditional views, though, of course, setting things often in fresh light. The reader feels that he sometimes passes over difficulties rather lightly. At other times sections relating really to the same matter appear scattered throughout his pages. The discussion would have been clearer if the questions formulated by modern writers had formed points around which the materials were gathered. There is, of course, much valuable thought in these chapters. Particularly important are chapters iii., "The Hebrews as Nomads and Semi-Nomads," and vi., "Society, Morals, and Religion." The latter chapter is extremely instructive, and both in style and thought is the gem of the book.

The story of the collision of Israel and Judah with Assyria traverses ground more open and free from bush. Perhaps Dr McCurdy might have been more liberal in his citation of authorities. For example, he tells the story of Manasseh as it is given in Chronicles. Is there not some Assyrian confirmation of this story, or part of it? If there is, the reader would have been very glad to see it, considering how often the story has been treated by scholars as a fable. It is interesting that the author suggests 610 B.C. as the date of Nahum. But is it in harmony with the newest information on the subject when he speaks of the Medes and Chaldeans as besiegers of Nineveh? However important the operations elsewhere of the Chaldeans may have been was not the siege and capture of the city the work of the Medes alone?

The work is most correctly printed, scarcely an error being to be detected. We noticed Teile for Tiele in a footnote, and should not "words," p. 219. l. 22, be *wards*? A. B. DAVIDSON.

The Incarnation : A Study of Phil. ii. 5 to 11.

By E. H. Gifford, D.D., formerly Archdeacon of London and Canon of St Paul's. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 161. Price, 3s. 6d.

THIS volume consists of two articles on the interpretation of Phil. ii. 5 to 11, which appeared in the *Expositor* of September and October 1896. In the one of the two essays Dr Gifford deals, phrase by phrase, and in some instances even word by word, with the construction and meaning of the entire passage, by means of which he endeavours "to establish the true interpretation of St Paul's language, without attempting to discuss the various dogmatic theories which profess to be deduced from it, except in so far as

they are based upon representations of the Apostle's meaning, which I can only regard as mistaken or misleading." In the other, which might have been styled more happily "Historical Notes on Various Interpretations," he traces briefly "the origin and course of certain errors of interpretation which have been long and widely prevalent in foreign Protestant theology, and have recently begun to find favour in our own country."

We shall best give some idea of Dr Gifford's method and its results if we follow him more or less in detail through Part I., which is divided into eleven sections.

Roughly speaking his contentions amount to the following paraphrase of vv. 6 and 7 :—"Who, being *originally* and *continually subsisting* in the *fullness of the Godhead*, counted it not a prize that He was on equality with God, *as to mode of existence*, but emptied Himself by taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man."

The *first* Section deals with the context, in which "the Incarnation and human life of our Lord are set before us as the perfect example of the principle enjoined in v. 4, 'Not looking each to his own things, but each also to the things of others.'" In Section II. the student is warned against arguing, with Meyer, that *ὁς* denotes "the subject of what follows ; consequently Christ Jesus, but in the *prehuman state*, in which He the Son of God . . . was with God" ; the *human state* being first introduced by the words in v. 7, "He emptied Himself."

Dr Gifford thinks it "safer and more strictly correct to say with Hofmann, in his Commentary on the Epistle, that 'the Apostle, speaking of Him who was known to His (sic) readers under the name of Christ Jesus, asserts something which He did in a state of existence described as *being in the form of God*.'" We have next two entire sections devoted to the word *ὑπάρχων*, dealing with it as implying (a) *pre-existence* and (b) *continued existence*. With regard to (a) Dr Gifford regards the meaning given to *ὑπάρχων* in the margin of the R.V. (Greek *being originally*) as so generally recognised among scholars that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it except to point out that this sense is strongly marked in several passages of St Paul's Epistles (1 Cor. xi. 7, 2 Cor. viii. 17, Gal. ii. 14). "This well established meaning of *ὑπάρχων*," he says, "at once excludes the many attempts which have been made to limit the description, *being in the form of God*, to the time of Christ's sojourn upon earth. . . . Against all such interpretations it is sufficient to reply, that the meaning of *ὑπάρχων*, in its connection with the following context, clearly implies a state existing prior to the point of time at which our Lord took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men."

In Section III. we are told that the possibility of the meaning "*continued existence*" being contained in *ὑπάρχων* is a point which has been overlooked or misunderstood even by the best scholars and interpreters. Lightfoot, for example, in asking the question whether the expression *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων* refers to the pre-incarnate or to the incarnate Christ, seems to imply that *ὑπάρχων* must refer *exclusively* to the one or to the other; whereas Dr Gifford argues that *it may apply to both*, and quotes in support: (1) Grammarians, Jelf and Green; (2) N. T. writers, St John and St Luke, and especially St Paul; and (3) Early Christian writers, the Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, and St Chrys. Comm. *ad. loc.* "From the omission to notice this meaning of continued existence in St Paul's use of *ὑπάρχων* it has been wrongly assumed," he thinks, "that the existence, *in the form of God*, must have ceased at the moment indicated by the verb *ἐκένωσεν*, and this assumption is one of several causes tending to the erroneous view that what Christ laid aside was *μορφὴ Θεοῦ*."

Dr Gifford (Section IV.) upholds Lightfoot's interpretation of *μορφή* as "*essential form*," in opposition to Meyer's statement that *μορφὴ Θεοῦ* is "not essentially different" from *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ*, and consequent implication that the condition expressed by the former phrase is "separable, and at the Incarnation actually separated from the essential and unchangeable nature of God." Arguing against Wiesinger, Hofmann, Bruce and Thomasius, the writer declares "that *μορφή* is inseparable from *οὐσία* and *φύσις*, which can have no actual existence (*ἐνεργεία*) without *μορφή*, but only a potential existence (*δύναμις*); that "*μορφὴ Θεοῦ* and *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ* are (a) not equivalent, but in (b) their proper meanings are directly reversed," and that the latter phrase expresses rather "*the form of appearance*," whilst it is the former which expresses "*the internal nature*." In discussing this point, Dr Gifford brings forward some interesting instances, culled from Hooker and Bacon, to show that the word "*form*," in the sense in which he would use it, was familiar to the Translators of 1611.

Section V. brings us to the phrase, *οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ*. Noting the R.V., which renders *ἴσα Θεῷ* *on an equality with God*, instead of *equal with God* (A.V.), the author remarks upon the immense importance of the change to the right interpretation of the passage. For whilst the latter would denote the same *equality of nature*, the former denotes only the same *equality in mode of existence*; and one mode of existence may be exchanged for another, though the essential nature (*μορφή*) is immutable.

At this point Dr Gifford convicts Meyer of two grammatical errors, not to mention the insertion of *ἴσον* (Acc.) for *ἴσος* (Nom.),

and concludes "Meyer applies ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων to the 'form of appearance,' and τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ to the 'internal nature' of Christ in His pre-existence. *This interpretation is wrong as to both expressions and actually inverts their meanings.*" (The italics are ours.)

The general conclusion aimed at is confirmed by the general structure of vv. 6, 7, and the balance of the two sets of contrasted clauses. "We thus get rid of the chief cause of error and confusion in the interpretation of the whole passage, namely, the notion that Christ emptied Himself of 'the form of God.' This view, though adopted by Meyer, Alford, and other interpreters, is so directly opposed to the meaning of the words ὑπάρχων, μορφή, ἴσα, Θεῷ, and also to the antithetical arrangement and logical connection of the several clauses, that I cannot refrain from expressing my firm conviction that it must in the end be regarded as utterly untenable by every competent Greek scholar, who will examine the arguments opposed to it carefully, and without dogmatic prejudice."

Less interestingly, perhaps, because the matter is of less immediate and obvious importance to the contention in hand, does Dr Gifford write upon the remaining clauses of the passage.

Section VI. deals with ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, VII. with μορφήν δούλου λαβὼν, in which our author crosses swords with Canon Gore over the latter's dictum, "St Paul does not use his terms with the exactness of a professional logician or scholastic" (Dissertations, pp. 88 ff.) Section VIII. deals with ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος; IX. with καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος; X. with ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν; and XI. with the Exaltation. The general conclusion is stated in the following words:—"The continuance in Christ of *the form of God* assures us that at least the moral attributes of the Godhead are faithfully represented in the one perfect image of the Father, His Incarnate Word. And thus His every act of tender compassion, of patient endurance, and of loving self-sacrifice, shines out in its perfect beauty as a revelation of God's own nature and of His gracious disposition towards us. If, on the other hand, *the form of God* is laid aside in *taking the form of a servant*, and the influence of the Divine nature thus suppressed, as in kenotic theories, the life of Christ on earth may still serve for our example, by showing what *man* may possibly attain when endued with the fulness of grace and power by the Holy Spirit; but by ceasing to be a direct revelation of the character of God, it loses the power 'to clothe eternal love with breathing life.'" Whether, in the foregoing argument, Dr Gifford does not lay too great a stress upon the fact that "*continued existence*" may be implied in ὑπάρχων, and whether, in many of the instances cited by him, as well as in Phil. ii. 5, the

idea of a *habitually repeated* action (Green, *Gram. of N.T. Dialect*, p. 10)—which, taken alone, would permit the doctrine of the Kenosis to its fullest extent—is absent, is perhaps still open to doubt. But if his contention that *μορφή* means “*essential form*” is allowed, the word *ὑπάρχων* necessarily assumes minor importance, whilst the phrase *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ* as interpreted of the *mode of existence* gives a consistency to the essay which it will be hard to assail.

The second part of the book, which space prevents us from discussing, deals historically with the positions assumed by Marcion, Baur, Ambrosiaster, Erasmus, Luther, Dorner, Chemnitz, Daneau, Zanchi, Ottley, Pfeiderer, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, Harnack, Powell, and Godet. It will thus be seen that it is completely up to date.

Dr Gifford may not have said the last word upon Phil. ii. 5 to 11, but, at least, he has said what will be welcomed as the utterance of a ripe scholar and painstaking theologian.

F. B. AMBROSE WILLIAMS.

Dogmatique Chrétienne.

Par Jules Bovon, docteur en théologie, professeur à la Faculté de théologie d'Eglise évangélique libre du canton de Vaud. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Tome premier, pp 549. Price, 10 francs. Tome second, pp. 584. Price, 12 francs.

THESE two volumes form the second instalment of a system of Christian Doctrine, the first part of which was a New Testament Theology, already reviewed in these pages.¹ Professor Bovon is a citizen of the Swiss Canton of Vaud. Protestant and Calvinistic, it took part fifty years ago in the movement against the Jesuits. To-day it is face to face with a small Catholic minority within its own borders, and, outside these, but within the limits of the Confederation, with Cantons which are predominantly Catholic. Dr Bovon is a member of the Free Church of Vaud, which, under the leadership of Vinet, and in the interest of the freedom and spirituality of the Church of Christ, seceded from the State Establishment. The whole population of the Canton is less than that of Edinburgh, and the number of citizens recognising the Free Church as their spiritual teacher does not exceed the number of inhabitants in Berwick-on-Tweed. With these facts in mind we know what to expect. Professor Bovon descends from Calvin through Vinet. The foundations are Calvin's, the temper and spirit are Vinet's—

¹ Vol. III., 379, and Vol. V., 164.

Protestant, individualist, ethically strenuous, though with a leaning to a legitimate mysticism. The two moderns who figure most largely are Schleiermacher and Ritschl. Sometimes they are followed, more frequently they are refuted. But they are never out of mind. Behind all is the shadow of the Catholic Church, with its very different ideal. Thus the writer brings us into contact with the problems raised by the two most significant theological movements of recent times, the Neo-catholic and the Ritschlian. Dr Bovon is absolutely without rancour. There is no note of stridency in his pages, and yet he writes as one who is keenly interested. The style is lucid, and occasionally rises into eloquence. There is an evident mastery of the relevant French and German literature, and English theology is recognised to an extent rare among continental scholars. Far from being always convincing, the book is always suggestive, and throughout we recognise the expression of genuine personal conviction.

How does Dr Bovon think of Dogmatic, and on what does he rest it? The idea of an official Dogmatic imposed on the believer by a Church authority he regards as an anachronism. It is not thus that spiritual convictions are formed. But this does not mean that we can dispense with doctrine and rest satisfied with life. The Christian life manifests itself chiefly in feeling, in peace, joy, and love. But feeling is fugitive and incommunicable. Thought only can give it permanence and enable it to spread. Nor is merely symbolic language sufficient. For though there is much which can only be half guessed at, set before us by partially adequate images, there is very much which must pass into reasoned statement and formulated conviction. There are facts of history and life behind the Christian faith, and these can only be realised through doctrinal formulas of some sort. There must be no separation of thought and life. Christian faith without doctrine would cease to be. Doctrine, not rooted in life, not expressing its inmost conviction and motive power, not answering to its real needs, becomes altogether worthless.

This body of truth which Dogmatic has to formulate and systematise—where shall we find it? Some say in the Christian consciousness, some in the Church, some in the Bible. But these need not be put in opposition. The Christian religion is both a historic fact and an inward life. It has an objective aspect and a subjective. On the one hand, it appeared at a particular time and has passed through a particular history, it answers to a definite conception of the world, it stands sponsor for a well-known circle of religious and moral ideas. On the other side, it is something entering into the individual life, something not remaining outside of a man but passing through his experience and finding its verification there. If it

is a statement of certain outward and historic facts, it is also the expression of certain spiritual convictions, the outcome of a certain spiritual experience. These two aspects it is impossible to separate. When we ask what Christianity is, we must keep them both in view.

When we think of the historic identity of the Christian religion, we must go back to the period of the origins of the Christian Church. Our Protestant creeds make their appeal to Scripture, and by it they stand or fall. But when we turn to Scripture we find that it too sends us onward. It offers us no infallible basis for doctrine. Not merely is it not free from error, but to speak of its infallibility is to give a totally false idea of its character. It does not claim an unhesitating obedience. It does not impose itself authoritatively upon a mind too weak to learn the truth, not great enough to be responsible for its beliefs. It is the glory of Scripture that it carries us across the centuries and makes us the contemporaries of the Master and His apostles. It brings us right into the presence of the Saviour. Christ is the centre of Christianity and our ultimate authority. The Christian is not a believer in a creed or a zealous defender of the Bible. The Christian is Christ's man.

But this does not mean that we are to set no store by the Apostolic writings, that we are to draw a distinction between them and the Gospels. For Gospels and Epistles alike contribute to our knowledge of Christ, both alike come from the inner circle of His disciples, and if our faith in either be shaken we shall find that we have no good ground for retaining our confidence in the other. Only from both shall we gain an adequate conception of Christ and His religion. There are aspects, indeed, emphasised in the Epistles which are among the most striking and original features of the Christian faith. At the same time, it is to be frankly recognised that all through the New Testament there is a development of theological thought. Beside the main stream there are side currents. Here and there we find back eddies. Sometimes the truth is corrupted or denied. There are accommodations in Jesus to the life of His time, there are limitations of His knowledge, there are views of His that form no true part of the revelation He brought. In the writings of the Apostles we find popular ideas from which they could not shake themselves free, but which are now seen to be inconsistent with their Christian faith. It is not enough, then, to adduce texts in favour of any particular doctrine. We may be able to prove a doctrine Scriptural in that sense and yet be compelled to refuse it a place in our thought. We must show that it legitimates itself by affiliation with the central fact of the Revelation, with the root principle of the Christian faith.

But can we find such a principle? Is there anything we can justly lay hold of as central, distinctive, normative? There is. If

we take into account the teaching of the Synoptics about the kingdom, the teaching of the Fourth Gospel about the mediation of the only Son of the Father, and the teaching, implied more especially in the latter and emphasised in the Epistles, about saving faith, we shall reach a conception of the central fact that will mark out the path we must follow. Redemption is the establishment among men of the Kingdom of the Father-God through the mediation of His only Son and man's personal faith in Him. There is a real mediation between God and man in Christ Jesus, an authentic personal intervention of the Divine. There is a personal and individual appropriation through faith on the part of the Redeemed. There is a kingdom of grace in which God reigns, a society of which Jesus Christ is the Spiritual Head.

All this takes to do with the objective side. It is the issue of our endeavour to discover what Christianity historically is. But it is impossible to separate it from the subjective side. Unless we had already brought that in, we could not have got on so far. For we have been dealing, not with bare facts, but with a certain form of life ; with certain psychological processes and ethical results. We have been able to understand the New Testament record, because it was found to have behind it a consciousness like our own, because the facts it contained made appeal to a consciousness like ours, because the experience it reflected was analogous to, or identical with, our own. We believe that Christianity is what we have described it as being, because that is the outcome of a sympathetic study of its records. We believe that it is true for the same reason as moved the first believers. The great central fact is self-authenticating. The conception commends itself to us as worthy, Jesus strikes in upon our life as the Great Reality, and when we surrender ourselves to God in Christ Jesus, we find that He has indeed mediated between us and the Divine, that He has brought God so near that now we know Him, and love Him, and serve Him ; that our personal faith in Christ has brought us to this happy issue, and that now God reigns in us and our fellow-believers, and so far His kingdom is already established upon the earth. We may say, then, that our Dogmatic rests upon Scripture, or the Christian consciousness, or the Church ; if we understand that none of these can stand alone, and if we remember that the truth always imposes itself by its own self-evidencing power, that we hold by what we have found to answer our deepest needs, by what we have learned to love.

But what is Dr Bovon's conception of the Christian life as we see it around and within ? Man, according to Dr Bovon, is an ethical personality rooted in a nature from which it gradually develops itself in the midst of a world which constantly influences it. On the one hand, man feels himself to be dependent upon the

world and upon God. On the other hand, he is free to surrender his life to such keeping as he pleases. He is master of his own destiny, but his destiny is to serve the Infinite Personality behind all and to be happy in His service. Among the influences which are most powerful in his life are certain tendencies to what he recognises to be wrong, which arise in his own nature and which are reinforced strongly from without. These cause a discord between him and God. His sin is felt to be a personal offence against the Eternal Lawgiver. It brings a mist between man and his Maker so that he cannot discern His character aright, and it enslaves him so that he is absolutely unable of himself to enter upon that service of God which is his perfect freedom. When through Scripture and the preaching of the Word Jesus Christ makes appeal to the man, the call comes to him as an individual personality and awakens in him a personal faith. Christ comes with the assurance of pardon and the promise of grace to everyone who repents him of his sin, breaks with his past, and enters into a real life-fellowship with Him. Whenever faith leaps out to Christ a new life begins in the soul. With the assurance of pardon there comes that peace without which the man cannot go on to holiness, but must evermore be distracted by doubts, driven from the pursuit of well-being by visions of wrath. The believer has already begun to die to sin and live to God. Dead in principle from the moment when he believed, the natural man is the subject of a gradual decay which goes on all the years of his life. Sin comes to have less and less hold upon him. Bound to Christ, he can count upon an unfailing source of strength.

Thus the link between the beginning of his new life and its onward progress is not the mere feeling of gratitude. That were but a poor support on which to stay oneself amid the manifold temptations which assail us. Sanctification is only possible through faith; it is the expression of a life that remains in constant communion with the Saviour. If our assurance of pardon depends solely on Him, no less does our growth in holiness. The essential feature, then, of the Christian life is the personal relationship subsisting between Christ and the believer. From first to last God and man are united through Jesus Christ, the only Mediator, in a holy and happy fellowship. God is known as at once holy and loving, seeking always to root out the evil in man's life, and to make him pure, even as Christ is pure. Man is conscious of his ill deserts, of the absence of all merit on his part, and recognises and gladly receives the exceeding grace of God in Christ Jesus. He advances along the heavenly way, but though he grows in purity his ideal, becoming ever fairer, still eludes his grasp, and to the end he is imperfect, humble, conscious of sin. His Christian faith is made

possible by the knowledge of Scripture which the Church secures. But the Church has place only as the association necessary if believers are to act unitedly for the advancement of God's kingdom, and as the body of Christ, which is one, because all its members are united to Christ, who is its Head. The Church is needed to bring men to Christ, but, that done, nothing can come between them and Him. The free human personality stands over against the divine, and the link that unites them is personal and ethical, the one spirit yielding freely to the sweet persuasion of the other. Thus does the Risen Lord, the Living and Glorified Saviour, ever enter into blessed communion with the souls that wait for Him here and keep His word. *Cor ad cor loquitur*. Heaven and earth are made one.

Such being Dr Bovon's general conception of the Christian life, what views does he develop from it on the most closely related points of doctrine? Sin, we are told, is partly nature and partly act. In both cases there is a violation of the divine law. For sin as nature one does not feel himself responsible. It is part of what he has inherited, something he did not make. But when we think of sin as act we feel ourselves guilty, we recognise that it is our doing; and so far as character is second nature and the outcome of personal action, we recognise ourselves as responsible for that. And if we are responsible for something less than our own life, seeing that part of it is nature and came to us, we are likewise responsible for something more, since we help to make the character of others as well as our own. If in this life of ours we consciously violate God's law, we suffer for it, and feel that we suffer justly. But our sense both of guilt and of responsibility is limited. As we are not responsible for what we have not done in person, so we are not liable on account of our sin to an infinite punishment. The punishment which comes to us, and the justice of which we recognise, is the natural outcome of our sin, and consists in the natural evils of life and in death borne by the man with a guilty conscience. Punishment can only cease entirely when sin ceases, and the only expiation of sin is repentance and the break with the evil past and all the suffering that it entails upon the erring spirit. Christ's work, then, has to do with us rather than with God, and it affects us chiefly by loosing us from our sins. It does not save us from their punishment, for the only punishment they bring is inseparable from the person of the sinner. It does not alter God's mind toward us, except in so far as God is able, after we come to Christ, to approve our life as taking the only worthy course. But before we became Christ's, though God was angry with our sin, He still loved us, and now that we are Christ's, and in His love, He is still displeased when we break His law. His holiness and His love remain the same.

His holiness desires, and always must desire, the destruction of sin. His love desires, and always must desire, the rescue of sinful souls. And God's justice is only content when it gains both these ends. Earthly jurisprudence is concerned only with the maintenance of social order, and its justice may be content with the punishment of the criminal. But God's justice is satisfied only by redemption, and not by punishment alone. There is a retributive justice, the outcome of the Divine holiness, through the working of which we all suffer for our sins. But there is a justice which is not retributive but redemptive. For justice is conformity to the Divine order, action in accord with the Divine nature, and the love of God demands the salvation of the sinner. If expiation, then, be only possible through penitence and a new life of holiness, Christ makes expiation only for His disciples. He takes that solidarity in morals which was like to crush them, and He makes it an instrument of deliverance. But while the solidarity of nature rested upon physical descent, the solidarity of grace rests upon a free devotion of the personal life to another, first on Christ's side, and then on ours. In His life and death He perfectly reveals the Father-God, and shows us the way to holiness and home. Thus the value of His work is mainly representative for those who are outside of Him. His work, both as Revealer and Redeemer, is directed towards the individual soul; it makes its appeal to that, and it remains without its destined issue until there has come from the heart the act of appropriating and saving faith. Final damnation can only mean separation from the life of God and the happiness it brings. It must imply wilful continuance in known sin, and can only follow upon a conscious refusal to accept of the salvation in Christ Jesus truly presented, here or hereafter, in this or in a future probation, to the soul. Whether any such refusal will take place Dr Bovon does not feel himself in a position to say. The doctrine of Eternal Punishment he thinks scriptural, in the sense that there are texts which teach it, but he inclines to rule it out as inconsistent with the central fact of redemption. The doctrine of Conditional Immortality, in its ordinary form, he dismisses as intolerable. Restorationism he thinks most worthy of God, and certainly taught in certain passages of Scripture. The matter, however, he finally leaves in suspense, not feeling that he has ground for a definite decision as between the first view and the third.

One question of the greatest importance still waits consideration. What view does Dr Bovon take of the Person of Christ? It is distinctive enough, and very independent. The professor is a keen opponent of the orthodox doctrine, whether in its original form in the Creeds, or as modified by its present-day supporters. He

sympathises to the full with the Ritschlian antipathy to Greek dogma, but refuses altogether to repudiate metaphysical inquiry. He condemns Arianism as making Christ a mere creature, and separating God from His world. Unitarianism is similarly condemned as deistic in character. His own view is briefly this. Christ is not mere man, and from the first was more than man. But He did not exist before His birth, and is distinguished from man, not by His perfect holiness, which would not be an abiding mark of difference, but by the unique privilege of His birth. His manhood, whatever view we take of the story of the miraculous conception, was cut off from the entail of ordinary human life. There lay behind Him, not generations of sinful humanity, but only God the Father. His nature at starting was a direct expression of the life of God. But Christ was not from the first very God. The incarnation was not accomplished at a stroke, but gradually and morally. By patient perseverance Jesus wrought into actuality the possibility of that human-divine nature from which His life took its rise. Out of that He created by His free determination the personality which, when His life closed, became the Man-God, and which has remained glorious in the heavens whither it ascended. Even now Christ is not a rival power to the Father, but subordinate to Him, His divinely chosen organ in the work of redemption, the only mediator between God and man, and His divinity is a grace bestowed upon Him for His obedience. Therefore hath God highly exalted Him. It need scarcely be added that Dr Bovon rejects the Trinitarian doctrine. He thinks it was valuable as expressing the perfect unity of the different agents in the work of salvation. It gave assurance that our safety would not be imperilled by any lack of harmony between those who had undertaken to help us. The Spirit is sometimes spoken of in Scripture as personal and sometimes as impersonal. But Dr Bovon holds that the latter view is to be regarded as the more Scriptural, since it is common enough to personify the impersonal, while the reverse process is unnatural and not to be looked for.

On many points to which it is impossible to refer at present, Dr Bovon is instructive, and some of his happiest and most helpful discussions are on minor doctrines. His historical reviews are of great value; his accounts of opposing schemes are sympathetic. When we do not agree with him we cannot complain that he does not give material enough to enable us to form an adverse judgment. If we must often differ from his way of putting things, we can almost always thank him for suggesting to us a better. Even when his views are hazy we can say of him that he points the way to clearer ideas. The book offers abundant opportunity for criticism, but it is better that here Dr Bovon should speak for himself. He

is still comparatively unknown among us, and when he gets the hearing he deserves, there will be criticism enough. A critical estimate, however, must take into account the earlier volumes on New Testament Theology; for on them the conclusions here expounded mainly rest. Meanwhile, readers may be cordially recommended to turn to Dr Bovon's volumes for themselves. If they wish to come to their theological findings in full view of modern thought and discussion, better help could hardly be got than that furnished by this independent and fair-minded work.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

The Preaching of Islam.

By T. W. Arnold. Westminster: Constable & Co.

8vo, pp. xvi. 385. Price, 12s.

THAT Muhammadanism was spread by the sword is the view taken not only by Christians, but also by Muhammadans. Speak to an ordinary Muhammadan on the subject, and he will glory in it, and point to it as an evidence of the divine mission of its founder. Those of them who have come into contact with Christian thought and European culture have come to see that this is not only an inadequate explanation of the spread of their faith, but is prejudicial to the acceptance of its claims. They, therefore, seek to emphasise the moral and spiritual side of Islam, and to discount its political and military side. This movement has culminated in India in the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, in which the writer of the above book is a professor, and the influence of whose environment is visible in its pages.

Mr Arnold with great modesty puts forward this volume merely as a tentative one; but it contains a mass of information, the result of painstaking research, presented in interesting literary form, which will make it a standard work on the subject which it treats. His aim, he says, is to deal with the preaching of Islam, and so he does not deal with its wars or its persecutions. He has sought to treat his subject impartially; and if he has at all failed, it is because his plan makes it difficult to avoid being one-sided. In fact, he has been obliged to take the political side of Islam into account, and it might have been better for his special aim had he more avowedly dealt with it.

The defect of his method appears most conspicuously in his treatment of the biography of the Prophet himself. He speaks of him "only as a preacher, as the apostle unto men of a new religion." He tells nothing of his domestic life, but his union with his first wife Khadijah—"truly one of the most beautiful

pictures of a perfect wedded life that history gives us"—and so leaves the impression that he was a model monogamist. But this is not the Muhammad that Islam knows. The polygamous licence and frequent cruelties of his later years are as much part of the Prophet as the continence and mildness of his earlier. The sanctions found for them in the Quran are as authoritative revelations as the earlier teaching.

Making all deductions on these grounds, Mr Arnold has presented us with a most valuable and instructive volume. He traces the progress of Islam in all lands into which it has spread—from Arabia, where it began, to England and America, where its latest converts have been won. It would be impossible within the limits of this article even to glance at all the various countries dealt with. The story of the spread of Muhammadanism in Christian lands is one of the saddest pages of history. The general features in all cases were the same. The Christians were divided among themselves, mostly on points of doctrine, persecuted and persecuting one another. The persecuted welcomed the Muhammadans as deliverers. They knew that under them they would have to pay the poll tax levied on all non-Muhammadans, but they knew also that they would be left at liberty to believe and worship as they pleased. It is strange to think that, in the first spread of Muhammadanism, it should have been welcomed by Christians as a deliverance from the persecutions of fellow-Christians. When once it was politically established, the character in which it came, and the advantages to be gained from joining it, helped to make its proselytising efforts successful.

In Persia the persecutions by the Zoroastrian priests had the same results that persecutions by Christian priests had in Christian lands: preparing the way for Islam. In India there were no such favouring circumstances, and the Muhammadan conquest of that land did not lead to its people in any great numbers embracing the faith of their conquerors. Indian Muhammadanism is generally very corrupt, and partakes of some of the features of Indian caste; but there is a movement towards more exact conformity to its laws. Mr Arnold remarks:—"The influence of Christian mission schools has also been very great in stimulating among some Muhammadans of the younger generation a study of their own religion, and in bringing about a consequent awakening of religious zeal."

It is mostly in Africa and the Malay Archipelago that the spread of Islam by preaching has been effected. Mr Arnold gives many interesting details which merit the study of friends of Christian missions, and might lead them to consider some of their own methods. Two factors specially help forward the spread of

Muhammadanism. First, every Muhammadan is, or is expected to be, a missionary. The spread of the religion is not confined to any teaching or priestly class, but any member of the faith can teach all that is necessary. And Muhammadan traders in all parts of the world make the propagation of their religion part of their duty. Second, the creed is very simple and the practice not difficult. To repeat the formula—"There is no God but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet," is all that is needful to become a Muhammadan. The convert has then to be instructed in the five practical duties of the religion—(1) recital of the creed; (2) observance of the five times of prayer; (3) payment of legal alms; (4) fasting during the month of Ramadan; (5) the pilgrimage to Mecca. There is no high moral ideal to be set before the convert which would mark the difference between preaching and practice. It is this which must always make the spread of Christianity more difficult than that of Islam. It has an infinitely higher ideal, which is not witnessed to by the lives of most of those who bear the name. But those who are sincere may learn from Islam the duty of personal effort and the wisdom of putting forward the simplest elements in their teaching.

JOHN ROBSON.

A. Ritschl's Idee des Reiches Gotte im Licht der Geschichte.

Kritisch untersucht von Dr R. Wegener. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 127. Price, M.2.

THE theology of Ritschl, and of those who stand in more or less general agreement with him, has already called forth a mass of books and pamphlets dealing with particular parts of the system, and marked by varying degrees of antagonism. The work before us is admittedly critical. Dr Wegener does not conceal his opposition to the fundamental principles of Ritschlianism. Yet he writes in a calm, scientific tone, giving the impression of a desire to deal fairly with positions to which he cannot assent, and not using any of the cheap methods of polemic.

It must always be of supreme interest to trace the genesis and development of an influential system of theological thought. The process has, of course, its dangers, especially that of forging links for the chain out of one's own presuppositions and prejudices, and perhaps, at times, Wegener reads into Ritschl more than can be justified. But the examination of the specified conception is conducted, on the whole, impartially and with great logical force. The

author, who has already dealt with this subject in an article in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (Jahrg. vi. Heft 10), undertakes in his present work a more searching and elaborate treatment of it. He selects Ritschl's conception of the Kingdom of God, because he believes that this is the central point of his theology, and that it is by means of this idea that its historical origin can be disclosed.

Nearly one-half of the book is taken up with a discussion of the place which the conception of the Kingdom has occupied in German theology, in the pre-Kantian period, and then down through Kant, Herder, Stäudlin, Tieftrunk, and others, to the time of Ritschl himself. Starting from the influence of the English deists and moralists on contemporary German theologians, he shows how, at the end of last century, those of the more orthodox, as well as of the rationalistic school, were disposed to base everything in religion on reason and morality. Theology became a "Moraltheologie." But it was necessary to have some biblical basis. This was found in the conception of the Kingdom of God, a conception which could be traced back to Jesus Himself. And what was more important, this idea seemed fitted to bring order and harmony into the ethical and dogmatic propositions of theology. It could, besides, be easily set forth as an idea of the reason, imposing itself spontaneously on the reflecting mind as soon as it surveys, without prejudice, the life and history of natural and revealed religion.

Kant's "Religionslehre," gave an assured place to this conception. Although some theologians might shrink from the "*Moralismus*" which dominated his thought, they could not overlook the great advantage of having their religious system, hitherto so mosaic-like in its composition, developed from a single principle, the idea of the Kingdom of God, and confirmed by reason. Had Kant been a teacher of theology, with the art of attracting disciples, the controversy of to-day would have taken place a hundred years ago.

But in close connection with the spirit of that time was the speculative view of things from the standpoint of the Aim or End. Special importance had been given to this idea owing to the prominent place held by the conception of the providence of God. And so "it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to discover a Biblical conception which could more easily and suitably clothe a speculative - theological representation of the development and revelation of Reason or the Divine Will than just this idea of the Kingdom of God" (p. 17). This idea, which has the most extraordinarily varying content, becomes the "religious formula for teleology." Ritschl, in his "*Unterricht in der Christlichen Religion*," places it at the summit of his system as if it were the principle from which his ethical and (most meagre) dogmatic propositions are derived. He defines it as "the highest good guaranteed by God to

that community which has been founded through His revelation in Christ." This looks a simple enough definition, but Ritschl has a terminology of his own which makes the most arbitrary use of words, and we discover, after a laborious search, that the Kingdom really means for him, "the ethical union of the human race by means of action springing from the motive of universal love of others." This is, however, only a picture of the fancy, and, indeed, the whole system of ideas with which we are dealing here is built up on such pictures.

It is impossible, within our narrow limits, to follow Wegener as he discusses this idea in its connection with the doctrine of Providence, the education of the human race, the self-aim of God (for the Kingdom of God is the aim or end of God Himself). He sums up the results of those discussions on p. 81 as follows: "the old dogmatic conception of the Kingdom of God has been expanded to a picture of the imagination, a dialectical idea, which embraces all things, God and the world, Revelation and Reason; it has become again with Ritschl that which it had been in the speculative school of Kant, the general formula for the teleological view of things." Then follows a minute investigation of teleology, showing how that is really a doctrine of the will, and how, consequently, all religious ideas are only accompanying phenomena which remain in dependence on the activity of reason and are present only that the will may reach its end. Such a religious system, as Wegener points out, has not the position and vitality in the life of the spirit which belonged to the religious conceptions of the old system, for "all its ideas are only dialectical formations, reflections without inner power; whereas, in the old system, they were penetrated by the warmth of feeling and produced by the energy which belong to the Christian faith" (p. 83).

But while Wegener holds that social politics must have a far larger place in this system than religious faith, he is willing to admit that it has a more favourable aspect also. It is a reaction against the idea that Christianity consists in the outward appropriation of certain propositions which have no access to the soul (p. 114). Only, it is not a religious view of the world at all, but a speculation which sees all things exclusively in the light of the final end (p. 117).

It is difficult, in a few paragraphs, even to give a bare outline of an argument so closely welded together in all its parts as that which is here presented. But enough, perhaps, has been said to show the interest and importance of Dr Wegener's investigation, which is both an acute and a solid piece of work.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Communication on the Historical Setting of 1 Peter.

ALL students of St Paul have felt how much has been gained by an accurate knowledge of the circumstances in which his Epistles were written. This work has not been attempted in the case of St Peter, except in a very general manner. But the publication of Ramsay's "Church in the Roman Empire" has opened many important questions with respect to Peter's Epistles, and has thrown much light on many difficult points in connection with them.

It may fairly be said that no book of the New Testament is so full of the sufferings of the saints as is the first Epistle of Peter. Even the Apocalypse, though more pictorial in its accounts of these afflictions, does not deal with the subject so constantly. The allusions to persecution, therefore, in the Epistle demand our first attention. The first reference is i. 6 and 7, where the word "temptations" should be rendered "trials," as in iv. 12. These trials are here described as numerous, severe, but not likely to be continuous. The next passage to examine is ii. 12, 15. Here we find that one charge brought against the Christians was that of being evil-doers, and the apostle exhorts them to "seemly behaviour," that in the day of visitation their persecutors may discover their mistake and glorify God in beholding their good works. What was this day of visitation? There have been three different interpretations of it—(1) the day of Judgment; (2) the day of God's mercy, in accordance with Luke xix. 44; (3) the day of examination by magistrates; and this last must be preferred, else how should the Gentiles glorify God in beholding it proved that the works of the Christians are good? And, moreover, this third explanation alone suits the following verses, and provides for a natural advance of thought to the king and governors. Let it be noticed also that it is the Gentiles and not the Jews who bring the charges against the Christians.

ii. 19, 20: Here again it is clear that the Christians, to whom the writer addresses himself, have been suffering under a false charge of being evil-doers, but it is hinted that some "do well and suffer for it."

iii. 6: "And are not put in fear by any terror"—in these words the sharpness of the persecution they endure is suggested.

iii. 13-18: Here there are three things to notice. 1st, That the Christians were not merely punished as evil-doers, but also suffered for righteousness sake. 2nd, That persecution had reached that stage in which enquiry was instituted, for they were exhorted to be ready with their answer, that is their apologia, their defence (*cf.* Acts xxv. 6; 2 Tim. iv. 16). 3rd, That the

death penalty was exacted. To suffer is a euphemism for to die, as the comparison with the sufferings of Jesus clearly proves, whether we read "Christ also died for sins," or "Christ also suffered for sins."

iv. 34 : Here we see the reason why the Gentiles speak evil of the Christians, and are reminded of Tacitus, who, speaking of the Christians, describes their "sullen hatred of the whole Roman race."

iv. 12-16 : This is perhaps the most important description of the afflictions of the Christians in the Epistle. In the first place, the expressions "fiery trial" and "partakers of the sufferings of Christ" indicate that the death penalty was exacted. Then the three expressions—"If ye are reproached for the name of Christ," "but if a man suffer as a Christian," and "but let him (as a martyr) glorify God in this name"—indicate clearly that not only did Christians suffer under the charge of evil-doers, but their punishment as Christians had commenced in the Empire. The nineteenth verse is another evidence that this punishment was death : v. 7-9 is a further indication that the Christians were diligently sought out, and also that this persecution was not an isolated outbreak of animosity to them, but was world-wide.

The next question is, Where do we find conditions of this kind, and at what period? In the first place, no such state of things is discoverable within the Acts of the Apostles. The persecutions related there are largely the work of the Jews. To the very end of that book the officials of Rome treat Paul with respect. At Iconium the tribulation suffered was a town riot ; at Lystra it was the hatred of the Jews ; at Philippi the Christians were confounded with the Jews, and were only attacked because of the fear of monetary loss. It was trade considerations which roused the mob at Ephesus, but the authorities told the ringleaders that they were in danger for the disturbance. At Thessalonica there was rioting, but the magistrates would not prosecute the Christians, but only took security of Jason and the rest and let them go. The attitude of the Roman mind to the Christians within the period covered by the Acts of the Apostles is perfectly expressed by Gallio of Corinth—"I am not minded to be a judge of this matter." It is easy to see that the conditions of 1 Peter were very different from those of the Acts, and an inspection of Paul's Epistles in connection with the Acts clearly shows that the conditions of 1 Peter were not fulfilled previous to A.D. 64. It was, however, in the summer of that year that an event occurred which was fraught with terrible consequences to the Christians. Rome was half destroyed by fire. The cause of this fire was difficult to find, but the Emperor Nero was

strongly suspected of causing it himself. The following is the description given by Tacitus of the course pursued by the Emperor. "Nero proceeded with his usual artifice. He found a set of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confess themselves guilty, and on the evidence of such men a number of Christians were convicted, not indeed upon clear evidence of their having set fire to the city, but rather on account of their sullen hatred of the whole human race. They were put to death with exquisite cruelty. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were burnt alive; and many, covered over with inflammable matter, were lighted up when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night." At first sight this seems to suit the circumstances of 1 Peter. It seems to explain the expressions "suffering as evil-doers" and "fiery trial," and the comparison with the sufferings of Christ. But when we come to look at it more closely it is unsatisfactory. The martyrs of the Neronian persecution suffered only as evil-doers, while 1 Peter refers to their suffering for *The Name*, that is, as Christians apart from their conduct or supposed conduct. In Nero's persecution they were destroyed apparently without examination concerning their religion; in 1 Peter they have the opportunity of giving an "apologia" for "the hope which is in them." Moreover, the Neronian persecution was limited to Rome, and the letter is addressed to the churches in the provinces of Asia Minor. For these reasons we must lay aside the period of the Neronian persecution, as not fulfilling the conditions we require. We must, however, mark the year 64 as one of vital importance in our argument, for it was then that the attitude of the Roman Empire to Christianity (in the metropolis at any rate) changed, from one of an indifferent toleration to one of marked hostility. We must pass on to the correspondence between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan in the year A.D. 112, which is of first importance because Pliny was Governor of the provinces, Bithynia and Pontus. Pliny found in his provinces a great number of Christians, and, strict Roman official as he was, proceeded to put the law in force against them. But finding himself in difficulties, he wrote to the Emperor to enquire of him, not about the law, but about the administration of the law. From this correspondence we learn (1) that the law made it a criminal offence to be a Christian apart entirely from the conduct of the Christian; (2) that enquiry was instituted; (3) that the penalty was death; (4) that the law had been in force for a long time, for he refers to recantations made twenty-five years previously. Here then we find the conditions which were beginning to exist in 1 Peter fully developed.

Now, is it not obvious that the attention of the officials of Rome having been directed to the Christians by the action of Nero, they would soon have a clearly defined policy of dealing with them? Tacitus tells us that the extreme cruelty of Nero was followed by compassion. "Humanity," he says, "relented in favour of the Christians;" but he continues, "The manners of that people were of a pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of justice." This no doubt was the Roman view of the case, and but a few years would be required to define the attitude of the Empire to the church in such form as we find it fully developed in the time of Trajan, and partially so in 1 Peter. The usages of Rome would take a little time to spread into the provinces. These things therefore taken together point to about the years 70-75 as fulfilling the conditions the Epistle demands.

In the first verse of the Epistle the persons are named to whom it is addressed. "To the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

It will be worth while to look at what is meant by the Dispersion. It is used to describe the Jews who live away from their own land, but it specially carries with it the idea of affliction, which necessitates this exile, and is indeed in some cases synonymous with captivity (see Isa. xxviii. 25; Jer. xxxiv. 17; Ps. cxlvii. 2). At first sight, therefore, one would suppose that the persons addressed are the Jews scattered throughout the provinces named, and the use of the word in James's Epistle would lead one to that conclusion. But examining the contents of the Epistle, we see that this explanation will not do. That the writer contemplated Jewish readers is clear from his abundant use of Scripture and his allusions to the Jewish ritual (i. 19, ii. 9). But it cannot be addressed exclusively to Jews, for there are many expressions in the Epistle which would be inappropriate were that the case. As, for instance, i. 14, "Not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in the time of your ignorance": cf. ii. 10, iii. 6, and particularly iv. 3, "For the time past may suffice to have wrought the desire of the Gentiles, and to have walked . . . in abominable idolatries." We must therefore understand Peter to have adapted this word to Christian use, and to address Christians who have been driven from their homes by affliction, both Jews and Gentiles, and who are "sojourning" in the provinces named. When would such a dispersion take place? Two events occurred at about the same time, which could not fail to have just such an effect—the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, and the Neronian persecution, A.D. 64-68. Allowing time for persecution to spread to these places of refuge, a date of about A.D. 75 would again be found for this Epistle.

Let us then look at the countries named. According to Lightfoot and Ramsay, they must be considered as the names of Roman provinces, and therefore include the whole of Asia Minor north of the Taurus, of which the leading towns were Ephesus, Smyrna, Philadelphia, Laodiceæ, Colossæ, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and many others. Now these are just the places refugees from both Rome and Jerusalem would be likely to flee to. They would find Christianity well organised and powerful, they would find excellent centres for business purposes. The Romans would not be so far exiled as to lose touch with home, and the Jewish Christians would already find large and prosperous communities of their own people. All this is confirmatory of the above suggestions for the time and circumstances of the first Epistle of Peter.

It is a question of some importance where the Epistle was written from. In the last verse but one we read: "She that is in Babylon elect together with you saluteth you." Was this Babylon the well-known one on the Euphrates, or was it the symbolical term for Rome, as we find it used in the Apocalypse? Three arguments for the latter alternative may be produced—1st, Josephus relates that, in the reign of Caligula, the Jews, on account partly of persecution, partly of pestilence, removed from Babylon to Seleucia, where the greater part of them died in new quarrels which arose. This removes the chief reason for Peter living in Babylon. 2nd, The knowledge possessed by Peter of the Pauline Epistles, which cannot be questioned, would be inconceivable if he was living so far east. 3rd, The marked Romanised character of the letter is equally difficult to understand if that hypothesis is accepted. We must therefore give our adherence to the other alternative—that Babylon in this Epistle means the new Babylon of Rome.

But when was Peter at Rome? It seems clear that he was not there in A.D. 58, or surely there would have been some mention of him in Paul's Epistle to the Church in that city, especially considering the numerous personal messages in it. For the same reason he cannot have been there when Paul wrote the Epistles of the imprisonment, nor just before Paul's martyrdom, or surely he would have been mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy. This brings us down to A.D. 68, or very near the date above suggested for 1 Peter.

Now comes a considerable difficulty. The Church has believed for centuries that Peter died during the Neronian persecution. If he did, either the whole of the above argument falls to the ground, or the writer of the Epistle was not Peter. But is the belief that Peter was a martyr under Nero, one to be readily accepted in the face of so many reasons to the contrary? Let us see upon what foundations it rests. Jerome says that Peter, after

being Bishop of the Church of Antioch, preached to the Dispersion in Pontus, &c., went to Rome in the reign of Claudius for the purpose of punishing Simon Magus, and for twenty-five years was bishop of that Church until the last year of Nero's reign, when he suffered martyrdom by crucifixion with his head downwards. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to Corinth, says, Peter was a martyr. Dionysius of Corinth, cited by Eusebius, says that Peter and Paul founded the Churches of Corinth and Rome, and were later on martyred in Italy at the same time. Tertullian says, Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome. Caius, Presbyter of Rome, says that he had seen the trophies of these two Apostles in Rome. Eusebius expressly says, Peter suffered under Nero. So also Lactantius.

Now it is certain that in a great deal of this there is much that is mythical. The Bishopric of Antioch, for instance, and the twenty-five years' residence as Bishop in Rome; for, according to the Scriptures, Peter was in Jerusalem, A.D. 50, where Paul met him; and the statement that *Peter* and Paul founded the Church of Antioch must be placed in the same category. There seems every reason to believe, from so universal a tradition, that Peter spent some little time in Rome, but amid so much inaccuracy there can be no reasonable foundation for the belief in the particular of his suffering under Nero. There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that Peter wrote this letter from Rome somewhere about the year A.D. 75.

Does, however, chap. v. verse 1, point to a state of church government existing in Rome so late as the date proposed. "I who am a fellow elder." It is sufficient to remark on this point that Lipsius, after a laborious critical comparison of the different catalogues of popes, arrives at the conclusion that Linus, Anacletus and Clement were Roman presbyters (or elders) at the close of the first century (Schaff), so that there is no difficulty in Peter calling himself an elder in the year 75.

Art has created a difficulty in representing Peter as an aged man in the days of our Lord. This arose—1st, from the fact that he was married, which, considering the age men married in the East, is of no weight; and 2nd, from his leadership amongst the twelve, which is better accounted for by his character.

Placed in this historical setting, the first Epistle of Peter becomes, I venture to think, more luminous and interesting.

FRED. J. BRIGGS.

Saint Columba and Saint Augustine.

1. *Prophecies, Miracles, and Visions of St Columba, First Abbot of Iona: Written by St Adamnan, Ninth Abbot. A new Translation. London: Oxford University Press. Price, 1s.*
2. *Saint Columba: A Record and a Tribute, to which are added the Altus and some other Remains, with Offices for the thirteen hundredth anniversary of his death (from ancient sources). By Duncan Macgregor, Minister of Inverallochy, Author of "Early Scottish Worship," &c. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt, 37 George Street. Price, 1s.*
3. *The Mission of St Augustine to England, according to the original Documents, being a Handbook for the thirteenth century. Edited by Arthur James Mason, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, and Lady Margaret, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: At the University Press. Price, 5s.*

It is a pleasing sign of revived interest in the Celtic period of church history to find Adamnan's life of S. Columba one of the books prescribed for the final Theological Honour School at Oxford, and for the B.D. examination at Durham. This use of the *Vita S. Columbæ auctore Adamnano* at Durham accounts for the appearance of a Latin edition of the work by Dr Fowler of that city, which was noticed in the *Critical Review* when it appeared. That edition has been followed by a translation from the same scholarly editor, the title of which is given above. In this cheap and handy issue of the classic biography Dr Fowler's explanatory notes and glosses are necessarily few, but the few will be specially welcomed by Irish and Scottish readers. Students across the Channel will read with all the greater interest when they learn or are reminded that as often as the Ninth Abbot of Iona mentions "Scotia" he means Ireland, and that what figures as the "Lough of the Calf" is their own Belfast Lough. Then in North Britain a good many readers of Dr Fowler's translation will be grateful to him for the information that "the lake of the river Nisa" is Loch Ness, that "Airchart-don" is Glen Urquhart, that Artdamuirchol is Ardnamurchan, and "Scian Island" is the Celtic of Skye.

Mr Macgregor's work is the product of an enthusiast for all that is Celtic and of an ardent admirer of the Celtic apostle of Caledonia. The Record, the Tribute and the Translations are all creditable to the research and skill of the parish minister of Inverallochy. The faculty which is least in evidence in his brochure is the judicial or critical. The absence of this quality vitiates what is advanced regarding Columba's prayers and his alleged power of working miracles. It also lessens the value of the Offices which form the closing portion

of the booklet. The service for S. Columba's Day was compiled in the hope that it might be useful this year in connection with the appointment of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the ninth of June and the Sunday following. It does not appear that the Offices thus supplied, taken mainly from the Ordinary of the Divine Office in the Aberdeen Breviary, were made use of by either the Protestant or the Catholic clergy who held commemoration services in Iona this summer. If the proffered service was brought under the notice of those who arranged for these functions on successive weeks they would probably justify the setting of it aside on two grounds. First, That Bishop Elphinstone's Breviary only goes back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and so has no claim to be considered of Celtic antiquity; and, second, That, if ever there was a vernacular service-book in the Celtic Church, no fragment of it *in any ancient Celtic dialect* has yet been brought to light.

In the same month of this year, during which Protestant and Popish clergymen of Scotland were commemorating the thirteenth centenary of S. Columba, the Church of England was celebrating the same centenary of the landing in Kent of S. Augustine, with which is associated by most Anglican historians the founding of the English Church. In anticipation of this commemoration the late Archbishop Benson desired to have compiled a handbook, and laid down the plan to be followed for its preparation. The desire has been given effect to, and the plan has been faithfully followed by Dr Mason of Canterbury in his book *The Mission of St Augustine*. About two-thirds of the work are occupied with the documents bearing on the mission, consisting of Pope Gregory's Epistles and Replies to Augustine's questions, and of extracts from the writings of Bede. These are given both in their Latin original and in a translation with footnotes. The remainder of the book is devoted to four Dissertations, which deal in succession with "The Political outlook of Europe in 597," "The Mission of Augustine and his Companions in relation to other agencies in the Conversion of England," "The Landing-place of St Augustine," and "Some Liturgical Points relating to the Mission of St Augustine." The second of these is from the pen of the editor. His share in the work, especially his estimate of Celtic movements which paved the way for and blended with that set on foot by Gregory, is admirably done and has resulted in the production of a work which, had the late Primate of Canterbury lived to see, he would doubtless have declared to be the "precious little book" he desired it to be.

The dissertations of Dr Mason's three coadjutors are all creditable pieces of literary workmanship, displaying candour, breadth of view and ripe scholarship. Probably the one which will give rise to the

greatest amount of criticism is the third, by Mr Hughes, Woodwardian Professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge. It deals with the four rival spots which have claimed the honour of being the landing place. The erection near Cliff's End of Lord Granville's Cross and the charm of Dean Stanley's advocacy have of late given to Ebbsfleet possession of the coveted distinction. But Mr Hughes is not convinced that Haddan and Stubbs, Bright and Green and Maclear are right in adopting the conclusions of the Dean in this matter. He advances a strong claim for Richborough, and so agrees with Thorn in following the earlier Sprott and the later Elmham. The objection that Richborough is not in the Isle of Thanet, but lies nearer to the mainland is ingeniously got over, and the considerations that tell in favour of the deserted Roman fort are forcibly put. The object of the missionaries in going to Thanet at all was probably to avoid coming at first into too close contact with the land and people of King Ethelbert. That object would seem to be best served at Richborough, a convenient and at the same time a sequestered spot for the Roman Augustine to arrive at, coming like another Agricola to take possession of Britain once more in the name of Rome. Whether they agree with him or not the readers of the Cambridge Professor's Dissertation will be constrained to admit that he has something to say in favour of his belief "that Augustine's first night in England was spent beneath the rock-like walls of the Roman fortress of Richborough."

C. G. M'CRIE.

Aramäische Dialektproben. Lesestücke zur Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch, zumeist nach Handschriften des Britischen Museums, mit Wörterverzeichnis.

Herausgegeben von Gustaf Dalman, a.o. Professor an der Universität, Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo (large), pp. xii. 56. Price, M.1.80.

PROFESSOR DALMAN'S Aramaic Chrestomathy is well fitted to help students of that Semitic dialect. It contains selections in Aramaic from various ancient documents, from Targums on a number of passages of the Old Testament, from Midrashin on a variety of subjects, and also from the Talmud of Jerusalem and Babylon. The exercises show care in selection, and range from a few simple sentences to narratives of some length. Professor Dalman's object, however, is not simply to furnish a graduated series of readings. In his "Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch," which was published at Leipzig in 1894, he distinguishes between what

he calls the Aramaic of Judaea and Galilee and that of a later mixed dialect. The volume before us is intended to supplement the grammar, and the selections have been made with the view of exhibiting the varieties in the Aramaic dialect, referred to or discussed in the Grammar. The text is followed by several pages of useful notes, and by a vocabulary, which will be found sufficient for those who have mastered the elements of Aramaic grammar. The references in the vocabulary are to the sections of Dalman's Grammar mentioned above.

In these days, when linguistic research is being pushed so far, and critical results depend so frequently on the exact meaning of a word, it cannot be of little importance that the language in use in Palestine in the days of our Saviour should, as far as possible, be accurately known. Professor Dalman's labours are of considerable value in this direction. GEO. G. CAMERON.

St Paul's Conception of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam.

By David Somerville, M.A., Roseburn Free Church, Edinburgh.
[The Cunningham Lectures for 1897.] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi. 328. Price, 9s.

OF Lectureships endowed for the purpose of promoting Theological study, it is generally supposed that already we have enough, and more than enough. The terms of such foundations usually provide that the Lecturer shall publish what he has orally delivered, and undoubtedly this provision has entailed a certain amount of hardship on some of the Lecturers, and no small burden upon the reading public. The Lectures produced under the stimulus of these endowments are of three kinds: those which are rapidly manufactured for the occasion; those which are evidently a gathering up of the miscellaneous material which has been lying unused in note-books and in the writer's mind; and those which give the long-delayed opportunity to a careful and modest student who for many years has been bending his thought on one subject, and has again and again revised his opinions and carefully weighed the ideas of other men. It is to the last class these Lectures by Mr Somerville belong. They are the ripe fruit of years of concentrated study, the deliverances of a well-informed and well-balanced mind on one of the most important of theological topics. By its keen and profound insight, by its sanity, and by its fulness of knowledge the volume will at once take its place as the best authority on that department of New Testament Theology with which it deals. Thoroughly modern in its information and method, it yet betrays no readiness to part with old ideas and no craving for novelty as novelty. The influence of

Ritschl is discernible, but Mr Somerville is an intelligent and independent disciple, who knows when to part company with the master. He is to be congratulated on producing one of the most attractive treatises of recent years, a well-considered and important addition to theological knowledge.

It was inevitable that Mr Somerville should have something to say of the relation of Paul's teaching to that of our Lord, and especially of the apparent difference between the Apostle's representation of Christ and that given by our Lord Himself. "The feeling of an antagonism between the two, and of dissatisfaction with the prominence of the Pauline doctrine in the thought of the Church, has found utterance in the cry frequently raised, 'not Paul, but Christ'; and the plea, in itself a reasonable one, on behalf of a 'return to Christ,' means, on the lips at least of some, the entire repudiation of the Pauline Christology, as being a corrupt form of the original doctrine." Mr Somerville wisely admits the one-sidedness of the Pauline picture of Christ. The Apostle who had found his salvation in the power of the Risen and Glorified Christ, passes by the ethical teaching of the Prophet of Nazareth. It was not the supremacy of our Lord's wisdom which had impressed him, nor does he dwell on the revelation of God which we have in the life of Jesus. "One who believed, as Paul did, that the real significance of Christ for man's salvation belongs to His heavenly and not to His earthly life, and who, in consequence, goes back on what was transacted in those brief years of the Lord's life on earth only in so far as they bore on the transcendent virtue of His present life for us, must needs omit much that is of the highest importance for us to include in our picture of Christ" (p 236). But Mr Somerville emphatically denies that there is any inconsistency between the Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of the Epistles. And one of the most interesting passages in the Lectures is that in which he holds the balance between the two, and illustrates the bearing of the historic Christ upon the Christ of experience, pointing out with precision the error in the two extremes, in the depreciation of the value of the historic life of Christ, and in the concentration of attention on that life to the exclusion of the risen glory. Elsewhere (p. 10) he says: "Christ and Paul were not rival teachers; and, before we criticise the Apostle, it is necessary that we should understand him and the precise relation in which he stood to the Lord. He does not come before us as a commentator, or an interpreter of the words of Christ, but as an interpreter of Christ Himself, and of the relation of His death and risen life to the religious wants of man. Jesus' own work was primarily not to teach, but to live the Life; not to say something, but to be and do something. And Paul recognised it as his task not to expound or enforce the doctrines of

his Master, but to open up the message of His life and death." It is one of the excellencies of the book that the incompleteness of the earthly life and the supreme value of the heavenly state of Christ are everywhere kept in view. "It is always of the Exalted Jesus Paul speaks, of whom he predicates what he believes to be true regarding Him. The supreme worth of Christ for Paul was one that belonged to Him in His present and invisible heavenly life. In his view, the Christhood of Jesus was not an accomplished fact till He had risen from the dead and had entered on the higher stage of Being and activity that followed. The historic Jesus alone was no Messiah to Paul."

The charm of Mr Somerville's lectures arises in large part from his clear recognition of the fact that the main source of Paul's conception of Christ was his own experience. "In the consciousness of what the glorified Christ was to him in his personal life, we are to look for the genesis of Paul's Christology." His Christ is the Christ of his experience, not a philosophical conception or construction, not the result of an adjustment of the ideas of his rabbinic training to this newly-discovered figure. Christ revealed Himself to Paul through the wealth of moral and religious good which He communicated to him. So that instead of a dry and lifeless statement of theological propositions deducible from the writings of Paul, we have in these lectures a picture of Christ which is enriched and coloured with the warm blood of his religious life. At every point we feel ourselves to be in contact with what is real and personal, and are never sent adrift upon the shoreless and barren sea of formal discussion. Indeed, the only question is whether Mr Somerville has not been too exclusive in his rejection of all other sources of Paul's conceptions. As a protest against the too general endeavour to reduce the Apostle's theology to Hellenism or Rabbinism, this is a position one hesitates to find any fault with. Yet considering that from Gamaliel Paul must have received pretty definite views regarding the Messiah and redemption, it is not unreasonable to expect to find traces of this teaching in the Epistles. The utmost that Mr Somerville will allow is declared in connection with the idea of Christ as the Heavenly Man. "It may well be that he borrowed from the systems with which he was familiar the terms in which he expressed his thought, for that thought had affinity with the speculations of the schools. These terms would naturally occur in thinking of the truth that was revealed in Christ. But the truth itself was not derived from these speculations. It was an intuition which he owed to his spiritual understanding of his Master." If this be an extreme statement it is yet in the right direction. Spiritual experience is not the only source of knowledge of the spiritual world ; but it is a source, and the surest.

Paul's knowledge of Christ, then, being derived from the impression made upon him by His exalted Personality, what precisely did he thus learn regarding Him? He learned that He was the Spiritual Man and the Son of God. From the moment that He was laid hold of by Christ he was conscious of a new creative force entering his life. Conscious that this force proceeding from Christ for the renewal of his life was the power of the Holy Spirit, he recognised Christ as the Spiritual Man, "a Being whose nature was Spirit, a man distinguished from and contrasted with all others in this, that the Spirit of God was the indwelling power of His personal life." Similarly by his new experience of forgiveness and freedom, that is, of sonship, and by his emancipation from the feeling of estrangement and bondage produced by the Law, he was led to recognise Christ, in whom he enjoyed this new life, as the Son of God. Thus Christ is "the Archetypal Man, the revelation of the Divine idea of human nature, the Second Man, the Prototype of a new race differing from the first man in its realising the capacity for the Divine and Spiritual that must otherwise remain a capacity only in the nature we are born with." In the elaboration of these ideas Mr Somerville brings us into touch with the very heart of Paulinism.

Some difference of opinion will be evoked by Mr Somerville's treatment of the Death of Christ. From the two passages (Gal. iii. 13, and 2 Cor. v. 14) which are usually referred to as ground for believing that Paul held a substitutionary theory, Mr Somerville finds himself unable to deduce so much. Of the former passage he says:—"There arises a serious difficulty in the way of our giving a universal scope to an argument that is intended primarily to explain the deliverance of the Jews from the consequences of the transgressions of their law, and that carries on the face of it the marks of its limited significance." But surely Paul meant in writing to the Galatians to illustrate not merely Jewish but universal salvation; and if we are to limit the application of the Epistle to the Jews, because they and their ideas are in the foreground, we lose one of the most illuminating passages in his writings. Even what Mr Somerville says of the Apostle's use of sacrificial language requires some modification. It is of course true that there is only scanty reference to sacrifice in his Epistles, and it is also true that the nature of Christ's sacrifice is very apt to be misunderstood by those who simply transfer to it the ideas connected with the sacrifices of the Old Testament. But it is going a little too far to aver that these Levitical sacrifices can shed *no* light upon the death of Christ. We, in our circumstances, may find it easier to interpret that death directly and independently, but obviously the Apostles found it natural to connect the cross with the sacrifices to which they had been accustomed. Those sacrifices had been instrumental

in maintaining in the Jewish mind certain great and necessary religious ideas, and these ideas were perpetuated in the death of Christ. We cannot but feel that in this part of his book, Mr Somerville has allowed his own dogmatic findings to influence his interpretation of the statements of St Paul.

The fifth lecture is devoted to the "Later Developments" of the Pauline Christology as promulgated in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and nowhere do Mr Somerville's maturity of thought and skilfulness of treatment appear to greater advantage. But his power as a theologian is most conspicuous in the lecture on "The Eternal Nature of Christ." This chapter is mainly critical, and the various attempts to construct a theory of the relation of the human to the divine in Christ are passed in review; the Lecturer's conclusion being given in these terms:—"I confess I have little confidence in any speculation that has been formed on the subject, or in the power of the human mind to grapple successfully with the difficulties of it. It lies beyond our experience; all forms of speech about Christ as pre-incarnate must necessarily be figurative and imperfect." But we have not merely criticism in this chapter, but some significant and instructive positive statements. "The difference of metaphysical being between Christ and all others must be acknowledged. But it is in virtue of what He became through the participation of our humanity, and through His exaltation as Man, victorious over sin and death, that He is the object of our religious faith and love, that He is to us the vehicle of the Spirit of God, and the Mirror in whom God's face is seen, that His Person, in short, is invested with the unspeakable importance it possesses for the moral and religious life of the race." And again: "The Divine is intelligible to us only as the Principle or Causality of that which is highest and most perfect in our notion of the human. And Christ is recognised by us as the union of the two, because He is the producing cause in us, and in all who surrender themselves to Him, of that life of righteousness and love in which we reach the perfection for which we were made. The truth of our Lord's Divinity must rest, as we have seen in this review of our Lord's teaching, on the experience that testifies to the Divine life that proceeds from Him." Mr Somerville's book is in fact not only the best exposition we have of the Christology of St Paul, but an irresistible apologetic, reclaiming Christ from the wilds of theological deductions and debate, and giving Him back to the real interests and experience of men. It will create fresh interest in the study of Christology, and furnish new methods for its pursuit. For even those who may be disposed to criticise both Mr Somerville's principles and some of his results, must acknowledge that he has invested his subject with fresh attractiveness, and has made a great contribution to its knowledge.

MARCUS DODS.

M'Giffert's Apostolic Age.

A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, by A. C. M'Giffert, Ph.D., D.D., Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. [International Theological Library.] Pp. xii. 680. 8vo. Price, 12s.

THIS fine work by Philip Schaff's successor has been in our hands too short a time to allow of more than the expression of a provisional estimate as to many of its distinctive positions. But as to its high excellence in general, and that even in some places where it may be regarded by those familiar only with the traditions of English and American New Testament scholarship as over hardy, there can be no question. In a work of this sort there are sure to be slips and shortcomings which a jealous eye can magnify to the obscuring of large merits. But in this case the chief loss would be the critic's own.

To any study of the Apostolic Age the estimate formed of the Acts is necessarily crucial. And here our author stands mid-way between the ready suspicion of Weizsäcker and the large confidence of Ramsay; leaning more to the latter in matters of substantial correctness, save where error may be due to simple misconstruction of more primitive sources. In his Preface he expresses agreement with Harnack, his "honoured teacher," "in the treatment of the Book of Acts as based in the main upon trustworthy sources"—referring to the latter's *Chronologie*, which appeared too late to be used in the present work. Briefly stated, then, his own view is that the traditional ascription of Acts to a Luke implies either a compiler of that name (not "the beloved physician"), or the use of a narrative by Paul's associate, traceable in the "we" passages of our present book. He agrees with Ramsay and others in tracing it to the reign of Domitian on account of the situation implied in it; thinking that "the author's lack of acquaintance with many of Paul's epistles, and the indications of a knowledge of his book on the part of Christian writers of the early second century, make it inadvisable to put it into a later period." It seems hard to deny that Dr M'Giffert is right in detecting traces of a certain unacquaintance with the genius of primitive Jerusalem Christianity, and even of a general tendency to superimpose the categories of A.D. 80-90 upon the statements of his earlier sources—themselves not always contemporary eye-witnesses. Cases of this kind may be; the sort of corporate authority virtually attributed to the Twelve at certain crises (though it is easy to overstate this, as Hort points out); the exact ground of the repressive measures adopted after a

time by the Sadducean hierarchy (the historicity of which in general is maintained); and the account of Pentecost, including the conception that the Holy Spirit was there bestowed for the first time (Acts i. 5, 8, *cf.* Luke xxiv. 49 in contrast to John xx. 22). But these¹ and the others collected in a note to p. 237 (of which some depend on a special exegesis, while some are hardly *ad rem*) can hardly be said to be *impossible* to any of Paul's associates, however situated before and at the time of writing. Far more weighty are the allegations (p. 462 f.) that the author of Acts was so little of a Paulinist as to perceive no difference between Paul's conception of the Gospel itself and that of the other apostles, and to treat his hero as subordinate to the latter and as deriving his authority in large measure from them. Such points call for grave consideration. On the other hand, M'Giffert shows no adequate feeling for the strength of the case as stated, say, by Ramsay. He writes that "if anything is clear, it is that the Book of Acts is not a mere collection of documents, but a well-ordered and artistically arranged composition." But is it an artistic thing to let "we" passages simply crop out here and there, without warning or comment, unless the author be himself really writing as an eye-witness? We have noted no attempt to grapple with this obvious difficulty. We miss, too, at times a fair application of this consideration—"Granted certain *motifs* for the compilation of this work, what selective limitation would they naturally lead to in the writer's use of his materials?" Such an author does not deny, or even depreciate, much that he does not care to record. This applies, for instance, to M'Giffert's criticism of narratives like those of Paul's preaching at Thessalonica and Corinth, from which one would hardly suspect the large results among the Gentiles which Paul's own Epistles prove actually to have been attained. Sometimes, indeed, he succeeds, by a careful exegesis, in dissipating doubts cast by others on his author's historicity. It seems likely that by a yet more careful exegesis he might have carried the process a good deal farther.

Chapter I. deals with *The Origin of Christianity*, under the headings "Judaism," "John the Baptist," "Jesus." The first of these is excellently, if briefly, handled. But the representation of John's attitude does not strike us as happy. It mistakes John's modesty for the want of a sense of distinctive mission; and does not allow for his perplexity at Jesus, as fulfilling only one side of his own Messianic ideal: hence his doubt. Again we cannot admit that "there is no indication in our sources that Jesus thought of the coming of the Spirit as instituting a new stage in the Kingdom

¹ And one may add the apparent misconception as to the date of Theudas (v. 36).

of God," unless we deny the substance of John xiv. 16-26., xvi. 7-15—which our author by no means asks us to do. Nor does it seem correct to ignore Paschal associations as attaching to Christ's words in Mark xiv. 24. At such a season "my blood of the Covenant" must surely have pointed that way (rather than to the "sacrifice at Horeb"); and this, quite apart from the further question as to the nature of the Breaking of Bread or the Lord's Supper among the primitive Christians.

Chapter II. is devoted to *Primitive Jewish Christianity* in five sections. In that styled "The New Beginning," our author tries to show how the disciples gathered afresh at Jerusalem after a general flight to Galilee, to take up the broken thread of their Master's work. But the picture is not a very convincing one: the evacuation of Jerusalem seems too complete. The data, however, are confessedly perplexing; and there one must leave it for the present. As to the nature of the appearances of the Risen One, he is content to dwell on the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the witnesses, and leave the objective side of the visions a mystery. He rightly starts from 1 Cor. xv. 4 ff., and is inclined to infer that "it was primarily to Peter that the Church owed its belief in the resurrection."

The treatment of the apostolic consciousness reflected in the speeches of Acts ii.-iv., while as yet their ideas were more Jewish than Christian, is very faithful. "The disciples contented themselves with the demonstration of the proposition that Jesus is the Messiah, and it apparently did not occur to them to ask what his Messiahship involved for Jesus Himself. It was enough to know that he was the Christ." The Messianic idea, in the form common to them and their hearers, was as yet their all-embracing category; nor had the personality of *Jesus* the Messiah so penetrated it in their thinking as to have transformed it into a specifically new type. This came only with their life-experience, quickened by St Paul's deeper insight. The Kingdom still lay essentially in the future, beyond the Day of the Lord (and how near might that not be!): the present manifestation of the Spirit in individuals was but premonitory and preparatory. This eschatological attitude, with its emphasis on the returning glorified Messiah, must have overshadowed for a time any interest felt by believers at large in the actual earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth—however this may have lain treasured up in the hearts of His personal disciples.

Of points well handled in relation to this general outlook, may be mentioned the primitive Breaking of Bread¹ (see note to p.

¹ We find M'Giffert's account of the Baptism of Acts ii. 38, on the other hand, rather jejune on account of the absence of the idea of a Messianic *righteousness* to be entered on.

68), life in the Spirit, and the office of the "Seven," as to which M'Giffert has modified his view, expressed in his edition of Eusebius' *Hist. Eccl.* (ii. 1), in keeping with his present conviction that "the elders mentioned in various passages in the Book of Acts were not officers in any sense, and consequently are not to be connected with the Seven in any way." But nothing strikes us as more happy than his characterisation of Stephen's position, which has often been made almost to anticipate Paul's. Thus, speaking of vv. 48-50 in Stephen's great Speech, he says: "Read in the light of the context in which they occur, they cannot mean that such worship is unnecessary, but only that mere external worship is not enough"—exactly the prophetic idea of religion (*e.g.*, in Isaiah lxvi. 1, 2). Thus "he neither questioned the continued validity of the Jewish law nor suggested in any way the call of the Gentiles." And so we pass to consider the Pauline mission, observing only that, as regards the difficulty found in Peter's eating with Gentiles in Acts xi. 3, M'Giffert seems to forget that a Galilean like Peter felt less bound by the rules of Scribism than did his Jerusalem friends.

The Christianity of Paul is the theme of Chapter III. In it our author builds everything *from the first* upon the Pauline experience in Rom. vii., with its antithesis of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*, and the corresponding solution of the problem of moral impotence by mystical union with the Christ who in His Cross had condemned sin in the *σάρξ*. "It is not so much forgiveness," writes M'Giffert, "as a new life; not so much pardon for the old, as release from it that is needed, and that is secured, according to Paul." The point is that this is represented as Paul's *first apprehension* of the new Righteousness by faith. For he speaks of "this union between himself and Christ, of which Paul became conscious at the time of his conversion." It is to be questioned whether this is even psychologically thinkable, namely, that the vision of Jesus as (not the reprobate and dead man but as) the Chosen of God and the Living One should at once suggest mystical, efficacious union with Him as the Victor over *σάρξ*. It is far easier to see how it would emerge in reflexion on actual experience of the new life of devoted trust in Him, as having offered Himself a holy sacrifice for sinful men, and "covering" with His accepted Righteousness the penitent and believing sinner. It is certainly *true to Christian experience* since then that such has been the psychological order. But is the other view true even to what we know of Paul as a Pharisee? He, too, must have shared the sense of *condemnation*, rather than impotence, before the Holy Law, for the removal of which the Apocalypses, and later Jewish literature in general, show the Pharisees to have relied upon a balance of good works over bad, reinforced too at times by the "merits of the Fathers." Of all this M'Giffert

takes but little account in his zeal to show that the righteousness of faith is not "a mere declaration of God," "not a mere status," "but is at bottom the real righteousness or the righteous nature which is bestowed upon the believer by God." One may sympathise with his belief that Paul viewed the justified man as from the first a changed man, as regenerate in spirit, and therefore in reality right with God. But this is very different from denying an aspect of imputation, a generous treating things that as yet 'are not' as though they were (as every good father does when he forgives a bad child), as that which comes first in the experience of Reconciliation for Paul as for the most Pauline Christians since. Thus it is, at least, misleading to say that with Paul the righteousness of God is "righteousness not imputed, but imparted to man; and imparted just because the divine nature or Spirit, which is itself righteous, is imparted to him." The latter consideration was an afterthought of experience, and is adduced to enforce on the justified the duty and possibility of Sanctification. To treat it otherwise is to present Paulinism out of historic perspective; and our author's otherwise able and penetrating exposition is not free from this reproach. Our difference with him will, perhaps, be less apt to be misconceived or exaggerated if we hasten to recognise how admirably his very one-sidedness as regards Paul's own experience has enabled him to bring out the meaning of 1 Cor. ii. 2 ff. in relation to the specific needs of Corinth. Its inhabitants had but little of that deep sense of guilt before God which the Law had wrought in Paul, as in Jews in general. But they did know the bondage to sin in the *σάρξ*, as few knew it. And hence it was that side of the Cross of Christ—the side in contact with existing experience—which the great Apostle turned fullest towards them, while, doubtless, not omitting the aspect which spoke to the 'conscience diseased' as it thought of the law of God "written in their hearts" (Rom. ii. 15). But this only means, as Dr A. B. Bruce, for instance, has pointed out touching the rudimentary Paulinism of the Thessalonian Epistles, that Paul was a great missionary, a physician of souls, not a professor of therapeutics, and so accommodated the emphasis of his two-sided Gospel to the needs of men as he found them.

Space forbids anything like running comment on the thirteen sections under which the *Work of Paul* is traced (pp. 151-439). But our author's view on several points raised into special prominence by Ramsay's recent work on St Paul must be indicated. He is a thorough "South Galatian," and also assigns a very early date to the Epistle to the Galatians. Only he here goes even further than Ramsay, seeing in it the earliest of Paul's extant writings, written shortly *before* his Second Missionary Journey (c. 46 A.D.).

On the other hand, he refuses to connect the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. ii. 1 ff. with that recorded in Acts xi. 30, preferring to suppose that this latter really took place at the same time as that recorded in Acts xv., but that the compiler of Acts failed to recognise their actual identity, and assigned to the Alms mission an earlier date. This, of course, gets rid of the difficulty incident to the ordinary view, according to which Paul omits to prove that he learnt nothing from the older Apostles on a visit actually made between those of Gal. i. and Gal. ii. respectively. But it is rather a counsel of despair; and Ramsay has some right to score it as a point in his favour; especially as Peter's action at Antioch still seems, after all. M'Giffert has to say on the point, to follow far less naturally on a public *concordat*, like Acts xv., than on a private understanding¹ between leaders such as Ramsay finds in Gal. ii. 1-10.

As to Pauline Chronology, M'Giffert again goes beyond Ramsay, pushing back Paul's conversion to 31-32 (instead of 32-33), and the Council at Jerusalem to 45-46 (in place of 49-50), both reckoning the fourteen years of Gal. ii. 1 from Paul's conversion, not from his first visit to Jerusalem. Further, like Harnack in his *Chronologie*, he ante-dates the usual period of Paul's imprisonment in Caesarea by four or five years, making Festus succeed Felix in 55, and Paul reach Rome in the spring of 56. Then, finally, he leaves both his friends, and, denying any release from the Roman imprisonment, places Paul's death in 58. This enables him to explain the greater impression left on the Roman Church by Peter, to whom he is thus able to allow a sojourn of several years in the capital between 58-64. This last point is very interesting, and it must be allowed that the case stated against Release and Second Arrest is very strong indeed.² But it is inconsistent with the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles in their present form—a conclusion to which M'Giffert is led on several grounds which he sets forth with force and candour. His discussion of these documents is probably the fullest and most persuasive to be found in English, and its *prima facie* cogency at least is much enhanced by his recognition of genuine Pauline letters as utilised in them all—largely in 2 Tim., less so in Titus, and least in 1 Tim. But his argument must be read as a whole to be duly appreciated. With these deductions, he accepts all the Pauline Epistles as genuine, but would

¹ It is significant that Weizsäcker feels bound, in deference to Gal. ii. 6-10, to recognize such a private Apostolic Treaty, distinct from the public Conference which he sees in Gal. ii. 3-5, and echoed in Acts xv.

² Whatever be made of the phrase *τὸ ῥέμμα τῆς δόσεως* as found in the MSS. of 1 Clem. 5, it seems clear that it cannot support a journey to Spain, since it must also represent the place of Paul's trial and death.

add to their number by reckoning Rom. xvi. 1-23 as an ἐπιστολή συστατική sent to Ephesus (see Sanday and Headlam for much epigraphic evidence on the other side, which is here rather overlooked), 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1 as part of the lost letter referred to in 1 Cor. v. 10, and 2 Cor. x.-xiii. as originally a letter following on Paul's unrecorded visit to Corinth between 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. He agrees with most foreign scholars against Lightfoot in treating Philippians as the last, not the first, of the Roman group to which it belongs.

With Chapter V. we pass to *The Christianity of the Church at large*. Here he first calls attention to the legal rather than Pauline cast of Gentile Christianity outside Paul's immediate circles of friends, and after his death universally; analyses the meaning of this fact; and indicates the distinctive notes of this "common conception of the Gospel," which he traces in some of the later N.T. writings and generally in the Apostolic Fathers and thereafter. Of this New Legalism, which makes Salvation turn on obedience to a new and higher revealed Law,¹ he finds several distinct types in the N.T., namely, that of the Epistle of James (by some Hellenistic Christian, prior to 100 A.D.), of Hebrews (a practical λόγος παρακλήσεως by an "Alexandrine" Hellenist, such as Apollos, and addressed probably to the Roman Church in the earlier days of the trials under Domitian), and of 1 Peter, viewed as the most Pauline of non-Pauline writings, dating c. 81-90, and possibly by Barnabas. While we do not think his diagnosis of the situation implied by James at all successful, one is bound to admire the grasp shown of that suggested in Hebrews, and to refer students of that wonderful epistle to the twenty brilliant pages in which it is examined. But neither the date nor the authorship assigned to 1 Peter seems to us even plausible; rather the notion of its being the work of an octogenarian or nonagenarian strikes one as quite unlikely. Finally, in this connection it should be added that M'Giffert states that he regards 2 Peter as "the only really pseudonymous work in the New Testament," because alone containing its false ascription in its original substance. This means, of course, that he does not consider the Apocalypse to claim apostolic authorship, but only to be the work of some Christian prophet of the name of John, possibly the Presbyter John (possible author also of 2 John and 3 John). As to 1 John and the Fourth Gospel, our author does not see his way to decide between the Apostle John and one of his disciples.

We have had to omit reference to several sections, such as those devoted to "The Radical Paulinism of the Gnostics and Other

¹ It conceived, says our author, the Christian life as 'man's own life governed by a divine law'; whereas, with Paul, it is 'the divine life in man.'

Setaries" (implied in the Pastorals, Apocalypse, 1 John and Jude) and "The Christian Life"—an able chapter, which does full justice to the place of spiritual gifts and the recognition of the Holy Spirit among primitive Christians; and the bulk of Chapter VI., entitled *The Developing Church*. This latter includes "James and the Church of Jerusalem," "Peter and the Church of Rome," "John and the Church of Asia," "The Church and the Empire," "The Unity of the Church," "The Developing Organisation"; and all supply plentiful food for thought. But enough, it is hoped, has been said to send scholars to peruse this work, which, as the production of a man still young, must be pronounced wonderfully learned and mature, and is in any case not only the fullest but the most impartial, many-sided, and stimulating book on the subject in the English language.

VERNON BARTLET.

Notices.

IN his *Christian Life in Germany, as seen in the State and the Church*,¹ Dr Edward F. Williams gives his view of the present condition and the probable future of the Protestant Churches of the Fatherland. After a general survey of Germany as a Christian nation, he proceeds to state the results of his inquiries into the intellectual training of the people, their moral and religious life, the social and industrial movements of the time, the influences which have served to stimulate or to modify the Christian life, the place held by Foreign Missions, the history and methods of the Inner Mission, the measures adopted for the preservation of those in danger, the care of defectives and the sick, the saving of the lost, the circulation of Christian literature, the meeting of the social needs of the people. The book closes with three interesting chapters explaining the special forces used for the work of the Inner Mission, the social and moral condition of Germany since 1860, and the efforts and measures by which the new dangers of the times are to be met. The volume is an opportune one. It is full of matter, carefully collected and sifted by the author himself. The estimates which it makes of some of the elements at work in German society at present will no doubt be differently regarded by different individuals. But the book is one of value, well worth serious reading. Its final conclusion is that the Church is the only real ground of hope.

The Master of Marlborough College writes to good purpose on the important subject of *Religious Teaching in Secondary Schools*.²

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 320. Price, 4s.

² By the Rev. George C. Bell, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 181. Price, 3s. 6d.

His object is not an ambitious one. It is to give suggestions such as his own experience offers to teachers and parents for "Lessons on the Old and New Testaments, Early Church History, the Evidences, &c." This is effectively done, and there is quite a place for a book of this kind. Many of those who are engaged in the work of secondary schools must find it difficult to know what to attempt in the way of discharging their duty as instructors of the young in religion. The counsels offered here will be in present circumstances of real use to them. One of the writer's chief objects is to make it plain to such teachers that "the intelligent study of the Bible is much helped by knowledge of facts about its historical development." His remarks on the attitude most proper on the part of our instructors of youth to what criticism and historical inquiry have to say on the various books of the Bible will be read with interest. The whole question of the kind and measure of religious instruction in this class of school is dealt with in a frank, courageous, and discreet spirit.

The *Epistle to the Philippians*¹ is very well handled by the Principal of Ridley Hall in the *Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges*. The notes on the Greek text are concise, and give the essence of scholarly inquiry. The Introduction discusses in a clear and interesting way all that the student needs as a preparation for the intelligent study of the Epistle. We notice among other things the criticism of Meyer's contention that Caesarea was the place of writing, and the examination of his arguments in favour of the late date for the Epistle. In these matters Dr Moule follows Lightfoot in the main. He dates the Epistle late in 61, or early in 62. From the same hand we have another volume on the same Epistle under the title of *Philippian Studies*.² In this volume Dr Moule writes entirely for edification, giving a series of "Lessons on Faith and Love." These are excellent chapters, based on exact exegesis, practical in their scope, and earnest in spirit. They deal with such subjects as the *Intimacy of Human Hearts in Christ* (I. 1-11); the *Apostle's Position and Character* (I. 12-20); the *Christian's Peace and the Christian's Consistency* (I. 21-30), *Unity or Self-Forgetfulness* (II., 1-11), etc.

The author of *Christian Instincts and Modern Doubt*³ writes with much self-confidence. From some things in it one might infer

¹ With Introduction and Notes by the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. xl. 116. Price, 2s. 6d.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 265.

³ Essays and Addresses in aid of a reasonable, satisfying and consolatory Religion. By Alexander H. Crauford, M.A., formerly Exhibitioner of Oriel College, Oxford. London: James Clark & Co, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 356. Price, 6s.

that in the writer's own esteem his work is the first that has frankly faced the case as it really stands, and the first that has aimed at giving "some real and adequate guidance to honest inquirers." There have been, however, some brave and honest men, we believe, even before this great Agamemnon, and it is not impossible that Mr Crauford may be taken by others at a different estimate from his own. His book is one that provokes the reader, and sometimes makes him indignant. He is not above expressing spiteful opinions, the creatures of ignorance and prejudice, on men whose shoe's latchet he is not worthy to unloose, if they happen not to go with him in ecclesiastical politics. He speaks of Churches other than his own in a style that makes one feel how very condescending it is of him to notice them at all. He writes as if the relief of doubt and the survival of religion depended on the maintenance of a State Church. One feels aggrieved that by things like these, and by a certain jauntiness of discussion, he takes the edge from what is well put in his book. For the book is far from wanting clever paragraphs, and things of a better kind than these. And if Mr Crauford would look more to the spirit of religion, and practise a little modesty, and try to believe that there may be some sincerity and piety in those who do not quite think with him on certain subjects, he may yet write something that will "give some real and adequate guidance to honest inquirers."

Mr Jeffrey's volume on *The Personal Ministry of the Son of Man*¹ consists of a series of "studies on the Saviour's application of His own teaching." The idea is a good one. It is to take advantage of the deep and gratifying interest in our Lord's own teaching which is so largely exhibited at present, and direct attention particularly to the method of the teaching. Typical examples of this method are selected for detailed exposition,—Jesus and the Baptist, Jesus and the Scribes, Jesus and the Samaritan, Jesus and the Roman, Jesus and the Greeks, etc.,—with the view of showing how Christ applied His teaching to individual cases of very different kinds. The idea is very well carried out. There are twenty-four separate studies, reverent in spirit, unpretentious in style, and exhibiting in an interesting and edifying way our Lord's way of dealing with different kinds of characters. The volume is a manly and healthy one.

Dr John Kinross, Principal of St Andrew's College, University of Sydney, writes on *Dogma in Religion and Creeds in the Church*.² His object is to "show that undue importance has been attached to the

¹ By the Rev. James Jeffrey, M.A., of Trinity United Presbyterian Church, Pollokshields. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 299. Price, 5s.

² Edinburgh: James Thin, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 342. Price, 5s.

dogmas of the Church, and that a firm belief in their precise statements is not absolutely necessary to the highest type of Christian living." So far as this goes, Dr Kinross will find few or none to contest his position, and his statements on the subject are well put. At times, however, he permits himself to be carried considerably beyond this, and to say things which make one question whether he sufficiently allows for the element of doctrine in Christianity and in the Christian life, or for the inevitable action of the Christian mind in thinking out and stating the contents of its faith. But there is a strong and healthy tone in the book. It says much that is to the purpose on the exaggerations into which all Churches have been apt to fall, and on the tendency which has always been at work to go beyond the New Testament and make more of the forms, intellectual and ceremonial, of the faith. In all, too, that Dr Kinross says with the view of commending a simpler and more catholic Church life, and removing obstacles to Christian unity, he has our hearty sympathy.

We have received the first and second parts of the XVith. year of the invaluable *Jahresbericht*,¹ containing the literature for 1896 in the departments of Old and New Testament Exegesis and Historical Theology; An *Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version, with a discussion of the value of the Codex Ambrosianus*,² a work of great scholarly value, appropriately dedicated to the pious memory of Brian Walton, carrying on the work of Herbert Thorndike in the London Polyglott of 1657, furnished with all that could be desired in the way of Introduction, and laying all Syriac Scholars under great obligations by its careful use of the various MSS. which have been brought to light since Thorndike's time—MSS. of the sixth, ninth, and twelfth centuries, and therefore much older than those used for the Polyglott; *Disunion and Reunion*,³ a series of popular addresses, written in a very free and easy style, in which we get the pronounced Roman Catholic view of the causes that led to "the disruption of Christendom," first by the Greek Schism, and then by the Protestant Reformation, and in which page after

¹ Theologischer Jahresbericht. Hrsg. von Dr H. Holtzmann u. Dr G. Krüger. Sechszehnter Band. Enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1896. Braunschweig, Schwetschke u. Sohn. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Erste Abtheilung; Exegese. Bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. 8vo, pp. 156. Price M.6. Zweite Abtheilung; Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, Fricker, Lösche, Hegler, Kohl-Schmidt u. Furrer. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, M.7.

² By W. E. Barnes, D.D., Fellow of Peterhouse. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxxiv. 63. Price, 5s.

³ By W. F. Madden, sometime Rector R.C. Cathedral, Auckland. London: Burns & Oates. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 178. Price, 3s.

page we come upon the most innocent explanations of great movements, as when the Scottish Reformation finds its first reason in the fact that "Knox was the replica of Wishart . . . and these two distortions of our better nature loved each other—as distortions sometimes do;" a good German translation of Dr Charles M. Douglas's excellent treatise on *John Stuart Mill*¹; a pamphlet by the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A., on *The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*,² giving a clear, learned, and decided statement of the doctrine of the Anglican formularies on the subject of the priesthood and the Sacrament as unmistakably Protestant and entirely opposed to the theory of a sacrificing ministry, and not hesitating to express the opinion that the recent reply of the Anglican Archbishops to the Pope's Bull on English Orders does not take so "well-defined a position. . . . as would have been taken by our Reformers in the sixteenth century, or by our great divines in the seventeenth"; a Series of Addresses, under the general title of *The Great Example*,³ devotional in form and in design, meant in the first instance for the help of Candidates for Holy Orders during the days immediately preceding their ordination, and dealing in a devout and practical way with the Church's ministry in its various aspects, as the ministry of the *Man*, the *King*, the *Priest*, and the *Seer*; a collection of readings for each week of the year, under the title of *Creed and Conduct*,⁴ selected and arranged by the Rev. George Coates, from the writings of Dr Alexander M'Laren, of Manchester—a choice book, full of the best thoughts of one of the greatest, most devout, and most sustained of preachers; *A Man's Value to Society*,⁵ which is the name given to a series of "Studies in Self-Culture and Character," by Newell Wright Hillis, interesting to read, containing many just, suggestive and pleasantly expressed observations on the materials and basis of character, the moral uses of memory, the enthusiasm of friendship, and kindred subjects, and enforcing individual worth as the genius of Christianity; Mr Joseph Bryant Rotherham's new translation of the Bible, under the title of *The Emphasised Bible*,⁶ a well-meant effort, somewhat confusing by the number of things it aims at and the multitude of signs it employs,

¹ Autorisierte deutsche Übersetzung. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. x. 205. Price, M.3.60.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1897. 8vo, pp. 55. Price, 1s. 6d.

³ By George Henry Somerset Walpole, D.D., Principal of Bede College, Durham. London: Longmans, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 5s.

⁴ London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 384. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁵ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 327. Price, 5s.

⁶ New Testament, Part I.: Matthew—Luke, vii. 22. London: Allenson, 1897. 4to, pp. 64. Price, 2s.

to bring the English reader nearer the exact meaning, the style, and the aim of the sacred writers; a third and revised edition of Dr Newman Hall's useful and much appreciated practical study of *The Lord's Prayer*;¹ a volume of *Words of Counsel*,² by J. B. Pearson, LL.D., D.D., late Vicar of Leck, and formerly Bishop of Newcastle, N.S.W., consisting of a series of extracts from great English writers, and from the late Vicar's own sermons, admirably arranged by Mrs Pearson, and well chosen for the purpose of helps to thought and life; a very interesting volume on *The Early History of the Scottish Union Question*,³ furnishing much curious and instructive information on the various attempts made from the time of Edward First of England to that of William III., to unite England and Scotland, and giving a vivid picture of the good and the evil, the generous aims and the jealousies, which were at work in these movements; a volume on *The Teaching Function of the Modern Pulpit*,⁴ an able statement of the glory of one of the chief offices of the Christian ministry, and a strong plea for its better discharge; an *Explanatory Analysis of St Paul's First Epistle to Timothy*,⁵ drawn up with the most praiseworthy care by the late Canon Liddon for the use of his pupils, giving evidence on every page of laborious study, and furnishing, in addition to the elaborate representation of the argument, scholarly and most useful notes on the main points of the exegesis—a volume well worthy of the Canon's reputation; the sixth charge of the Archdeacon of London, in which, under the title of *The Ancient British Churches*,⁶ he gives a rapid outline of the history of the introduction of the Christian religion into the British, Irish, Welsh, and Scotie Churches, with the chief developments and changes through which the new faith passed in the early ages; a lecture by Professor Charteris, D.D., of the University of Edinburgh, on *The Present State of Biblical Criticism as regards the New Testament*,⁷ a succinct, able, and timely digest of the critical literature of recent years, with a careful and candid estimate of the attack and the defence, and a statement of the result as generally and unmistakably in the

¹ A Practical Meditation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 336. Price, 4s. 6d.

² With Preface by the Bishop of Manchester. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 101.

³ By G. W. T. Omond. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 194. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ By James Lindsay, M.A., B.D., B.Sc. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 60. Price, 1s.

⁵ London: Longmans. 1897. 8vo. Price, 7s. 6d.

⁶ By the Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 1s.

⁷ Edinburgh: James Thin, 1897. 8vo, pp. 24.

direction of giving the New Testament a "surer place in critical estimate"; a painstaking examination of the question of the speaking subject in the *Psalms*,¹ by Dr George Beer, in which the result is reached that the *Psalms* fall into three groups, viz., Church *Psalms*, in which the speaker is, more or less, the Church (2, 9-10, 18(?), 20, 21, 24, 28, 29, 33, 36, 42-48, 54-61, 63-68, 72, 74-87, 88(?), 89, 90, 93-100, 103, 105-108, 110, 113-115, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123-126, 129-138, 140, 141, 143, 145-150); second, individual *Psalms*, viz. :—1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15-17(?), 19, 23, 26, 27, 30, 32, 37, 39, 41, 49, 50, 52, 62, 73, 91, 92, 101, 104, 109, 111, 112, 116, 119, 122, 127, 128, 139, 142, 144; and thirdly, an intermediate group, in which the subject is the *עַמִּי*, viz. :—5, 7, 12, 14 (53), 22, 25, 31, 32 (?), 34, 38, 40, 51, 69-71, 102 (?), 109 (?).

We owe much to Mr R. H. Charles for his labours in the curious field of the old pseudepigraphic literature. He has laid us under fresh obligations by the preparation of an edition of *The Assumption of Moses*² in every way worthy of his well-known scholarship. In many respects this edition surpasses all else that has been done for this interesting relic of Jewish thought. It provides a complete and exact exegesis of the text. It gives a critical treatment of the Latin text, which differs from most others in bringing out the Semitic background. It furnishes a translation from the Latin sixth century MS., and an introduction in which the literary and critical questions and the whole history of the writing are handled with ample knowledge and unfailing discernment. The view which Mr Charles takes of the book is that it was in all probability a composite work, consisting originally of two parts, one being the *Testament of Moses*, the other the *Assumption*; that the former was written in Hebrew between 7 and 20 A.D., and "possibly also the latter"; that a Greek version was produced in the first century of our era, which was translated into Latin by the fifth century at latest; and that the *Assumption* was the work of a Pharisaic Quietist, whose object was to protest against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party, and bring their old ideals before them anew. Mr Charles's arguments in support of these positions have great weight.

Dr William P. Du Bose, the author of *The Soteriology of the New Testament*, contributes to the series of *Eras of the Christian*

¹ Individual- und Gemeindesalmen. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Psalters. Marburg: Elwert, 1894. Cr. 8vo, pp. li. 92. Price, M.4.

² Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. London: A. and C. Black, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxxv. 117. Price, 7s. 6d.

Church a volume on *The Ecumenical Councils*.¹ The book, which is already in its second edition in America, is written on a somewhat different plan from that followed by others in the series. It is less a historical than a critical and doctrinal study. An introduction of some fifty pages gives the main course of events, and is sufficiently well done. This, however, is by another hand—that of Dr T. F. Gailor, Bishop-Coadjutor of Tennessee. The volume itself consists of a number of Chapters which treat in succession of the Christology of the New Testament and the natural basis for a Scriptural and Catholic Christology, the leading heresies, and the great Councils. The value of the book lies in the view it gives of the course of dogmatic thought and definition. The main forms of teaching which the Church came to reject as heretical are described and criticised in a fair spirit, with a due sense of their relations to other modes of thought. This is especially the case with what is said of Arianism, Sabellianism, and Apollinarianism. The review of the dogmatic movements in the Councils and the positions of the different parties, the statement of the difficulties with the technical terms, and the general defence of the ecclesiastical conclusions, are done with much ability. The book closes with an interesting chapter on *The Christological Goal*, in which the Kenotic and other modern theories are rapidly outlined, and the importance of the distinction between spiritual and physical natures, both in God and in man, is insisted on. The result is stated thus—"Our incarnate Lord then is personal Godhead and personal manhood in the unity and totality of that spiritual nature in which it is their constitution and predestination to become one. But physically or naturally, Godhead and manhood do not become one and the same in Him."

Sir William Muir republishes a number of Essays, four of which were contributed originally to the *Calcutta Review*.² These four go back to the years 1845, 1850, 1852, 1868. A fifth is added, of a different kind, and of more recent date, 1887, dealing with the *Freer and more varied use of the Psalms in our Churches*. The Indian Articles deal with subjects on which the Principal of the University of Edinburgh is well entitled to speak—the Mohammedan Controversy, the Biographies of Mohammed, Sprenger on Tradition, and the Indian Liturgy. These Essays are full of valuable matter. They will be read anew with pleasure by those who are familiar with them in their old form. They will have much interest for those who make acquaintance with them for the first time.

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 355. Price, 6s.

² The Mohammedan Controversy and other articles. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. x. 220. Price, 7s. 6d.

Some papers contributed by Professor J. S. Banks to various periodicals during the last five years are collected under the general title of *The Tendencies of Modern Thought*.¹ The volume gives a rapid review and criticism of the leading forms of Theistic and Christian speculation. It shows wide and discriminating acquaintance with the works of men belonging to very different schools, and with the main currents of religious thought. One of the best chapters is given to a statement and examination of the Ritschlian system. The accounts offered of the various discussions on the doctrines of the Incarnation, the Person of Christ, and the Atonement, are well worth reading. They are generally correct. They contain many just criticisms, and carry every opinion back to the testimony of Scripture, according to the methods of a true exegesis. The Essays are worthy of republication. They make a useful guide to a large literature.

Atzberger's *Geschichte der christlichen Eschatologie*² is a contribution of distinct value to an important subject. It is written from the Roman Catholic point of view, but with general fairness as well as with large command of the literature. The present volume covers the pre-Nicene period. It gives informing digests of opinion, and a clear presentation of the course of thought and definition on the things of the end. Much space is given to Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, and Clement. But the views of the Apologists and of authorities like Hippolytus, Minucius Felix, Novatian, Commodian, Victorinus, and Arnobius, also have their place, and are dealt with indeed more fully than is usually the case with them in such books. The best chapter perhaps is the one on Cyprian. The volume, as a whole, is a distinct and valuable addition to our books on *Dogmengeschichte*. It follows up in a worthy way the author's volume—"*Die christliche Eschatologie in den Stadien ihrer Offenbarung im Alten und Neuen Testamente*."

Mr Powell's book on *The Principle of the Incarnation*³ deals with its great subject with special reference to the "relation between our Lord's Divine Omniscience and His human Consciousness." It is in effect, therefore, an examination of the Kenotic doctrine, and of that chiefly in one important application. The preparation of the volume was prompted by the publication of *Lux Mundi* and the effect it had on public opinion. The original

¹ London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 269. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Mit theilweiser Einbeziehung der Lehre vom christlichen Heile überhaupt. Von Dr Leonhard Atzberger, o. ö. Professor der Dogmatik und Universitätsprediger in München. Freib. i. B.: Herder; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xii. 646. Price, M.9.

³ By H. C. Powell, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford, etc. London: Longmans, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 483. Price, 16s.

idea was to meet the "agitations and perplexities" occasioned by the Essay on "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration," by publishing a collection of the opinions of the Fathers on our Lord's Sayings respecting the Day and Hour of the Final Judgment. But when the Bampton Lectures of 1891 appeared, it was seen that more was required, and so the scope of the book was extended to embrace the whole question of the relations between our Lord's Human and Divine Natures, especially those between His Divine Consciousness and His Human, in its dogmatic aspect as well as its historical.

The book deserves the credit of a reverent, patient, and painstaking study of these great themes. Its author has read widely, and has been able to present the results of his studies in a useful form. But he cannot be said to have been equally successful in the doctrinal section of his task as in the historical. The summaries of Patristic teaching are by much the better portion of the book. They are very carefully done, and will be a welcome aid to the student. But the treatment of the doctrinal question is deficient in independence, courage, and insight. The author's thinking power seems to be held in check by excess of deference to tradition and the Church. The Christology which he follows is one that does not come to the quick of the question, and has no proper place for a real growth, mental and spiritual as well as physical, in Christ. It pronounces the supposition of anything like "ignorance," or, as it should better be called, "nescience," on the part of our Lord to be inadmissible, and explains the various passages in the Gospels which appear to imply that, and which show Him putting real questions with a view to obtaining actual information, in the artificial way familiar enough in the Patristic writings, which in point of fact presents our Lord in an attitude much less worthy of the real dignity of His Person than anything involved in such frank recognition of the limitations of His knowledge as keeps within the bounds of the representation of His mind and His words which is given in the Gospels. No one will read this large and laborious treatise without a sincere respect for the author or without finding much profitable matter. But it makes no contribution to the solution of the Christological problem itself. In this respect it is much inferior to the Bishop Paddock Lectures on *The Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth*.¹ Professor Mason's book is a pleasure to read, both for its style and for its insight. There are some things he deals with to which objection must be taken. There is a surprising statement on Calvin, for instance, in the Introductory Lecture (pp. 14, 15), which is little in accord with his known eminence as an interpreter. If any one of the good men of old was less open to the charge of "arbitrary" dealing with

¹ By Arthur James Mason, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. London: Longmans, 1896. Crown 8vo, pp. xxii. 194. Price 5s.

Scripture than others, or more conspicuous for historical and grammatical method, it was surely Calvin. But that is only by the way. Professor Mason follows the proper plan of starting not with any preconceived idea of what human nature must have been in Christ, nor with any ecclesiastical decision, but with a survey of the actual data presented by the Gospels, leaving each particular theory to be brought to the test of the results of that investigation. He adheres throughout his argument with great faithfulness to the strictly historical method of studying Christ's life on earth, examining in succession all the indications presented by the Gospels of development in His moral character as Man, and the various incidents and words which throw light upon the measure of power and knowledge actually possessed by Him on earth. This is done with full appreciation of the historical circumstances. Nothing could be better than the exposition which is given here of those occasions which shut us up to a choice between a frank admission that on some things Christ's knowledge on earth had its limits and the ascription to Him of a certain feigned attitude. An equally careful account is given of the facts which imply a certain transcendence in His knowledge. The results reached by Professor Mason are very different from Mr Powell's, and in general harmony with Canon Gore's. The book is a valuable and most readable addition to English Christology.

Some years ago Bishop Westcott contributed a series of articles on the Revised Version of the New Testament to the *Expositor*. These are now reprinted in book form with the title *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament*.¹ The volume is the best defence yet published of the Revisers' procedure, especially in the minuter changes which they felt it necessary to introduce. It is a defence of the Revision, not only in its more outstanding features, but in its finer renderings of tenses, particles, the article, and the like. At most points it is a successful defence. It has the additional merit of showing in a clear and convincing way, and by reference to individual instances, how much is gained through these minuter changes which have been oftenest assailed—how the colouring of many a narrative has been better given, and how much light has been shed on important aspects of Christian life and doctrine as presented in the Gospels.

It is gratifying to see that Dr. Mayor's Commentary on the *Epistle of St James* ² is in a second edition. It is a book of large

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 239. Price, 5s.

² The Epistle of St James. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes and Comments. By Joseph B. Mayor, Litt.D. Dubl; Emeritus Professor of King's College, London; Honorary Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. London: Macmillan, 1897. 8vo, pp. cclx. 256. Price, 14s. net.

learning and vigorous sense—the most important contribution made to the study of this Epistle for many a year. It may fairly be called exhaustive in its treatment of its subject, every question of interest in the literary and historical criticism of the Epistle, as well as all the details of the exegesis, being handled with a fulness and a penetration which leave little or nothing to be desired. We have already spoken of the merits of the book. This second edition has been carefully revised. It has also been considerably enlarged. The enlargement is occupied mainly by an examination of the theories of Harnack and Spitta, the substance of which was recently given in the *Expositor*. This examination is both acute and thorough. To most minds it will appear, we believe, that Dr. Mayor has made out a better case than either Harnack or Spitta.

The eighth volume of the *Expository Times*¹ is to hand. The magazine has established itself long since in the good opinion of the public, and is read with acceptance in many a Parsonage and Manse. It continues to offer, month by month, things of varied interest and practical use for the working clergyman. The Editor's Notes in this volume are as seasonable and attractive as ever. They have the art of recognising the occasion and introducing the reader to the topics of most immediate interest for the month. Besides many briefer and more popular papers, there are always some articles of larger compass which will bear more than one perusal. In the present volume we have a series of articles by Professor C. A. Briggs of New York on *The Wisdom of Jesus the Messiah*; estimates of men like Jean Astruc, Dean Burgon, and Dr Frederick Field; informing surveys of Foreign Theology by the Rev. J. A. Selbie; and valuable papers on their favourite subjects by men like Canon Driver, Dr A. B. Davidson, Dr C. A. Briggs, Professor Findlay, Professor Nestle, and many more.

The English translation of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* makes satisfactory progress. The second volume,² which has been by no means an easy task, begins with a historical survey, exhibiting the process by which Christianity took the fixed form of an ecclesiastical organisation and hereby became, as Professor Harnack endeavours to show at length, in increasing measure, a secularised system. It then proceeds to give accounts of the setting up of the particular standards of ecclesiastical Christianity, the relations of this Christianity to philosophy, the beginnings of an ecclesiastico-

¹ Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. 568. Price, 7s 6d.

² Translated from the Third German edition, by Neil Buchanan. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. vii. 380. Price, 10s. 6d.
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theological interpretation, the revision of the Rule of Faith, the transformation of the ecclesiastical tradition into a Philosophy of Religion, and kindred subjects. Among the sections which show Professor Harnack at his best in his particular reading of the course of things we may instance the one in which he contrasts the old Christianity with the new. This volume also contains Harnack's treatment of the genesis of the New Testament, Cyprian's idea of the Church, the doctrine of the Logos, the theological position and teaching of Tertullian, Origen, and others. The discussion of the last-named is of particular interest. Professor Harnack's estimate of the great Alexandrian, his system of thought, and the importance of his theology for the following period, is one of the most characteristic studies in the book. It gives us large and fertile ideas, and contains much that requires and repays consideration. We are glad to see that the third volume is also finished.

The fifth volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*¹ provides a series of papers by Professor J. Agar Beet on *Christian Perfection*, notes by Professor Cheyne on *Some Obscure Passages in the Prophets*, studies by the late Dr Dale of Birmingham, meditations by Dr G. Matheson of Edinburgh, and articles by Principal Fairbairn on *Christ's Attitude to His Own Death*, Professor Nöldeke on *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus*, Professor Ramsay on *The Pauline Chronology* and on *The Census of Quirinius*, and other well-known contributors. Not a few of these papers are of permanent value. All make interesting and profitable reading. Under the experienced editorship of Dr Robertson Nicoll, *The Expositor* continues to offer month by month a rich variety of contributions, and to acquaint its readers with what is freshest and most important in its own particular class of subjects. The present volume well maintains the high standard which *The Expositor* has always kept before it.

The second volume of the new edition of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*² is now completed. It embraces the religions of the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans and Kelts. Specialists in the study of the several religions have brought the account of each of the systems up to date. In the present volume much is due to Dr Lehman of Copenhagen. In him, and in scholars like Dr J. J. Valetton, junior, of Utrecht, Dr F. Jeremias of Leipsic, Dr E. Buckley of Chicago, Bibliothekar H. O. Lange of Copenhagen, and Professor Houtsma of Utrecht, the general editor has found efficient collaborateurs in the preparation of these two volumes.

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

² Zweite völlig neu gearbeitete Auflage. Freib. i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 512. Price, M.12.

The master-hand in all, however, is Professor de la Saussaye's own. The whole conception of the undertaking has been his, its plan has been worked out by him, and the contributions by special hands have passed under his careful eye. Few scholars possess such qualifications as Professor de la Saussaye can claim for the large and difficult task of giving a general survey of the religions of the world. In this revised form, which makes the work practically a new one, the Manual is the best book of its kind. It is the kind of book which the working student desires to have beside him, and one which he will feel he can follow as a trustworthy guide. It is also one of the most important and seasonable contributions to the valuable series, the *Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher*, which we owe to the enterprise of the well-known Freiburg firm.

Among the New Testament scholars of the last half century there have been few to match the late Dean Burgon in the rigidity of his conservatism. He had inveterate prejudices. He used strong language. His hostility to the great Textual Critics was passionate and uncompromising. His assaults on the Revisers and all their works were boisterous, and his judgments of men and causes were often eccentric. He is apt to be remembered only for these things. But they were only the other side of an intense zeal for the honour of the sacred text, and there are many things for which he deserves to be held in respectful and grateful memory. He was an indefatigable worker in fields of inquiry that are peculiarly taxing. Much of his effort was misdirected when he came to deal with the text itself of the New Testament. But in collecting material, examining and collecting manuscripts, and ransacking the Fathers for New Testament quotations, he did a service which it would be unbecoming to forget. All the work of that kind of which he has made us heirs should be welcome. We are glad, therefore, to get two posthumous volumes, which give us his views of the *Traditional Text*,¹ and his theory of its *Corruption*.²

For more than thirty years the Dean toiled at the preparations for a great task, which he had to leave unfinished. How vast was the mass of material which he had amassed in that period may be judged by the fact that some forty portfolios of papers were put into the hands of his editor. How to make the best use of this

¹ The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels vindicated and established by the late John William Burgon, B.D., Dean of Chichester. Arranged, completed, and edited by Edward Miller, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. xx. 317. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

² The Causes of the Corruption in the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels. By the late John William Burgon, B.D., Dean of Chichester. Arranged, completed, and edited by Edward Miller, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. xiv. 290. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

enormous collection of matter was a question of no ordinary difficulty. It has been solved discreetly by Mr Miller, himself a laborious worker in the Dean's favourite fields, in accordance with the Dean's ideas, and, if possible, even more conservative. In his heavy task the editor has had the assistance of Dr Waller and the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam. This has been a great help, especially in all that relates to the Syriac texts and authorities. Of the two volumes the second is more exclusively the Dean's own. The first contains more of the editor's work, and it is sometimes not easy to say where the Dean ends and Mr Miller begins.

There is much useful matter of a circumstantial kind in these volumes. There are statements of fact, notes of collations, comparisons of authorities, which we are glad to have. There are also disquisitions on particular documents and readings which will be read with interest and profit, even when they call forth dissent. But the value of the volumes terminates there. They do not grasp the scientific problem. They do not indicate even any adequate comprehension of the principles and methods of Westcott and Hort. They have the unpleasant habit of hurling disagreeable epithets at the men and the authorities they have to oppose. The critical text is the "neological" text. The Lewis Codex is "heretical." The great MSS. \aleph and B are the most corrupt and depraved of all MSS. Their text is "licentious." The attention given them, in spite of Scrivener's appreciation, is a "superstition," &c., &c. The "traditional" text, the text represented in the mass of documents, is the text to be preferred. It is, though not in all points, substantially the *Textus Receptus*, and how precipitately that text was printed by Erasmus and on evidence how slender and how late, needs not be said. The ultimate test with Messrs Burgon and Miller, however things may be put by them, comes to be that of numbers or that of subjective preference. The genealogical method seems not to be properly understood. It certainly is not properly represented in these volumes. Neither is the necessity sufficiently recognised of examining the history and character of the witnesses in order to a proper estimate of their testimony. Again and again, too, things are said in these volumes which make it appear as if questions of readings were questions of "Churchmanship" and ecclesiastical authority or tradition. An excellent idea of some of the main differences between Dean Burgon's methods and that of the Critical School is given in the published Report of the Oxford Meeting on Textual Criticism.¹

The revision of Meyer's *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar* is being carried out with remarkable dispatch, and with a thoroughness no

¹ The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. George Bell. Price, 4s. 6d.

less remarkable. The great commentary, which has been so large a boon to all exact students of the New Testament, and to which all subsequent commentaries on the New Testament writings of any merit have been so deeply indebted, continues to keep its place in public favour. Edition succeeds edition in quick succession, and the most scholarly hands are engaged in the work of bringing its several sections steadily up to date. Its great and continued success is a most pleasing witness to the growing appreciation of scientific exegesis. Professor Heinrici's re-working of *First Corinthians* is a book that can be dispensed with by no student of this great Epistle. Not less important is Professor Bousset's¹ recasting of Düsterdieck on the *Revelation of John*,² in which the materials furnished by ancient myth and the pseudepigraphic literature are applied with great skill and learning, if not without occasional exaggeration, to the interpretation of this most difficult section of the New Testament. These have been followed in the present year by three further instalments of the revised issue. The sixth edition of the Commentary on *Hebrews*,³ the sixth edition also of the section on the *Epistles of Peter and Jude*,⁴ and the sixth and seventh editions of the volume on the *Epistles of the Captivity*,⁵ have appeared under the editorial supervision of Professors Weiss, Kühl, and Haupt respectively. The change made on the original "Meyer" differs considerably in degree in these volumes. In some cases greater liberty is taken than may seem reasonable. But the revision in each case brings the exegesis up to the most recent date, and works in the results of the best that has been published, in larger or smaller form, in articles as well as in books, since the previous issue.

The publication of Messrs Grenfell & Hunt's account of their discovery at Oxyrhynchus and the view which they have formed of the interesting papyrus fragment, published under the title of *Λογία*

¹ Der erste Brief an die Korinther. Neu bearbeitet von Dr C. F. Georg Heinrici, etc. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo. pp. x. 530. Price, M.7.

² Die Offenbarung Johannis. Neu bearbeitet von Lic. theol. Wilhelm Bousset, a. o. Professor in Göttingen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo. pp. vi. 528. Price, M.8.

³ Der Brief an die Hebräer. Von der 5. Auflage ab bearbeitet von Dr Bernhard Weiss, etc. 6. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 371. Price, M.5.40.

⁴ Die Briefe Petri und Judae. Von der 5. Auflage ab bearbeitet von Dr Emil Kühl, etc. 6. vermehrte u. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 463. Price, M.6.

⁵ Die Gefangenschaftsbriege. Neu bearbeitet von Dr Erich Haupt, etc. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 212, 259, 193. Price, M.10.

Innov., *Sayings of our Lord*,¹ has naturally been followed by lively discussion and by the issue of a number of articles and pamphlets. Among these last Professor Harnack's,² as might have been expected, attracts much attention, especially as he favours the theory of a relation between these *Logia* and *The Gospel according to the Egyptians*. There has been a natural but regrettable disposition on the part of scholars, both English and German, to deliver themselves at once on this important find. The result is the publication of a number of opinions of the most divergent kinds and too obviously premature. The interest of the discovery is unmistakable. But it is easy to form exaggerated ideas of what is to result from it. One does well to recall the large expectations which were entertained of what was to come from the discovery of the minute Fayoum fragment of Peter's story. The time has not arrived yet for anything like a well-founded judgment of these *Sayings*, and their bearing upon questions of the criticism of the Gospels. We can only say for ourselves at present that the view to which Messrs Grenfell & Hunt themselves give expression in their modest statement seems on the whole more reasonable than any other. Some things may be said to be pretty well made out, e.g., Harnack's identification of the source of part of the fifth Saying with Ecclesiastes x. 9 (lxx.); the date approximately fixed for the fragment; the metaphorical or spiritual sense of the second and fifth Sayings; the Lucan affinities of several. It is likely also that the discovery may modify our ideas of the early history of the Gospels and the reason for the curious divergencies of many of the Patristic questions from the texts represented in our MSS. of the Canonical Gospels. But whether it will mean all that Professor Rendel Harris, for example, claims for it is another question.

With all that has been written on the Vedic religion the ritual system has received much less attention than should have been the case. We have a number of treatises dealing in one way or another with the Vedic Hymns and with the Upanishads. But a book dealing with the second of the three works which make up the Veda has been wanted. Dr Macdonald, of Calcutta, has the credit of supplying it in his treatise on *The Brahmanas of the Vedas*.³ In this seasonable volume he gives us first some account of the Brahmanas themselves, Rig-Veda, Sama-Veda, Yajur Veda, Atharva Veda—their nature, contents, and authors. Then, after a general description of the religion represented in these works, he deals in

¹ London: Henry Frowde, 1897. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 6d. and 1s.

² *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*. Freib. i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, M.0.80.

³ By K. S. Macdonald, M.A., D.D. London and Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 211.

detail with the various sacrifices, the gods, the sciences, the natural history of the Brahmanas, their views of prayer, sin, the future life, the position of women, the creation of man, the origin of caste, the Deluge, etc. The book is packed with information, adequately supported by quotations from the books. It is the result of the careful studies of one who has already given us the treatise on *The Vedic Religion*, who has laboured long in India, and who can claim to have had "34 years' personal direct knowledge of the people who venerate these Brahmanas." Dr Macdonald has provided us with a Manual, by no means too large, such as has long been wanted. To the same scholar who, among his many duties, also edits the *Indian Evangelical Review*, we are indebted for an interesting paper, reprinted from his magazine, entitled *Agni, the Aryan God; a Parallel*,¹ in which he writes specially with a view to help Hindus. It gives a comparison of the personification of *fire, sun, and light* in the god Agni with the Old Testament uses of *fire, sun, and light* as illustrations of the Divine nature and character.

Mr Rendall's *The Acts of the Apostles*² is a most acceptable addition to our somewhat scanty stock of English Commentaries on that book. It is in every respect a scholarly performance. The Notes are brief, but always to the point. They are given in two distinct sets, one for the Greek text, another for the English. They are particularly good in all matters of grammar and lexicography. In these there is much to be learned from the book. We may instance what is said in the Appendix of the use of *καί*, especially as an intensive adverb (cf. v. 39, x. 39, xii. 4, xxii. 28, xxviii. 28) in the Book of Acts; and the admirable Notes on *μὲν οὖν*, *οὕτως*, and the freedom which marks the writer's employment of the present and imperfect tenses. Questions of a different kind, e.g., the position of elders, are handled with equal ability. It is of interest to notice that Mr Rendall holds by the usual view that Gal. ii. 1-10 refers to the Council of Jerusalem reported in Acts xv. His arguments in support of this view are given with remarkable precision. An important note on the *Provinces of Asia Minor* deals with the differences between *Acts* and the Petrine and Pauline Epistles in the use of geographical terms. Mr Rendall's judgment is strongly on the side of the Book of Acts as a genuine product of the Apostolic time. A wide and accurate acquaintance with all that went to form its environment makes itself felt in this commentary and adds to its special value. The text

¹ Calcutta: Traill & Co. 8vo, pp. 75.

² The Acts of the Apostles in Greek and English. With notes. By Rev. Frederic Rendall, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and assistant-master of Harrow School. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 366. Price, 9s.

followed is that of Westcott and Hort. Mr Rendall is no hasty writer. The judgments which he expresses on debated questions carry weight with them.

The second part of Dr Rudolf Staehelin's *Huldreich Zwingli. Sein Leben und Wirken*,¹ carries the story of the great Reformer's life on from 1523 to about 1525. The former volume dealt with the political and ecclesiastical condition of Switzerland in the beginning of the sixteenth century, with Zwingli's youth and his work in Glarus and Einsiedeln (1484-1518), and with the beginnings of the Reformation in Zurich (1519-1522). This volume continues the history of the Reforming movement on to 1525, and concludes with the narrative of the troubles with the Anabaptists and the peasants. The work is the result of a laborious study of the original sources. It is done with great care, and is likely to hold the field for some time as the best monograph on Zwingli. It is written with a large acquaintance with the circumstances of the time and with a just appreciation of the Reformer's position and work. The narrative of events is given with great clearness and force. It is sufficiently full, without losing itself in the details. At the critical points notice is taken of the Reformer's writings, sermons, and addresses. We hope that the finished work will include a complete digest and criticism of Zwingli's theology. Meantime all students of the Swiss Reformation owe much to Professor Staehelin for this weighty contribution to the history of the Reformer and his times.

¹ Zweiter Halbband. Basel: Schwane, 1895. 8vo, pp. 532. M.4.80.

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The Providential Order of the World.

By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Being the First Series of the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1897. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. 391. Price, 7s. 6d.

Elements of the Science of Religion.

Part I., Morphological. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1896, by C. P. Tiele, Theol.D.; Litt.D. (Bonon.); Hon. M.R.A.S., &c., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Leyden. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. ix. 302. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

As the Gifford Lectures are delivered sometimes in the earlier, sometimes in the later portion of the University Session, it might save a possible confusion if they were always described with the full indication of the Session to which they belong. Thus, the series named at the head of this notice were both given during Session 1896-97, and are therefore parallel, though from their title-pages they might be understood as belonging to different years.

Professor Bruce has chosen as his special topic one well within the range indicated by Lord Gifford in his Deed by Bequest, by which he instituted lectures on "Natural Theology." The aspect of this general subject here dealt with is the "The Providential Order of the World," and the propositions to be established are stated in a broad way in the following sentence:—"That God cares for man individually and collectively; that His nature is such, and that He sustains such a relation to man as makes that care natural and credible; that His care covers all human interests, but especially the higher ethical interests—righteousness, goodness—in the individual and in society; that He is a moral Governor, and a benignant Father, a Power making for righteousness, and a Power overcoming evil with good; that He ruleth over all things with a view to a kingdom of the good" (pp. 6, 7). Dr Bruce's method is to assume that it is so as a preliminary, guiding hypothesis, and then by an investigation into the circumstances of man's position, nature and history, to show how far, especially in the light of modern theories and difficulties, the hypothesis is justified by a fair view of the facts.

The chief theory which has to be reckoned with in this connection is naturally the theory of Evolution, and Dr Bruce's book will doubtless appear to many as an elaborate attempt to make friends of the mammon of evolution as the only refuge for the bewildered in the search for everlasting intellectual habitations. It is only fair to note, however, that his treatment of the subject is on this side also largely hypothetical, that while on a first glance he seems to make important concessions to a Monistic philosophy,—while occasionally we get such an argument as that "making man in his entire nature subject to evolutionary law . . . presents certain advantages for the cause of Theism" (p. 26), while in another connection our author goes so far as to say—"It may be a kind of duty to modern science to believe that this is so, even in absence of proof" (p. 286),—his usual attitude is of the non-committal order. He does not hold a brief for Evolution; he expressly avoids dogmatising on many points; on many he disclaims the right or the competence to judge authoritatively. His position is that, even if the claims of evolution be granted, if it be regarded as a theory universally applicable, it is still possible to maintain, and to support by reference to the facts which the world, looked at from an evolutionary point of view, supplies, that God is, and is such as Theism represents Him to be. While in the light of modern science the old Teleology has been proved untenable—"final causes being in reality effects" and the earth being "suited to its inhabitants because it has produced them" so that "only such as suit it live" (p. 13; the last sentence is quoted from Barratt's *Physical Ethics*), there is possible a wider Teleology grounded upon the world-order itself. There is no reason why, as Mr Fiske remarks (*Idea of God*—Preface, p. xxiv.), "when a distinct dramatic tendency in the events of the universe appears as the *result* of purely scientific investigation, we should refuse to recognise it . . . and while such a tendency cannot be regarded as indicative of purpose in the limited anthropomorphic sense, it is still the objective aspect of that which, when regarded on its subjective side, we call Purpose." "The doctrine of evolution," Mr Fiske says again (p. xx.), "by exhibiting the development of the highest spiritual human qualities as the goal toward which God's creative work has from the outset been tending, replaces man in his old position of headship in the universe, even as in the days of Dante and Aquinas." The last sentence might stand as expressing the basis, if not the theme, of Professor Bruce's lectures—"Man, the crown of creation, the key to its meaning and to the nature of the Creator—such was the doctrine enunciated at the commencement of this course as the basis of our whole inquiry. Man, endowed with rational and moral powers, redeeming the lower parts of creation from insignificance and making it worth while for God to have to do with it. This is

the providential view of the creative process" (p. 358). Evolution, according to the often repeated distinction, is a *modal* not a *causal* theory of the universe; it has nothing to do with origins, it sets forth methods. It does not exclude God, it only claims to be the mode of the divine action, if such there be. The providential view "does not supersede the physical or mechanical view, but is simply a different way of contemplating the same thing. The universe is evolved according to ascertained or ascertainable natural laws. But all the time there is an ultimate cause at work within the evolutionary process who has an aim in view, and who directs the process so that that aim shall be realised. The aim is man, and all that goes before has its reason of existence in him, and its value through him" (p. 358). The theory of evolution in itself, even by its unbroken continuities, cannot be held as confirming the Atheistic any more than the Theistic hypothesis, for as was shrewdly pointed out by Mr Romanes in a passage referred to by Dr Bruce (p. 15), if God be personal and all causation the immediate expression of His will, yet if that will be self-consistent, "all natural causation must needs appear to us 'mechanical,' and it is no argument against the divine origin of a thing, event, &c., to prove it due to natural causation." "All may be mechanism, yet all may also be teleology."

Working from this starting-point and upon these principles, Professor Bruce proceeds to consider "Man's Place in the Universe," and the reasons for and against regarding his intellectual and moral nature, as well as his bodily frame, as a stage in an evolutionary process. The aim is, "if possible, to make faith independent of the truth or falsehood of scientific theories and hypotheses" (p. 44). In the third lecture the "Theistic Inferences" from the position thus gained are considered. First, the propriety is questioned of recognising in a Theistic interest crises or exceptional stages in the process of evolution,—such as the commencement of the process itself, the origin of life and of consciousness—as those in which the finger of God can be most clearly seen at work; and then the argument that man is the end and the interpretation of the whole process is more fully worked out. But before the argument can be applied in detail to the several spheres of human experience, three sources of unbelief in the Providential order have to be considered and counteracted. These are: "Views of God incompatible with the idea of a Providential world-aim; facts of human life pessimistically interpreted which seem to give the hypothesis of a Divine care for man the lie; cynical estimates of human nature rendering belief in man being an end for God impossible" (p. 19). In the fourth lecture, accordingly, the first of these difficulties is faced: "Conceptions of God as a non-moral deity *below* caring for man,

and the interests man as a moral personality represents." The conceptions referred to are those of Spinoza, Schopenhauer and Hartmann. As the positions of the latter largely depend upon the justice or otherwise of the verdict they pass upon human life as a whole, the Pessimistic attitude is subjected to a careful criticism in the lecture entitled "The Worth of Life." "The truth," it is said, "lies between two extremes. Unqualified optimism is as false as unqualified pessimism" (p. 110); and in seeking for a standard of judgment, we are led to the conclusion that "the bearing of experience upon the moral interest must always be the dominant, if not the exclusive, consideration" (p. 114). Pain is not the one great reality of human life; even it serves beneficent ends (p. 119). And Progress is real, though it may be slow (p. 136). The second objection, founded upon ideas of man which make him a being beneath the notice of God, forms the subject of Lecture VI. The ancient objections of Celsus form an appropriate introduction to a consideration of the modern difficulties whereby we are tempted to indulge in contempt for man even at his best, still more for the average of mankind, and most of all for man regarded in his primitive or undeveloped and degenerate conditions. Of special interest here are Dr Bruce's suggestions as to pre-historic man, and the evidences that a watchful Providence was guiding his footsteps towards better and higher things. Even with degenerate man, though there may be more doubt, there need be no despair. With Lecture VII. we enter upon the historic field, in which Dr Bruce shows himself much at home by his happy and suggestive combinations. Here we have, first, a consideration of what is implied in the moral government of God—God as the "Power making for righteousness." Though a partial truth, it is a truth; it has its witness, first of all, in the conscience; and again its retributive aspect is plainly to be read in history. Nations perish for want of righteousness. In the contest between good and evil, the victory, though it may be long delayed, is on the side of good, of morality reinforced by religion. "The Power working in and for Humanity" is in the eighth and ninth lectures illustrated under the respective headings of "Historic Dawns" and "Historic Days." Their aim is thus expressed: "If God worked towards man* in lower stages of the creative process, we expect that He will work on in man towards adequate realisation of the human ideal. Creation, evolution will go on now in the human sphere. If there be no trace of onward movement in history, there will be reason to suspect that we were mistaken in our whole conception of man's place in the universe and of its significance" (p. 202). By *Historic Dawn* is meant the observa-

tion which it is possible to make of a "people just emerging out of the darkness of prehistoric night into the daylight of history" (pp. 205-6). Here the Indians of the Vedic period, the ancient Persians, the early Israelites, the pre-Mohammedan Arabians, and the Germans, as they are depicted in the pages of Tacitus, are successively passed under review. These people were prepared by Providence for the parts they were destined to play in history; some of them had to wait long before their opportunity came; and this leads to a tender word or two on behalf of those who, like the races of Africa, have not yet had their chance, and those who, like the Jews and the Modern Greeks, live rather by memory than in hope. *Historic Days*, on the other hand, bring before us the contributions to human advancement made by Israel, Greece and Rome—"names recalling momentous memories" (p. 226)—with a glance at the later post-Reformation period of the world's history. Not in history only, however, is the Providential order to be discovered, but in the sphere of the Individual Life. This is the theme of the ninth lecture. That it is a reasonable one is "a natural inference from the doctrine of the value of man for God" (p. 256), and that not only in regard to the world's great men and their work, but in regard also to "common men" (p. 258). Here a natural subject of perplexity occurs in the old problem—old as Jeremiah and the Book of Job, probably much older than either—which concerns the sufferings of the righteous, sufferings which seem great in proportion as those who endure them are faithful and those who deserve them escape. It is in such experience, however, "when properly understood, that the providential order of the world is seen to receive its most conspicuous verification" (p. 265). The full justification of this statement is only attempted in the concluding lecture of the series; but meanwhile some alleviation of the difficulty is sought in the bearing upon it of Prayer and of the thought of a Future Life. On the last point a number of inferences are stated which "naturally arise out of the general position: man a chief end for God" (p. 281). Our author's own standpoint is sufficiently indicated by the aphorism: "Live nobly, and it will begin to appear to you credible that you will live for ever" (p. 279). The fact of a Providential order having thus, it is presumed, been established by an examination of history and personal experience, the last three lectures treat of the manner in which it appears, its methods of working. Its three laws are Election, Solidarity and Progress by Sacrifice. In his discussion of these subjects, as indeed in every lecture throughout the volume, Professor Bruce is not only able and instructive, but bold and vigorous. No part of the book seems to us more full of interest and originality than the

tenth lecture, that on Election. He gives the term a wide interpretation, apprehending it as a general rule of which what is usually understood by it is only a special case. "The general aim of election is service to mankind in some particular sphere within the wide range of human interests. . . . Privilege, prerogative, may be involved in the method; but whatever element of this kind there may be is secondary in comparison with the universal service contemplated" (p. 283). "Many things go to the making of an elect man or people: heredity, environment, experience" (p. 284). Men and peoples have their peculiar qualifications, and the method of election utilises these in turn for the general advantage. On the one hand, the peculiarity is a fact of which Providence is seen availing itself; on the other hand, the general advantage demands that "all important human interests should have for their furtherance emphatic representation" (p. 287). Hence "more elect peoples than one are needed to do the work of Providence" (p. 288); and if it may be said that all peoples are elect, it is in the sense that "all possess some special aptitude for some particular service whereof mankind is to get the benefit" (p. 289). Hitherto Providence has "shown a preference for small nations as its instruments," and "within these it works mainly through chosen *men*" (p. 290-91). The elect man and the elect people "are relative to each other, belong to each other, and each is to the other the instrument of usefulness" (p. 292). In the case of men and nations, but particularly in the latter, some degree of isolation is necessary. The seed is enclosed in its hard shell until it is matured, when it bursts its envelope and introduces a new element of living force into the world. Two things are thus necessary for the performance of its function by an elect race—"original peculiarity and careful conservation of the distinctive feature. These two conditions in the Providential order correspond to variation and heredity in the physical order" (p. 295). When people perish, however, it is by their own fault. That which fits them to perform their special function almost inevitably entails upon them the defect of their virtue. As a rule, they are *one-sided* (p. 298); each does good service to the world by that in which it is strong, each suffers through lack of that in which it is weak (pp. 299-300). Nations "may fail to realise this vocation, or they may realise it simply as a *privilege*" (p. 302), and "the sense of a peculiar vocation may be perverted into food for a pride, which, while very conscious of privilege, neglects duty" (p. 304). Only Christ was entirely free from the sins and defects of the elect; He was the elect man *par excellence* in all human history—free from all one-sidedness, not to speak of graver faults (p. 306). And He founded the Church, the various branches of which, as well as the Church

as a whole, have their special calls to service in rendering which they save themselves as well as those that hear. "Solidarity—family and social—the dependence of the many on the one, and of the one on the many"—is dealt with in the eleventh lecture, and Progress by Sacrifice—the progress of the many by the sacrifice of the few—is the theme of the twelfth. One of the most remarkable features of this final chapter is the apology for war into which it perhaps somewhat inconsequently drifts. There is surely some difference between admiration for the heroism which sacrifices itself in a noble cause, and an implied thankfulness for a state of things which, by making such heroism necessary, provides the opportunity for its display.

The foregoing analysis of the argument will give some idea of the author's bold conception of his task and of the trenchant vigour of its execution. It is impossible here to enter into any detailed criticism of this work. It would, we believe, be easy to point to numerous inconsistencies, due to the writer's determination—commendable in itself—to look at things upside down as compared with the ordinary method of contemplating them. And while, having once assumed the Providential order, it is satisfactory to know that the world, even as viewed from the standpoint of evolution presents so much that can be used to illustrate the hypothesis, how are we to know that this is the only hypothesis which affords an explanation of the facts, and that it may not be dismissed in the name of the principle of economy of causes? The assumption itself, if evolution be universally applicable, can only be regarded as a survival of a pre-evolution era, an instance, if it be true, of that progress through illusion to truth which Mr E. A. Abbott has in several of his volumes eloquently set forth. While Dr Bruce is doubtless right in condemning those who see God only in the *unusual* (p. 49), it may be that if God is not to be seen in the unusual, and if there is no unusual in which to see Him, we lose our right to see Him in the usual, and the Theistic hypothesis remains and must remain unproved. The advocates of Miracle properly maintain that the one is relative to the other, that without the usual the unusual would be devoid of significance, while without the unusual the special interpretation of the usual would be a pure conjecture or an act of faith absolutely without verification. This strong position seems to be surrendered on the ground taken by Dr Bruce.

In the present volume we have the theoretical presentation of the subject, and though the second course as promised, viz., *Providence in Pagan, Hebrew and Modern Thought*, will doubtless be of deep interest, most inquirers will probably attach the greater importance to the discussions contained in this. The reverse may be

said of the other set of Gifford Lectures now lying before us. Professor Tiele's work will be more profitably and fully considered when it is complete. Understanding his subject as equivalent to the Science of Religion—a department to which he has devoted many years of a busy life, in which he was one of the earliest investigators, and is still one of the greatest authorities—he describes it as the task of his science “to make us acquainted with religion, to enable us to trace its life and growth, and thus to penetrate to its origin and inmost nature. Our study thus naturally divides itself into two main parts—(1) the morphological, which is concerned with the constant changes of form resulting from an ever-progressing evolution; and (2) the ontological, which treats of the permanent elements in what is changing, the unalterable element in transient and ever-altering forms—in a word, the origin and the very nature and essence of religion” (p. 27). The present volume accordingly consists largely of historical matter, which, though freshly worked over and interspersed with interesting discussions, is yet in its main features familiar to the student of the author's *Outlines of the History of Religions*, and other similar works. The development of religion is traced from the lowest forms of nature-religions to the higher nature-religions and the ethical-religions. This, with the introductory lecture, occupies five of the ten lectures of which the series consists. Two are concerned with “Directions of Development.” By the term “Direction of Development,” Professor Tiele understands “a spiritual current which sweeps along a single principle of religion, or some fundamental religious idea, more or less regardless of others, to its extreme consequences. Two religions may stand equally high, though their process of development has been very different. And, conversely, two may occupy very different levels of development and yet agree in character” (p. 151). The last three lectures are on “Laws of Development,” “The Influence of the Individual in the Development of Religion,” and “Essentials of the Development of Religion.” All this is, however, only clearing the way for the great discussion upon the nature and essence of religion, in which Dr Tiele will give the ripest fruits of his special studies, and break what we believe will be for him new ground. To this, therefore, we look forward with the liveliest expectations.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

**The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement and Satisfaction
made to God for the Sins of the World.**

Being the Twenty-Seventh Fernley Lecture, delivered in Leeds, July 1897, by John Scott Lidgett, M.A., Warden of the Bermondsey Settlement. London: Charles Kelly, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 498. Price, 5s.

IN this work the author aims at the revision and restatement of the doctrine of the atonement in the light of certain tendencies of modern thought that have combined to place it in the background. Faith in the Fatherhood of God, the rediscovery of the historic Christ, and the sense of the naturalness of His death repelling men from any doctrine that makes it *mechanically* supernatural, the vivid appreciation of the ethical content of His sufferings leading them to view Christ in His death, as in His life, as the Ideal Man—all tend to turn people away from the doctrinal apprehension of the death of Christ. The task accordingly is forced on us, the author says, of stating the truth of the atonement in a way that will give effect to what is true and vital in these tendencies. To this task he has brought a large and sympathetic knowledge of the subject, a remarkable power of speculative thought, as well as of spiritual insight, an understanding of the principles of revealed truth based on familiarity with the results of modern exegesis; and the result is a volume, the most important in this department, as it seems to me, that has been given to the world since Dr Dale published his work on the Atonement, and characterised by the same devoutness of spirit and scientific treatment of the theme that distinguish that work.

The author begins with an interesting chapter on the historical cause of our Lord's death. He points out the inevitableness of that event when we consider the spirit of Christ's teaching and its irreconcilableness with that which prevailed. He concludes that the cause of His death was simply "His inward obedience to the Father in the faithful manifestation of the life of the Son" (33).

Passing to the Bible doctrine of the Atonement (chap. iii.), the author examines the testimony of the Epistles, Gospels, Prophets, and the institution of sacrifice, as to the nature of the demand made by God that is satisfied by the death of Christ, and as to the precise efficacy of His death in meeting that demand. As the result of his inquiry he finds that His death is "a propitiation maintaining and manifesting the righteousness of God in the forgiveness of sin," and that it is not the suffering and death in themselves that give it this efficacy, but the spirit in which they were endured, His complete surrender and obedience to His Father in manifesting His

own life as the Son under the penal conditions that were consequent on His union with the race of sinful men. This, the Satisfying principle in our Lord's death, he terms the Spiritual principle of the Atonement.

He next examines the answers that have been returned by dogmatic theology to the question, what there is in the original relationship between God and man, and in its modification by sin, that brings about this Atonement and determines the peculiar form it has assumed. The various theories from Anselm to Ritschl are passed under review, the author finding in each an element of the whole truth. Especially instructive is his criticism of the views of Dr Dale and Dr Macleod Campbell. The mistake of the former, he urges, lay in the impersonal view he took of the law, regarding it as distinct from God, so that the satisfaction to forgiveness was rather an offering rendered by God than a demand needed by Him. He justly criticises also Dale's view that the virtue of Christ's death consisted simply in His endurance of the punishment of the law. "Surely," he says, "all spiritual satisfaction for transgression of the law involves an act of spiritual adhesion to the law quite as much as unresisting submission to punishment for breach of the law." Macleod Campbell's view, on the other hand, is criticised as making the divine satisfaction to lie "so exclusively in the spiritual attitude of our Lord that His sufferings seem to be almost incidental to it." He objects to Campbell's phrase about our Lord's offering a representative *repentance* for the race, preferring to put it thus, "that He offered a representative act of adhesion to the divine law, and of repudiation of the unrighteousness which transgressed it. That two-fold act is the utterance to God of the true eternal life of mankind" (page 178).

Coming to the heart of the matter, the author inquires into the primal relation of God to the human race in virtue of which He demands and provides the Atonement. And here he teaches with much emphasis and illustration that the Fatherhood of God is the ultimate truth, all-inclusive and all-controlling, containing in it the functions that belong to Him as Judge and King. He insists on our finding the clue to God's action along the lines of the noblest human fatherhood, pointing out that it is of a fatherhood stripped of lofty and moral features that men have thought when they hesitated to apply this conception to the history of redemption. The rule of God is fatherly, and redemption but "restores and fulfils a sonship which had existed before." He calls attention to the fact that, while forensic ideas are in constant use by St Paul in the exposition of the Gospel, he never uses them in connection with the death of Christ. But if God be Father, wherein lies the necessity for satisfaction in forgiveness? The author's

answer is the following: "In dealing with a disobedient child, the father has to do justice to his own character and will as an authority over the child—an authority representing the ideal of what the child should become, and guiding him on the way to its realisation. He has to assert the sanctity of the law which has been broken, and to secure its recognition. He has to bring home to the child the consciousness of wrong-doing. All this is the work of punishment. It is most truly in the interests of the child himself. And satisfaction is made by an act which in its various aspects is at once a submission to the father's authority, an offering of homage and reparation to the law, an expression of agreement with the father's mind, and a surrender to his love. . . . A father's forgiveness is more than the pardon of a king, it is the restoration of the child to the fellowship of light and love. . . . That restored sonship is brought about, and is proved only by homage to the violated law, in submission to the punishment which expresses the mind of the father, and asserts the supremacy of the law" (pp. 268-270).

Accordingly, the value of the death of Christ as a satisfaction lies in the perfect response He therein made to the Father's dealing with Him, in His perfect self-surrender in the presentation of Himself to God, in His unflinching trust, His unflinching loyalty to righteousness—in short, in the perfection of His obedience to the Will of God.

Further, this act of obedience was a race-act. "It was so performed by Him for the race, that what He did once for all on behalf of the race may be extended to and repeated (as far as this is intrinsically possible) in the experience of each individual penitent who comes to God" (p. 286). Strictly speaking, then, the death of Christ was not an act of Substitution, but of Representation. And the end of the satisfaction it offered is accomplished when men are restored by it to that true life of which Jesus is the archetype, which reached its highest expression in His death. Apart from its efficacy as expiating sin, the spiritual content of the passion and death of Christ, the author contends, has a positive value as the fulfilment of the true life of humanity. He maintains in consequence that, had sin never entered, the incarnation would still have taken place as necessary to the exhibition of the true life of man.

Several supplementary chapters are added. One deals with the ethical perfection of our Lord, a discussion called for, the author thinks, in any doctrine that treats the moral elements of the Atonement as essential to the satisfaction of God. The philosophic grasp of the author is very conspicuous in this chapter. In those that follow he treats of the eternal relationship of our Lord to the human race, and the bearing of His Divinity on the Atonement.

He holds that before we can apprehend the response to the Father's Will contained in the sufferings and death of Christ as belonging ideally to the race, and having the power of spiritual reproduction in those who believe in Him, we must posit an organic relation of Christ to mankind antecedent to His appearing in the flesh. In this connection he enters on a full discussion of those passages in John's Gospel and the Epistle to the Colossians that bear upon the pre-existence of Christ and his cosmical relations. It may be questioned whether the general position of the author is strengthened by his deductions from these sources, or by his attempt to base the Fatherhood of man to God on a relationship of Fatherhood to Sonship internal to the Godhead. But I think in his main contention the writer has made good his case. I have briefly outlined the scheme of thought unfolded in his book, but what has been said must fail to give any adequate impression of the wealth of thought it contains. It is a book to be read and re-read, and is sure to yield spiritual nutrition to those who master its contents.

D. SOMERVILLE.

Studies in Hebrew Proper Names.

By G. Buchanan Gray, M.A., Lecturer on Hebrew and Old Testament Theology in Mansfield College, late Senior Kennicott Scholar in the University of Oxford. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1896. Crown 8vo, pp. xiii. 338. Price, 7s. 6d.

THERE are recent works on this subject, but the field has never been explored so thoroughly. Mr Gray had at his disposal the researches of a number of scholars, but he has largely added to the facts, and formed always an independent and often an original judgment upon them. The legion of O.T. personal names has been examined, the early versions consulted in all cases of *hapax legomena*; and investigations have been made into the inscriptions of cognate languages. The resulting material has been chronologically arranged, and divided according to its character, into a series of elaborate but clear tables, and the evidence thus obtained applied not only to problems of O.T. criticism, but to those of Israel's religious development. The review of a work, so profuse in details and so relevant to all the main questions of O.T. science, will best be accomplished by first summarising its general method and conclusions, and then selecting for criticism some one section of its great range.

Mr Gray, after leading evidence, comes to the preliminary conclusion that while in later times—probably from the end of the fourth century onwards (though this period, in view of the evidence of Chronicles, appears a little late)—the custom prevailed among the

Jews of calling children after kinsmen and other persons, in early Israel there was only one custom which controlled the free choice of names, viz., that of bestowing within the same family names related in form, and that significant names were as a general rule conferred with a distinct reference either religious or secular. Dividing the age in which such significant names prevailed into four periods—Pre-Davidic, Davidic, Later Monarchy (in two sections divided by the close of eighth century), and Post-Exilic—Mr Gray proposes to ask : Was each of these classes of names *created* in all periods? Was it equally *distributed* over all? What was its geographical distribution? He argues that the names of the first period should reflect the condition of the unsettled, still loosely-knit tribes; those of the second the national unity and success; those of the third the influence of the prophets; those of the fourth the influence of the realisation of their teaching in exile. Classes of names spread over all periods should reflect ideas not inconsistent with the development of Israel's life and of prophecy. Those frequent in the earlier period, but non-existent or only sporadic later, should reflect ideas in conflict with the later conditions, while those increasingly frequent should reflect the influence of the great religious teachers.

The bulk of the rest of the volume is occupied with an enquiry into the actual prevalence of the different classes of names at different periods. For this purpose Mr Gray employs only those writings of the Old Testament whose historical character has been established by modern criticism. He then proceeds to enquire into the personal names assigned to various periods by the writings which have been impugned by criticism—viz., the Chronicles and the Priestly Document of the Hexateuch. If he finds that both of these assign to the earlier periods of the history classes of names which the well-established books record the formation, or use, of only in later periods, he will have provided a considerable buttress to the theory of the late date and artificial character of the Chronicles and the Priestly Document.

In his next chapter, therefore, Mr Gray gives exhaustive lists of the chief classes of proper names in Israel, as recorded in the historical books of the O.T., and after a detailed examination reaches the following conclusions. Names compounded with '*ab*, "father," were freely formed in Israel to the time of David, but the formation had become obsolete long before the Exile. Names compounded with '*ah*, "brother," were in use from the earliest times, and most frequent under David and his immediate successors; after the seventh century the *formation* became obsolete, and even the existing names fell into disuse. Personal names compounded with '*am*, which, except in three cases, Mr Gray takes to mean "kinsman," were formed in ancient times, but ceased to be formed or used about

the eighth century. The few compounded with *dod* and *ham* also early became obsolete. Of names compounded with *ben* or *bath* there is no sure evidence that any were borne by Hebrew individuals. The particles, 'ab, 'ah, 'am, *dod* and *ham* (for a few exceptions see p. 83) Mr Gray takes to be not in the construct before the other part of the name in which each occurs, and not in the nominative with the first personal suffix, but in the nominative pure and simple with *yod* as a binding letter; the second half of the name, noun or adjective, forming a predicate to the first half. For example, 'abiel, "the" or "a father is God." Opposite opinions are maintained by Gesenius, Nöldeke, Robertson Smith (2nd ed. of *Rel. of Semites*, 45 n. 2); but Mr Gray exposes the insuperable difficulties of their positions, and argues conclusively for his own. The prefixes *ben* and *bath* in personal names he takes to be in the construct, before the nouns with which they are compounded.

The next class Mr Gray examines is that of Animal Names. He estimates probably more than half as foreign; town and tribal names, of which a very large proportion (47 out of 67) belong to the south of the country, form two-thirds of the whole, and only about a fifth at most are the names of Hebrew individuals, none of which are post-exilic, and only three or four of which occur in each of the earlier periods. He does not think they prove a totem stage in the development of Israel; but the totem theory is so far favoured that they receive from it a reasonable explanation. In any case, "this system of worship and organisation was on the wane before the Davidic period, but left behind it certain superstitious ideas and practices which at times asserted themselves in the subsequent centuries," e.g., under Manasseh, as is proved by several contemporaries of Josiah, who are called after unclean animals.

Mr Gray then discusses the very important compound names containing an element denoting dominion. Those composed with מלך disappear before the Exile—all except מלכיה, which only then begins to occur. Personal names with בעל (except two in 1 Chron. ii. ix.) are not found after the time of David; those with ארן, never frequent, cease before the Exile. Mr Gray argues for the opinion that all these words are used in Hebrew personal names as titles of Jehovah.

The fourth class of names examined by Mr Gray are those compounded with a Divine Name. He begins with those containing Jah, about 156 in number. With one exception they are of Hebrew families or persons; they are found in all the periods, and from Period III. onwards become more popular than those with 'el; in Period IV. those in which the Divine element is initial are virtually extinct, while those in which it is ultimate are still frequent. Of the 113 Hebrew personal names compounded with 'el, both for-

mations are found in the earliest period ; but after the Exile, while those in which the Divine element is ultimate were much fewer, those in which it was initial had all but exhausted themselves.

In Chapter III., on the Historical Character of the Names in Chronicles and P, Mr Gray applies his material to questions of O.T. criticism. With very great reason and force he argues that the names in Chronicles "largely consist of those of the compilers' own time (c. 300 B.C.), that they are at least not genuine survivals from the days of David and the subsequent kings." He shows distinctly that the well-defined peculiarities which distinguish earlier from later names recorded in approximately contemporary writings are "wholly or largely obliterated" in the name lists in Chronicles, and in these "the names of an early period are marked by the same characteristics that unquestionably mark the post-Exilic names." For instance, "the Chronicler's Davidic names are seen to have a Post-Exilic and not a Davidic complexion."

The names peculiar to the Priestly writing have certain features of their own, from which Mr Gray argues that while some are names which were current early, others originated only after the Exile (though attributed by P to early times), while others are artificial, and appear never to have been current in ordinary life at all. In the rest of this chapter Mr Gray applies his data to test the genuineness of certain parts of Chronicles. He finds them confirm the conclusion of Graf that 1 Chron. xxiii.-xxvii. is devoid of historical worth, that the Levitical genealogies in 1 Chron. v. 27—vi. 53 are equally worthless ; that, judged by the names in 2 Chron. xx. 14, the accompanying incident (Mr Gray is here a little vague) is of doubtful historical worth. Similarly with 2 Chron. xvii., 7 ff., and, though less so, with lists in Chs. xi. and xii. Mr Gray concludes with a detailed examination of 1 Chron. i.-ix., in which he distinguishes between place and personal names, and between passages based on ancient and trustworthy sources and passages which the standard of names shows to be unhistorical.

In the last chapter Mr Gray proceeds to cross-examine his evidence, and strikingly confirms some of the earlier conclusions of his volume. For instance, the conclusion that the formation of compounds with *el* was obsolete before the Exile, is strengthened by observing that "names of this class in 1 Chron. ii.-ix. occur in sections in which the rest of the names appear to be ancient when judged by other tests based on the early writings." More interesting are the general conclusions which Mr Gray proceeds to draw from a survey of the whole range of his results. He sees three tendencies of change in the history of Hebrew names : "There is an increasing tendency to confer upon children names consisting of a sentence stating a fact or expressing a wish" ; "In later times a

larger proportion of names possess a religious significance than in early times"; "and in later times Hebrew proper names, as a whole, become more sharply distinguished from those of contemporary Semites than had been the case in early times." Names expressive of certain ancient ideas and superstitions tend to disappear, *e.g.*, what are presumably totem names, and names expressive of kinship with Deity, like Abijah, Abiel, Eli'am, Ahijah; while names compounded with that of Jehovah increase faster than others. Again, names in which Jehovah is an element, by their early infrequency support the tradition that it was Moses who introduced among the Hebrews the worship of Jehovah; for long they were confined to the families and circles most identified with His worship, and this disproves the theory of Friedrich Delitzsch that the יה was a popular form, and יהוה the form used by priests and prophets. Everything shows that names in יה began in the more select circles of Jehovah's adherents, and spread downwards among the people. In conclusion, Mr Gray traces through the changes of formation in names compounded with יה and יהוה, a subtle and extremely interesting growth in the religious consciousness of Israel. Not only is there a decrease of names which signify the Deity's relationship to the nation, and an increase of those which emphasise His activities and His attributes; but while the earlier compounds, by giving greater prominence to the divine name, betray the fact of a wish (however unconscious) to emphasise the personality of the Deity (presumably in opposition to other gods), the later names, by giving greater prominence to the quality or action assigned to Him, prove that His place in Israel's faith, as their one and only God, was assured, and, as it were, taken for granted.

This hasty summary of Mr Gray's volume will prove better than any mere heaping of praise upon it would have done, its laborious thoroughness in all details, its candour and carefulness of argument, and its very great importance both for O.T. criticism, and for the history of the religion of Israel. I feel that this review justifies the impression left on my mind after twice reading the book, that we have in it one of the most important contributions to Old Testament scholarship that have appeared for several years past, whether in Germany or in our own country. His most important conclusions, of course, are that the chronicler and the author of the Priestly writing have assigned to early periods of the history names and groups which the unimpugned records of the O.T. show to have appeared only in Exilic or post-Exilic times, when, according to the critical theory, Chronicles and the Priestly writings were composed. On this point Mr Gray has against him the authority of Dillmann, who defended the ancient character of the personal names in P, and he is certain to be attacked here by many living scholars of

note. Professor Hommel has just attacked him (in *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*) on the ground that a number of the formations in P which Mr Gray considers late, are found in S. Arabian or Babylonian inscriptions of a very early date. Mr Gray has replied in the *Expositor* for September 1897, and I need not therefore go into the matter here farther than to make these two remarks. A great deal of the evidence from Arabian inscriptions on which Prof. Hommel depends is of still unproved date; and even if it were certain that the formations in question prevailed in S. Arabia in the Mosaic period, that would not prove that they then prevailed among the Hebrews, but would be evidence of much less value than the fact that none of the earlier historic documents of the Hebrews themselves assign these formations to that period. Further, Prof. Hommel has not had Mr Gray's complete case concerning the names in P before him, nor does he appear to have examined their characteristics.¹

I pass to Mr Gray's treatment of place-names, in which I feel there are some conclusions not established by his evidence, or at least requiring some qualification.

Take first the names of places called after the names of animals. Mr Gray, without stating a conclusion on the matter, appears to incline to the theory that these may be traced to a totem organisation (p. 107). This, of course, is possible, and in some cases probably certain. Beth-Dagon is an instance. The towns of this name, more numerous than those given by Mr Gray, were doubtless centres of the worship of the Philistine fish god. The two he gives are near the coast in Judah, by Jaffa, and in Asher. The names of the other two known to us are still extant on trade routes, across the central range of the country, where the Philistines would be anxious to establish garrisons and markets for the command of the cross-trade, that fed the main line of commerce on which their own cities were placed. One of them, the present 'Ain Duk, the ancient Docus or Dagon (Josephus xiii., *Ant.* viii. 1) between Michmash and Jericho, was, we know, upon a road contested and long held by the Philistines. The other, the present Beit Dejan, stood a few miles east of Shechem upon the ancient road which crossed the central range between Ebal and Gerizim, and struck down to the Jordan valley near the present ford Ed Damieh, and which therefore was also certain to be held by the Philistines in the days of their supremacy.

Again, in holding that the name of a Deity has often dropped out of a place-name compounded with Beth, Mr Gray, notwithstanding some great authorities on the opposite side, is undoubtedly right.

¹ Mr Gray has actually shown in his article how far Prof. Hommel's Arabian and Babylonian data confirm his (Mr Gray's) conclusions about the names in P.

This is obvious in the case of *Ma'on* or "dwelling"; the full name was *Beth Ba'al-Ma'on*. By analogy *Ma'on* assists us to the same conclusion about *Beth-Pe'or*, even if the other reasons adduced by Mr Gray were not sufficient. We may add that the second *Pe'or* which he quotes is no doubt the present *Khurbet Faghur* on the road between *Bethlehem* and *Hebron*, and that *Pe'or* is probably "gap" or "opening."

But from this undoubtedly frequent combination of *Beth* with the name of the Deity, Mr Gray draws a general conclusion (p. 324). "The term following *Beth* in place-names is so frequently of a Divine character as to lead us to expect it to have been the same even in names where this is no longer manifestly the case." Mr Gray has not gone fully into the meaning of *Beth* in place-names, or he would hardly have made so general an assertion as that. It is certain that the Hebrew word *Beth* was (a) by itself used not only as a *house* or *palace*, but in the more general sense of *place*, and even of *receptacle*; and (b) that into its use in many composite place-names, both Hebrew and Arabic, it obviously carries this latter meaning with it. In Hebrew we have *Beth 'Abarah*, the "House or Place of the Ford" (perhaps in *Jer. vii. 24*, and proved by sources outside the O.T.); *Beth ha-Markabôth*, "of the chariots"; *Beth ha-Emek*, "of the vale"; *Beth ha-Kerem*, *Beth ha-'Arabah*, *Beth ha-Jeshimoth*, etc.; cf. Arab, *Beit 'Anûn*, *Beit el 'Abâr*, "of the cisterns," *Beit Râs*, etc. It is absurd to suppose that the name of a deity has dropped out of these. It is true that in each of the Hebrew instances the second member of the name has the article; but there are other examples in which the article does not occur, and the second member of the compound is probably the name of some natural feature, e.g., *Beth-Eden*, *Beth-Horon*, "place of the hollow way," *Beth-Tappuah*, or of some human individual, *Beth-Pelet* (unless this has to do with the root *plt* to "escape"), *Beth-'Aznaveth* and *Beth-Zacharia* of *Josephus (J. Wars i. 5, etc.)* and of *1 Maccabees*. *Beth-'Eked*, the shorter form of *Beth-'Eked ha-Ro'im*, shows why the article need not always be expected with the name of a natural or a historical feature. The second member of the name of which *Beth* is the first, may originally have been in the construct before some other word now lost. All these cases confirm the possibility of finding for other place-names compounded with *Beth*, another derivation than from the name of a deity, and make it at least questionable that we should "expect" (as Mr Gray says) the latter.

But if so we remove all obligation to find for such names as *Beth-Car*, *Beth-Leba'oth*, *Beth-Lehem*, *Beth-Hoglah*, *Beth-Pases*, and *Beth-Rehob*, a derivation either from divine titles or from totem customs. If *Beth* was often compounded, as we have seen, with a

natural feature, and carries with it no necessity for us to interpret that natural feature as having originally had totem value; it is impossible to prove that such names as are quoted in the preceding sentence afford by the presence of Beth evidence of totemism in Canaan. They do not so much as prove probability, though, of course, there may be other grounds for believing in the existence of totemism in the districts they designate. In other place-names derived from the names of animals, but not containing Beth, we have even less proof of a totem origin. Totemism is, of course, quite possible in some of the cases; but in very many the alternative appears probable that the place was called from its natural association with either an individual, or large numbers, of the species whose name it bears. This seems quite clear in the case of En-gedi, a most natural name for that locality, apart altogether from totemism, of which we know not whether it existed there or not. That the frequent place-name 'Ophrah and 'Ephron, (instances occur east of Jordan that Mr Gray has not quoted), in both forms derived from the name for "Gazelle," was due to some natural association with that animal is at least quite as probable as that it was due to a religious association. So with Parah, Eglon, En-Eglaim, Hazar-Susah, all called after domestic animals; and Humtah, Ascent of Akrabbim, Mt. Se'ir, Hazar-Shual, Shaalubdim, and others, called after wild beasts. I should say that in names not of human settlements, but which were applied to natural objects like mountains, or to regions, or to a pass like the Ascent of Akrabbim, the derivation was quite certainly from some natural feature, and not from a totem. Besides we have in the life of Mohammed and the accounts of the early Khalifs so many instances of places being called after animals, owing to an encounter with a wild beast or an accident to a domestic one, that we can well believe a similar habit to have prevailed in Canaan.

In connection with the same subject, is it not far-fetched to derive Shahasumah (Jo. xix. 22) from B'ne Shahas, the poetical name for lion. Not only is this unlikely, but there is a more natural root, Shahas, "to jut up" or "tower." Again, more probable than the derivations reported by Mr Gray on p. 117, f. n. 5, of שָׁחַשׁ is that the word is a compound of שָׁחַ and שָׁחַ.

Mr Gray has collected the compound tribal and place-names, the first element in which is the imperfect of the verb. He shows that in them the formation is early, but not early in personal names—probably not before the eighth century. He makes the plausible suggestion (218) that the verb is voluntative, *e.g.*, Yezre' 'el = let El sow! but in the five names of towns (42) in which עַי is the nominative, he takes it (58) not as the name of a deity, but as

"people." If any proof were needed that it did not mean "kinsman," as it means in the personal names in which it appears, that would be supplied by the fact that no place-name is compounded with any of the other names of relatives.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH

British Moralists.

Being Selections from Writers principally of the Eighteenth Century. Edited, with an Introduction and Analytical Index, by L. A. Selby-Bigge, M.A., formerly Fellow and Lecturer of University College, Oxford. In two volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxx. 425, 451. Price, 18s.

MR SELBY-BIGGE'S Selections from the Moralists of the Eighteenth Century will be useful to students, and will be welcomed by academic teachers. The selection of passages is judicious, and they are sufficiently copious to afford an adequate idea of the style and spirit, as well as of the doctrines of the authors whose works are laid under contribution. The Bibliographical Index is full and accurate, and will be a handy guide to those who are minded to extend their reading beyond the Selections. The volumes convey a truer impression of the real character of British Philosophy in the eighteenth century than the condensed accounts in Manuals, which often miss its spirit and purpose. The value of the work is enhanced by the Introduction of the editor, who contributes some lucid and acute criticisms of the general tendencies of eighteenth century Philosophy, and of some of its special doctrines. The Introduction opens with a useful caution, bidding us to beware of confounding the Satirist with the Moralist. Satire, Mr Selby-Bigge writes, stops short of Philosophy, even of Sceptical Philosophy. The whole force of Satire, as distinguished from Cynicism, is a force of contrast. The Satirist is content to show that what men flatter themselves is moral conduct is generally immoral conduct, when judged by the standard which those men profess. But the Satirist's denunciation of the sham is by implication a recognition of the reality. This remark is especially needed in the case of Mandeville, who is sometimes cited as a terrible illustration of the depths of degradation to which Moral Philosophy sank in the eighteenth century. "It does not need much penetration to see," writes Mr Selby-Bigge, "that when Mandeville is maintaining the odious thesis of 'private vices, public benefits,' he is really concerned to argue the converse, viz., that persons lauded as public benefactors often show small regard for the Christian code of

morals which they profess, and no regard at all for the public interest for the promotion of which they take credit ; that material progress by no means implies equivalent spiritual advance." A similar remark may be made regarding Hobbes, who, although he belonged to the seventeenth century, is included in the Selections. The object of Hobbes was more political than philosophical, and his moral theory must not be taken too seriously.

The true representatives of British Moral Philosophy in the eighteenth century were thinkers with a serious purpose—intent on discovering reasonable sanctions for public and private virtue. They are thus described by Mr Selby-Bigge.

"Satire, so far as it is an exposure of the sham, rests upon and assumes a reality of some kind or other in virtue. The British moralists, whether sceptical or otherwise, ask what is the reality ? what is the meaning of the right and wrong, good and evil, to which the evil liver pays the tribute of hypocrisy, that is, what does the ordinary man mean by them ? The level of the plain man, and even the 'honest farmer,' is in the first instance adopted, not that of the saint in his cell, nor that of the philosopher in his closet, and his experience is treated as supplying the material for further examination. Just as the satirist appeals to the intelligence of the plain man and is refuted by an appeal to his experience, so the moralists of the period start from the plain man and the common sense of plain men (afterwards to be elevated into the principle of a system) in their inquiry into the reality of virtue. They concentrate their illustration on the phenomena of the normal moral consciousness in a cool and impartial manner which reminds us of Aristotle, and has not been exhibited since Aristotle. They thought seriously about the content of plain men's moral judgments and their natural and legitimate implications, and there is perhaps no body of ethical writing within its own sphere that can compare for originality and sincerity. Philosophy is no longer 'a self-centred speculation, an oracle of wisdom ; it is brought down from inaccessible heights and compelled to be intelligible,' and the public is umpire. It is not a small thing that Philosophy should be written in the vulgar tongue, and should use the words of ordinary men."

The services rendered by the Moralists of the eighteenth century cannot be fully appreciated without taking account of the character of the age in which they lived and wrote. It was a period of convalescence from a mood of moral helplessness induced by the disappearance of high hopes. England had passed through the exaltation of feeling caused by the Renaissance, through the baffled struggles of Puritanism to realise higher spiritual ideals, followed by the orgies of the Restoration. Disillusion and

disappointment inclined men to adopt a purely selfish theory of life and of morals. The Moralists, for the most part, represented a reaction against this tendency; and their prosaic common sense made them effective opponents of a distemper which was the result of unreasonable extremes. But their "home-made philosophy" has raised up against them a motley troop of enemies. The idealist and the romanticist here joined with zealous preachers of religion, in a chorus of disapprobation of writers who were stigmatised as unmetaphysical, wanting in imagination, and lacking in religious zeal. They have been especially denounced by religious writers, because, as it was alleged, they endeavoured to make morals a substitute for religion as a basis of society and as a guide of conduct. Mr Mark Pattison, not usually distinguished by an excess of religious zeal, described the eighteenth century as a period of spiritual abasement and poverty, and he gives as a reason of this, that it was a time when morals were represented as a proper study of man and his only business. To this grave charge Mr Selby-Bigge replies, as we think with justice:—"It would not be too much to say that the theological or religious revival of the present day, which is certainly not unspiritual, owes much of its richness and fulness to the labours of what is commonly stigmatised as a most unspiritual age. Whether in the last resort religion and morality merge, is a question which is not in any way prejudged when we congratulate our moralists on their emancipation from the theological tradition of their time. Their very narrowness certainly enabled them to do their work better, and in the result they produced for the use of future philosophers a mass of purely moral data, which would have been both smaller and less pure if they had had the capacity or the inclination to consider their bearings on more general problems."

To these remarks it may be added, that both religion and theology have profited by the work of the Moralists of the eighteenth century. Modern religion and theology owe to them the more reasonable temper and the saner moral discernment, which distinguish them alike from the faith of mediæval times, and from the religion of English Puritanism.

JOHN GIBB.

The Christ of History and of Experience: Being the Kerr Lectures for 1897.

By Rev. David W. Forrest, M.A., Wellington Church, Glasgow.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xx. 471. Price,
10s. 6d.

THE problem, to the solution of which the author addresses himself in this thoughtful and valuable treatise, is that presented by the

co-ordination of two elements in Christianity, the historical and the spiritual. "While Christianity professes to be adapted to all times and conditions of an immediate reality in experience, it is yet anchored to one particular epoch and to a special personality in the past" (p. 4). This co-ordination seems to many minds, and these devout and earnest, to be unnatural and harmful to Christianity as a spiritual faith. That communion with God should be bound up with "a certain intellectual attitude to a historical event" seems to them to be destructive of the spiritual power of Christianity, to alienate clear and honest thinkers, and to lead to the identification of faith with mere assent to unverified and unverifiable facts. There can be no question that such cultured and spiritually-minded critics of Christianity do exist in large numbers. Coarse and flip-pant assailants of the faith are fewer than they used to be. Their attacks give little trouble. It is otherwise, however, when we find men willing to go all lengths with us in admiration of Christ, tracing to Him all the deepest thoughts of men regarding God, claiming to regulate their own thinking and living by the truth of His teaching and the beauty of His life, yet declaring that they cannot accept the alleged facts of His Incarnation and Resurrection, and maintaining that to make belief in these events an essential element in Christian faith and a term of communion with the Christian Church, is to do them grievous injustice and to alienate from them their spiritual heritage in Christianity. To such men, Mr Forrest speaks with the frank courtesy of one who knows them and appreciates the nobility of their thought and the purity of their nature. His book, while in the form of an essay, is at the heart of it the appeal of a Christian to those who are "not far from the kingdom." If it shall reach them, or even if it shall aid believers in historic Christianity to understand their position and help to win them, the aim of these Lectures will have been accomplished. The sneer of a recent reviewer at "angelic doctors" is wholly undeserved in this case. This is no remote spectator, no dilettante essayist, but a believing man, speaking out of the fulness of experience.

The book discusses these two elements in Christianity, the historical and the spiritual; and the conclusion it seeks to establish is that the historical implies the spiritual, and is unintelligible apart from the claim which the Church makes on behalf of Christ; and that the spiritual depends upon the historical, and cannot retain its power and value if it be torn away from its roots in historic fact.

The volume consists of nine lectures, which may be grouped as follows:—

I. The Historic Christ: Lectures I. to III. 1. In his opening lecture Mr Forrest leads us, with great freshness of treatment, to consider what is involved in Christ's personality as presented to us

in the record. In the self-consciousness of man there is "a dual witness." "At the same moment that it encourages him by the assurance of his progress and growth in moral power, it alarms and depresses him by testifying to the widening of the gulf that separates him from his ideal. The same experience that declares his increasing unity with God emphasises his divergence from Him" (p. 8). This duality is found in the consciousness of all men who are making progress in goodness. It is deepest in those who are most good. Christ, it will be granted, was a good man. Nay, to Him we owe the ideal of goodness which creates in us the keenest sense of our disparity with it. Yet in His self-consciousness there was no such dual witness. To all men save Him "the harmony and the divergence are two permanent sides of the one spiritual experience." He alone of the Sons of men had the "sense of harmony *without* the divergence" (p. 17). No note of contribution supplies a minor tone to His prayers and meditations. The sense of unworthiness, which, if it exist at all, must colour all thought and feeling and give character to all utterance is wholly absent. What are we to make of this? Grant Christ to have been good, and the irresistible inference is that His goodness is unique, and constitutes a fundamental difference of being between Him and other men. "This is not a difference of attainment in goodness, it is a different type of moral character, another order of humanity" (p. 31). He stands forth perfectly human, yet absolutely distinct, unique, inexplicable in the hypothesis that He was merely what other men are. 2. In the second lecture we are led to consider this unique type of man, and to ask what we are to think of Him. "What manner of man is this?" Here, however, it is to be remembered that, since He is unique, we have no standard to compare Him with. He must Himself supply us with the key to unlock the mystery. He must be His own interpreter. What "significance He has for humanity as a pledge of spiritual power or joy, can only be known through His self-manifestation" (p. 45). When, accordingly, we listen to His own unfoldings of what He was, we are struck at once with one dominant note, His self-assertion. He exhibits absolute authority in the whole domain of spiritual truth. He estimates character, pronounces judgment, and proclaims commands with royal assurance. He makes loyalty to Himself the condition of salvation. He claims to be Arbiter in the final judgment of men. All this He does, while at the same time He declares that He is "meek and lowly in heart." Here in this self-assertion of Jesus, so intolerable in other men, we find the answer to the problem presented by His moral consciousness. That unique consciousness of harmony with God and goodness is explained by the unique relationship to God implied in these claims of Jesus. "They are not an aggravation of

the problem which His character presents ; they are in a very real sense an alleviation, for they offer an explanation of the existence in humanity of a moral consciousness which, without them, would be inexplicable" (p. 60). 3. The third lecture deals with the manner in which the knowledge of what He was grew upon the mind of Jesus, and the means by which He communicated it to others. The growth of the self-consciousness of Jesus is treated by Mr Forrest with the reverence and absence of dogmatism which the subject demands. He places knowledge of His person and of His mission much earlier than recent critics like Wendt have done. His remark that "we are a thousand-fold more likely to err in ascribing to Him in His own sphere too little knowledge than too much" (p. 106) is a salutary warning which contains as much of sound sense as it does of the reverence due to the theme. The chief means adopted by Christ for making Himself known were teaching, miracles, and personal influence. It is well, in view of those estimates of Christ which are so confident, to be reminded that these means must be co-ordinated in our thought if we are to attain the full truth. No study of the mind of the Master is other than misleading when His teaching receives the sole attention. In His training of the Twelve, He sought not to compel their minds by external pressure, but to lead them through acquaintance with Himself to the discovery of what He was. In this effort He was completely successful. Not, indeed, that they had in His lifetime attained to a theological statement of His person ; but they did firmly grasp the truth that He was Himself the heart of His message ; and that they could only do His work through the continuance of His presence with them. "When they stood at the close of the apocalypse, and searched their heart for its meaning, they had nothing to declare which had any power or significance apart from His continual presence."

II. The Risen Christ: Lectures IV. to VII. 1. The fact of the Resurrection—Lecture IV. Given such a personality as we see Christ to have been, we are prepared to expect its triumph over the material conditions of life. The objectivity of the resurrection is proved partly by the inadequacy of any theory to account for Christianity apart from it, but chiefly through the "unique character" (p. 146) of the appearances of the risen Christ. They are the revelation in terms of Sense of that which is above Sense. Their aim was "to prove by adequate signs, to those who had received the ineffaceable impression of the character of Jesus, and had become profoundly convinced that in Him God's Kingdom centred, not only the persistence of His life through death, but its dominance over it, the triumph of His total human personality over every alien influence whether spiritual or material" (p. 152).

The fact and the nature of the resurrection assure us that "the redemption of Christ was no less the rectification of the material than of the spiritual universe" (p. 155). In the resurrection, Christ is lifted to a central place at once in the material and in the spiritual universe. "He who appeared as a single figure in history is recognised as in reality above historical limitations, the abiding Lord and life of souls" (p. 158). 2. The reflective expression of the fact. Here Mr Forrest comes into direct conflict with Ritschlianism. The Ritschlians, proceeding on their essentially metaphysical theory of the relativity of knowledge, deny the necessity of going behind the impressions which the Jesus of history makes upon us to any metaphysical doctrine of His Person. Mr Forrest replies in effect that the distinction thus drawn between phenomena and noumena is speculatively unsound, and practically impossible. The "impression of the character of Jesus" had from the beginning elements, which may be called metaphysical, if by that term we point to objective reality inaccessible to the senses, without which, therefore, this impression could not have been received. That which produced the Church was the revelation to man of a Personality, human yet superhuman, in full union with man and in full union of character and essence with God. The reflective expression of this conviction did not come at once, but it was a necessity of thought and life, and it came very early. Mr Forrest treats this part of his subject with great fullness, with competent learning and close reasoning. It is impossible to follow him in detail; but the scope of his treatment may be indicated. (1) The Person of Christ—Lecture V. His contention here is that the risen Christ must necessarily be conceived as having a cosmic position. "He who was central for the redemption of man must be as central for his creation." "The supremacy of Christ . . . must have a universal reference" (p. 175). This doctrine he exhibits as the teaching of Paul and John; and indicates as a necessary implicate of faith in Christ as Redeemer. (2) The Work of Christ—Lecture VI. He argues for an objective element in the redemptive work of Christ as necessary for the communication to humanity of the spirit of sonship. If Christ is to impart this spirit to men He must deliver them from condemnation, and this He could only do by becoming their representative in their sinful and alienated condition, (p. 218). Mr Forrest asserts the necessity of the atoning death of Christ, while, at the same time he guards against any abstract treatment of the death as a thing isolated from the life and total personality of Christ. This leads him to a view of faith which, though found in all evangelical preaching, is often lacking in theological statement. Faith is directed to the living Christ, and is not a formal acquiescence in

His work. It is "a real surrender" (p. 245), "a forthgoing of the self, an act of self-committal" (p. 277); it issues in a real union to Christ; and thus justification and sanctification are bound together in one experience, instead of falling apart, as they too often do in the legal terminology of dogmatic. (3) The Realisation of the Fact—Lecture VII. The new life does not act *in vacuo*. It is essentially social and organic. Mr Forrest deals freshly and helpfully with the themes of (1) its organ, faith; (2) its means of development, the Church; and (3) its field of exercise, human nature.

III. The Relation of the Historical and the Spiritual Elements in Faith—Lectures VIII. and IX. The conclusions of these chapters have been established by the previous discussions. The Christ of history is an insoluble puzzle, a meaningless enigma, if He be not that which He is to Christian experience. The Christ of experience would be impossible without the historic record through which we come into direct contact with Him as a living personality. The attempt to rest the proof of Christianity on subjective experience alone must end in disaster, surrendering as it does the very citadel of the faith, and turning Christ into an illusion begotten of human longing.

The closing lecture contains an interesting discussion of the question, Is faith in Christ necessarily conscious? The answer of the author is that faith is an energy of the soul deeper than intellect. Where, therefore, the intellect is barred to Christ, not by moral fault, but by impenetrable obstacles existing in the circumstances of life, faith may operate and lay hold of Christ, even though the mind recognise Him not, or even in words deny Him. In every case, however, saving faith is one and the same. The distinction between an intellectual blindness that is due to moral fault, and one that is due to circumstances, can be drawn by God alone. To us it is given only to hope.

Estimating the book as a whole, we admire the clear, often eloquent writing, the philosophic breadth and fulness of treatment, the keenness of the critical faculty. Our only complaint of the critiques of systems like Ritschlianism, or Neo-hegelianism, or of writers like Martineau, Carpenter or Dale, is that they are too trenchant, and leave out of account the elements of value contributed even by one-sided or inadequate statements. Inquirers into Christian verities will be met here with an attractive reasonableness and fairness, and an entire absence of dogmatism, while, at the same time, there is the ring of conviction. Students of theology will find here a treatment of doctrine that is resolutely free from abstractness, and a vindication of that which is loftiest in thought as rooted in that which is surest in fact. That a minister, engaged in the work of a

very large congregation, should have been able to produce so learned and comprehensive a study of a great theme is creditable to himself and hopeful for the future of theology in Scotland.

T. B. KILPATRICK.

Bases of Religious Belief, Historic and Ideal: an Outline of Religious Study.

By Charles Mellen Tyler, A.M., D.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion and of Christian Ethics in Cornell University. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. x. 273. Price, \$1.50.

THERE are reasons for thinking that Philosophy of Religion now stands at a turning-point in its career. And it may turn out that the last edition of Pfeiderer's great work (see *The Critical Review*, vol. vii. pp. 131 *sq.*) will mark the close of one period. In these circumstances Professor Tyler is to be congratulated that, in this unpretentious, but most interesting volume, he has put with no little skill the problems as they now stand, and the steps towards their solution which have been taken during the last fifty years. More than this he expressly refrains from essaying. "The writer has aimed to give simply a *résumé* of the conclusions of modern thought. To enter into discussion of critical problems of psychology or metaphysics, he has not attempted; that would have led him too far afield" (vi.-vii.). The manner in which he has executed his task justifies his "hope that his little book may be of some service to students in our colleges, and to some who propose to enter the pulpit, and that it may help them to appreciate the Divine origin and purpose of the religious belief of humanity" (vii.).

The work is divided into two parts. The first consists of four chapters almost exclusively historical in character. Their titles are as follows: Definition of Religion; Prehistoric and Historic Data, and their bearing upon the Study of Religion; Was the beginning of Human History a Moral Catastrophe?; Psychological Genesis of Religion. The second part is systematic, being grounded on an "appeal no longer to history, but to the existing consciousness of man" (117). Its five chapters are: Metaphysical Grounds of Religious Belief; Ethical Grounds; Æsthetical Ground; Spiritual Love as an Ideal to be realised; the Ultimate Ground, or God revealed in Human Progress. On the whole, there can be little doubt that the latter is more interesting than the former, because more suggestive and admitting of freer expression of Professor Tyler's own reflections. The following points may be selected for especially favourable mention:—the summary of views held with

regard to the nature of Religion (12 sq.); the discussion of the Fall and of the meaning of Sin (36 sq., 62 sq.); in chapter iv. of Part I. psychological considerations are advanced that workers in the same field too commonly omit; the psychological stages of religion, though considered somewhat too exclusively from the genetic standpoint, deserve special mention (79 sq.); and the same may be said of the presentation of the epochs in early religion and the psychological aspects of some of the great religions (91 sq.); the discussion of Semitic religion is hardly so good, but several capital points are made (99 sq.). The first chapter of Part II. is in many ways the best in the book. It abounds in excellent points, which are well selected and well taken. Those remarks deserve quotation:—"Aversion to metaphysics is to a great extent the product of mental indolence" (119); "The mind does not make nature; it knows it, because it has an objective reality" (127); "That the power in nature and in mind is the same in its essence, if granted, does not, however, reveal what its essence is" (128); "The acceptance by scientists of the uniformity of Nature is an act of faith in the trustworthiness of Nature—in other words, of faith in its moral character. Theism is thus virtually accepted by every experimenter in science. For the constitution of the world appeals to trust, and never betrays it" (140-1). The analysis of the Ethical Grounds of Religious Belief is also marked by no little insight. The following are courageous and pointed statements:—"It is offensive to reason to affirm that the Moral can come forth from the non-Moral" (159-60); "Determinism, as usually understood, strictly analysed, is pure materialism. Place one psychical state behind another to infinity, there must be a subject of the states" (183); "A Spiritual Philosophy of Religion cherishes no horror of Pantheism when the latter is rightly defined" (208); "Progress in religious conceptions could be made only, *pari passu*, with the advance of the moral ideals" (213); "The conviction gains strength that the progressive unveiling of the ideals of Morality and Religion does not arrest the conflict between sin and righteousness. It becomes a sharper conflict with advancing enlightenment, and it will go on to the last" (254-5); "Because man's advancement has been a natural one, therefore it has been divine" (260). The æsthetical chapter, though not so suggestive, has refreshing sanity, and the same may be said of the analysis of the relation between Duty and Love (214 sq.). There is also an admirable account of Mysticism (218 sq.), and a judicial treatment of Miracle (237 sq.). On the whole, I cannot doubt that the general tendency of Professor Tyler's teaching is substantially correct. The kernel of it may be found in those words: "If 'Nature conceals God,' it is not because Nature is not Divine, it

is rather because God must first be revealed through the moral and religious nature of man, in order to be discerned in Nature" (241). "All the orchestras in the world would in vain pour forth their harmonies, if there were no 'music in the soul.' No truth can be gained by the seer, or imparted by him to another, which cannot become the mental property of him who hears the message, by the co-operation of his intelligence and feeling" (250).

The main criticisms to be passed upon the book relate to blemishes that might easily be removed in a second edition. In the first place, one lights upon some dogmatic statements far too bluntly put. For example, those on the origin of religion (9); that on a postulated Unity of Being (117); that about an "immanent unitary will" (131); the whole reasoning on p. 151; the treatment of freedom (167 and 173); the remarks about personality at the foot of p. 211; the round condemnation of T. H. Green (229). Once more, several times throughout the text, one is jarred by an unnecessary carping at modern psychology. Occasionally, too, Professor Tyler accepts doubtful positions too easily, as that of Maine (76); and the value of the various authorities cited by him is at times unequal (*e.g.*, 150). Surely Burke, Carlyle, and Romanes loom large enough to forego the prefatory "Mr," especially when "Jackson," whoever he may be, goes without it. "Thiele" and "Weissman" are bad misprints, and in the note on p. 143, "130" has crept in for 157. The brilliant writer, who has chosen to be known as "A Troglodyte," can well afford to dispense with the "doctorate" conferred upon him by Professor Tyler, if not by Professor Tyler's university. A more serious defect is the number of second hand references, and the absence of "chapter and verse" from many of those cited at first hand. Both these oversights ought certainly to be removed, for they impart an unscholarly air to the book which it does not merit, and detract from its undoubted qualities as a manual for students.

R. M. WENLEY.

The Rational or Scientific Ideal of Morality.

By P. F. Fitzgerald. London: Swann, Sonnenschein & Co.
1897. 8vo, pp. xi. 357. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE author of this interesting and suggestive volume—perhaps I should say the authoress—has already issued several volumes on kindred or related themes. *The Philosophy of Self-Consciousness* is designed to present an analysis of Reason and the Rationale of Love. *A Treatise on the Principle of Sufficient Reason* is designed to show the reality of Faith, Love and Hope; or, to quote the writer

and to give a specimen of the phraseology with which the reader has to contend, to give "the synthesis of the spontaneously associated forms of thought in the reflective, introspective, ontological representations of causality which determine the Science of Logic." *A Protest against Agnosticism* furnishes a plea for the reasonableness of belief and a protest against the excessive study of the works of the Physicists. The present volume is intended to describe the Principle of Moral Evolution, morality being defined as "the subsumption of feeling, intelligence and benevolent will in the unity of Being," and the principle of evolution being love. In the sub-title, the volume claims to contain a theory of cognition, a metaphysic of religion, and an *apologia pro amore*.

The work is divided into three Parts. In the first of these the author lays down a variety of positions. The rational ideal must be sought in the domain of metaphysics. The term rational ideal is an ontological expression, seeing that we owe the conception of the ideal, in all forms of it, to transcendental reason. All our noblest aspirations emanate from the same source. A primal instinct makes us seek the Best for Being. The scientific or rational basis of morality lies in correspondence in feeling, intelligence and will with the reflective principle of sufficient reason, this principle being the actualisation and fulfilment of love as it regards self, society, and God: that this love may be actualised and fulfilled is why we act morally. Feeling, intelligence and will must all be satisfied, which can only be where love is supreme. The condition of our spiritual evolution is our being fast bound by love. Love constitutes happiness; but human love without divine love is a house built on sand. The Ideal is not complete or efficient, in the highest sense, without religion. Self love or prudence, social love or sympathy, and divine love or adoration, all play their part in duty, for duty, or God's will, can only be done in our whole being. The ideal conception of Deity is the reflection of a moral consciousness, of which religion is the outcome and the sanction. In natures in which reflective reason is little developed, the ideal of God is anything but that of a just and benevolent Being. Harmony of spiritual Beings, like that of matter and mind, is that from which the happiness of social beings results. The perfection of being is where all divinely established relations hold without contradiction or hindrance. A true moral judgment is the outcome of the complete evolution of the three sources, or principles, of thought, that is of feeling, intelligence and will. These—feeling, intelligence and will—being only imperfectly fulfilled here, we expect their perfect functioning, under more favourable circumstances, in a better land beyond the grave.

In the second Part of the work the author proposes to exhibit
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the processes that lead to the conclusions in regard to the moral sense which the third Part is designed to state. Morality is the crowning outcome of spontaneous and reflective thought. As a science morality regards the end or purport of all rational activity, the aim and goal of which is the realisation and the conservation of the integrity of Being. The moral law of action is for the Best for Being. Being, as a whole, must be regarded, divine and human, and what is best for this. Psychical evolution means the development of our faculties of feeling, intelligence and will in the light of the end of these. Spiritual love is God's last and best gift to man : its fulness completes the evolution.

The writer of this volume is endowed with the gift of copious and suggestive expression, and with varied and ample learning. The gift of lucid and convincing exposition is not so apparent. It is often difficult to feel the progressive movement of the intellectual proofs of the positions laid down. The progress of ideas, and the conclusiveness of the chain of reasoning, are obscured by too copious remark. Those who agree with the gifted writer will be content with the illustrations of the main positions, but the gainsayer will, I think, hardly be convinced. The reasoning is not lucid enough ; the compulsion is not urgent enough for the conviction of the adversary. The points to be established are too often rather illustrated than proved. Then technical modes of expression abound, and sometimes obscure the writer's meaning. There is also a lack of precision in the use of terms which is confusing to the reader, hindering his just appreciation of what is said. The perceptive powers of the writer seem to be of a higher order than the reasoning powers. Nowhere is the author at any great pains to be clear and concise. The literary style lacks simplicity, and there are signs of haste in the composition and structure of the book. There appears to be no distinction between morality and religion, while happiness rather than holiness seems to be not simply the goal of human desire, but its proper goal.

It must be added that the volume is a mine of apt quotation and suggestive remark. The writer is a transcendentalist in the best sense of the term, and reveals a mind busy with ideas that have a higher source than the senses, and reach to the highest. Lofty and quickening impulses the work can hardly fail to arouse in those who read it, and there is an evident and burning desire to deliver an ennobling message.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

Morale Chrétienne.

Par Jules Bovon, docteur en théologie. Tome Premier. Lausanne : Georges Bridel et C^{ie}. ; Paris : Fischbacher. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 437. Price, F.7.50.

PROFESSOR BOVON's outline of Christian Ethics is part of an extended work on Christian belief and practice. He follows up his two volumes on New Testament Theology and his two volumes on Dogmatics with two on Christian Ethics—the whole to form a comprehensive Study of the Work of Redemption. Only the first of these concluding volumes is published at present ; but that which is still to appear will be occupied with the detailed application of principles, and in the volume before us we find Professor Bovon's general conception of the place of 'Christian Ethics' in Theology and of Christian conduct and character as the 'Practical Consequences of the Work of Redemption.'

It must be admitted that Professor Bovon scarcely fulfils the expectations raised by this imposing array of themes and of successive volumes. We should naturally look for systematic order and systematic completeness, as leading features of a work so carefully concatenated. But while the author possesses many qualifications for his large task—piety, sympathy, learning ; moderation and good judgment ; a lucid and unpretentious style ; as well as real spiritual insight and a certain quiet originality—he does not add to these the gifts of the system-builder.

Anything less systematic than these pages can hardly be imagined. It would be useless to quote the elaborate division into sections and sub-sections, which certainly would not tell its own story. Many topics are discussed with sense and wisdom ; every page is readable ; and the whole has the freshness and reality of first-hand thought, the true and unaffected originality of the man with a mind of his own. But that simple and convincing *order*, which is the proper aim of a treatment so slight and inexhaustive, as it is the only thing that could give it distinction, is altogether lacking. The introduction is meagre and unenlightening ; matter that naturally belonged to it is found loading and obstructing the subsequent argument ; and all through we miss the grasp and penetration, the tact and felicity, of truly systematic thought.

Four subjects should naturally fall to be considered in an introduction to a study of Christian Ethics. Something must first of all be said about the presuppositions of the *ethical* idea and ethical experience generally ; this implies at least an indication of the method and results of a philosophical criticism, and some sort of

Moral Philosophy. Secondly, the presuppositions of *Christian Ethics* should be pointed out; the argument of Theism, and of Christian Theism, being suggested, and the ethical bearings of these beliefs discussed. Thirdly, since in speaking of Christian Ethics we are on definitely dogmatic and *theological* ground it is necessary to determine the place of Ethics, viewed in a theological light, within the encyclopædia of the theological sciences. Lastly, the *history* of Christian theological Ethics would form a natural subject of introductory treatment: the history of moral thought in the Church. The prolegomena to Christian Ethics, that is, should be philosophical, apologetic, encyclopædic, and historical.

Professor Bovon has not cared to distinguish these various lines of thought; and while he touches on them all, it is in a confused and unsatisfactory manner.

He devotes a part of his Introduction to the theistic argument, that God is the postulate of morality. But he gives us on this point only a few pages of somewhat perfunctory and inconclusive suggestions, and turns with manifest preference to the historical question of the relations between morality and religious faith, sketching with a hasty but rather a happy touch the moral effects of the various historical religions and the various types of Christian belief.

The history of moral reflection within the Church is only indicated in the barest outline. Stress is justly laid upon the occasional nature of the moral teaching of the New Testament, and on the unsystematic character of the ethical thought of Christian theologians before they began to be influenced by Kant. The review of the history is followed by an attempt to arrive at the conception of a method in theological ethics and of their place in the theological system as a whole. This is sought by means of a criticism of the ideas of Rothe on the subject. Professor Bovon's objections to Rothe's programme of 'speculative' theology, and to speculation in theology as a substitute for fact and experience, might be met by a distinction of philosophy, and the philosophy of religion, from theology proper—theology as a science, making inductions from its own subject-matter. But taking theology, as the author does, in the latter sense, he has not much difficulty in shewing the legitimacy of an analysis of Christian conduct as a part of it. "*Revenons donc à la morale en tant que branche théologique pour en marquer la place dans la théorie du fait chrétien.*" "*L'éthique est donc englobée, avec raison . . . dans la théologie systématique, qui se subdivise en dogmatique et en morale.*" "*D'après ce point de vue, la dogmatique partirait de Dieu et la morale de l'homme, c'est à dire que les mêmes sujets reviendraient dans l'une comme dans l'autre sous des aspects divergents. Ainsi la sanctification, traitée au point de vue dogmatique, aurait le caractère d'une œuvre divine, alors que la*

morale relèverait le fait humain." M. Bovon in effect adheres to this view, only stipulating that the subject-matter is one, while regarded from two points: "Et si certain sujets reviennent assez naturellement de part et d'autre, ce n'est pas au même point de vue qu'ils apparaissent, ce qui évite les répétitions." Thus, if not with the explicitness that could be desired, yet practically, M. Bovon maintains the thoroughly intelligible conception that Christian Ethics is a branch of theology, or, as he calls it very well, "description du développement *du fidèle*" (pp. 45-56, 65.)

Nor is he oblivious of the philosophical question which I have named as the first previous question in all such discussions of practical ethics. When its theological character is allowed for, Christian Ethics may be regarded as a particular type of what is usually called Applied Ethics or Practical Ethics. The claim of such reflection on the detailed application of moral principles to be called a science, is perhaps a doubtful one; how doubtful, will be perceived when we consider that it is distinguishable only in degree from Casuistry. Its 'practical' value also is measured by the extent to which the conscience really submits to government by rules at all. Mature observation perhaps points to the conclusion that conduct is very little governed by rule or theory. Practical Ethics might indeed be considered to be an art and not a science; and conduct to be the true 'application' of Ethics, the real 'practical' ethics. Applied Ethics, in so far as it is a science, is a branch of the Science of Education; and *Christian* Applied Ethics a branch of Homiletics.

Whatever may be said on these points, there doubtless lies behind all Applied Ethics, as behind conduct itself, a possible criticism of ethical ideas and experience, a Moral Philosophy. M. Bovon is evidently conscious of the need of such an analysis; for at a point very early in his Introduction he specifies (although in too brief terms) as the conditions of moral experience, a moral End of absolute worth and the freedom of the Will (pp. 14-17). It is the principal vice of his work, considered as a systematic treatise, that he postpones the discussion of the issue raised here, and introduces it with a most confusing effect into his analysis of the concrete facts of Christian life and character.

It is accordingly in the body of the work (pp. 71-126) that we are to look for M. Bovon's own finding on the matters of ethical theory. It would be a mistake, however, to assume—as our author seems to do—that only one particular theory of morals can lead to an ethical Didactic. Undoubtedly only one theory can *logically* and *consistently* do so, namely, the true theory; and each of us will naturally consider that that theory is his own. But it is absurd to suggest that Utilitarianism, for instance, can supply no

practical guidance or elevated ideal for life, when it has actually furnished both. You may say that in such applications Utilitarianism is inconsistent (which is the same as to say, it is not the true theory of morals); you cannot say it is immoral.

M. Bovon's own position is that of an enlightened and carefully guarded Intuitionism.

"Aussi la conscience, à tous les degrés de son développement, n'est-elle pas, comme les auteurs spiritualistes l'ont souvent dit, une faculté spéciale; c'est bien plutôt l'homme dans son ensemble en tant qu'il se sait lié par le devoir" (p. 108).

"Ferme dans son principe, le devoir est éminemment changeant par sa forme: aussi la conscience qui en est la révélatrice et l'interprète ne nous présente-t-elle pas le bien dans son abstraction" (p. 109).

Comparing the intuition of moral worth with the mental law of causality, he says:

"Cette règle qui s'impose à la raison, dont elle est comme un élément constitutif, est ce qu'on nomme une catégorie innée. Est ce à dire qu'elle se manifeste abstraitement et avant l'expérience? Nullement, car nous en prenons conscience lorsque les faits qui nous frappent nous amènent à l'appliquer: elle est liée à la sensation bien qu'elle ne dérive pas du monde sensible" (p. 103).

On Freedom he expresses himself thus:

"Il ne faut pas confondre, ainsi qu'on l'a fait souvent, libre arbitre avec caprice. L'homme n'est pas libre dans ce sens qu'il agisse sans mobile: mais derrière les impulsions qui le sollicitent, il y a le moi qui s'attache à l'une d'elles pour lui donner la force d'agir. En d'autres termes, outre que le jeu de la volonté est spontané, c'est à dire qu'il échappe à toute contrainte externe, le sujet morale a la privilège de créer les motifs qui déterminent sa conduite" (pp. 124, 125).

The moral motive in this sense is made an instance of the *force of an idea*; and the stress laid by determinists on 'motive' as a psychological fact is appealed to in support of the doctrine of self-determination (pp. 16, 17; 132). The suggestion of M. Fouillée is quoted with approval, that the idea of self-determination, acting as a psychical force, constitutes self-determination—is Freedom *simpliciter*; and also his fresh expression of the Kantian 'Law universal' in the conception that a self as universally determined acts naturally for universal ends (the physical element in Kant's idea of the imperative obligation being transcended in such an inherent necessity of self-realisation) (pp. 132-4).

True liberty, concludes M. Bovon,

"[la liberté vraie] est l'état de celui qui ne veut plus autre chose que la bien" (p. 129). "Au fond le libre arbitre, saisi comme faculté de choix

n'est qu'une phase transitoire, la liberté s'immobilisant toujours par l'habitude et tendant à devenir nécessité" (p. 135).

In entering on his subject proper, M. Bovon shows the same clear insight as has already been remarked into the points requiring treatment, with the same infelicity in the arrangement of them. With perfect propriety he sets down two matters for consideration before beginning the analysis of Christian conduct: namely, first, the state of Sin, and second, the pre-Christian moral consciousness in its two forms as 'without Law' or 'under Law.' Nothing could be better. Nor could a more perfect example be given of the professor's genius for cross-division than the chapters in which he treats these themes. Dividing the whole section devoted to this preliminary matter into two sub-sections—"The natural man without Law" and "The natural man under Law"—he includes the analysis of the state of sin within the former, as if sin had no existence in the life under law. When it is added that "The natural man without Law" consists of three chapters in all, and that the first two chapters are the chapters on the Metaphysic of Ethics already referred to, dealing respectively with Conscience and Freedom, and the third the chapter on Sin, no further illustration will be required of the defect which so mars an excellent and attractive book.

The section on "The natural man under Law" contains an analysis both psychologically and historically true of the felt need of positive precept, and of the working of the Law for better and worse in the religious consciousness and history of Israel. Then follows an attempt at the definition and limitation of the legal or positive element in Christianity. The shortcomings of a legal Christianity are exposed in an account of the Catholic ethical doctrines of a sufficient obedience and works supererogatory, and a criticism of the Catholic rule of perfection. Some just remarks are also made on the use and limits of casuistry.

Thus far, the discussion is preparatory and negative. With "État morale de l'homme régénéré" begins the real *Christian* ethics. But we cannot follow M. Bovon further at present. The general analysis of Christian experience (book i., section 2) is in the manner of its execution open to the same criticisms as have been made upon other parts of the work. The second book, which enters into the details of Christian duty, is unfinished, and will be continued in a forthcoming volume.

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alterthums. Kambyses und die Ueberlieferung des Alterthums.

By J. V. Prásek. Leipzig: Pfeiffer; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 84. Price, 6 marks.

THIS is a careful and scholarly examination of the history of Cambyses, in the light of recent Assyriological discoveries, and presents us with the results of long study and wide historical knowledge. Professor Prásek is already well known as a historian of the ancient East; his learning is great, and his critical judgment is sound. Though not an Assyriologist himself, he knows how to use and profit by the latest discoveries of cuneiform research, in so far, at all events, as they bear upon the history of the past.

His monograph upon Cambyses, though consisting of not more than 84 well-printed pages, should be read and weighed by every student of oriental history. All that is known about the Persian king is brought together in it and carefully sifted, and the references to him in Herodotus and other classical writers are critically examined. The inscriptions of Nabonidos and Cyrus, and more especially the dated contract tablets which have been found in such numbers in Babylonia, have thrown a flood of light on the chronology and history of his reign, and enabled us to check the accounts given of it by the Greek historians. Even the tombstones of the Apis-bulls, discovered by Mariette in the Serapeum, have contributed to this end.

One of the points clearly brought out by Professor Prásek is that the story of the madness of Cambyses and of his sacrilegious cruelties in Egypt is an invention, partly Egyptian, partly Greek, of an origin, which may have had its source in the tyranny of the savage Aryandes after Cambyses' death. Professor Prásek believes that the story was copied by Herodotus from Hecataeus, and reflects the hatred of the Ionians towards their Persian masters. He is thus at one with me in maintaining the unacknowledged indebtedness of Herodotus to his predecessor in Egyptian travel.

At any rate, the whole story of the murder of the Apis-bull by the Persian conqueror is unhistorical. The very bull has been discovered, which, if the story were true, would have been the victim of the king's fury, and we learn from the inscription which accompanied its mummy that it died in the usual way and was buried with the usual ceremonies at the expense of the king. The chronology, moreover, excludes the truth of the story. The bull died and was entombed during the Ethiopian campaign and while Cambyses was absent from Memphis. The campaign itself was not the failure which Greek writers depicted. On the contrary, Cam-

byses is shown by Professor Prásek to have reached Napata, the goal of the expedition, and to have thus added a portion of the Sudan to the Persian empire. As late as the days of the geographer Ptolemy there was still a "Magazine of Cambyses" near the Third Cataract.

Perhaps the most valuable part of Professor Prásek's work is his settlement of the chronology of the reign of Cambyses as well as that of the Pseudo-Smerdis. He makes it clear that the coronation of Cambyses as "king of Babylon" took place immediately after the conquest of that city by Cyrus—thus justifying the statement of Ctesias that he reigned for eighteen years; that his reign lasted from Nisan or March B.C. 529 to Ab or August B.C. 522; and that the conquest of Egypt took place between the 28th of March and the 29th of May B.C. 525. It is further made evident that the Pseudo-Smerdis reigned seventeen months instead of seven, as reported by Herodotus. This is proved by the contract tablets, and it solves all the difficulties hitherto presented by the dates in the great inscription of Darius at Behistun.

A. H. SAYCE.

Essai de Sémantique (Science des Significations).

By Michael Bréal. Paris: Hachette & Cie.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 349. Price, £7.50.

PROFESSOR BRÉAL'S "Essay" is one of the books which, to use a phrase of current journalism, are "worth reading." It should be studied not by the philologist only, but by the literary writer, the rhetorician, and the philosopher as well, while its clear and attractive style will make it interesting to every lover of books. The author is a master of his subject, and in the present volume he breaks new ground. It is the first systematic attempt to form a "science of significations," to deal with language on the psychological side as it has been dealt with on the phonetic side. The attempt, indeed, has been partially made before. Pott enumerated the various headings under which the meanings of words could be classed, and Professor Bréal himself has contributed more than one article to the same subject. But a systematic treatment of the psychology of language has hitherto been wanting; philologists have shrunk from undertaking it, and have contented themselves with indicating the lines along which it should run or with pointing out its desirability.

A study of the psychology of speech, indeed, is at least as important as a study of its physiology. After all, phonology is but the skeleton of language; the life and energy of articulate speech

consist in the sense which we put into our words. Language without meaning is a contradiction in terms ; it is the meaning of words that makes them part of human language, and distinguishes them from the meaningless sounds of the organic or inorganic world. We have succeeded in founding a science of phonetics ; it is time that we should found also a science of " semantics."

Professor Bréal divides his work into three parts. In the first he describes the intellectual laws that govern speech ; in the second, " how the sense of words is fixed " ; and in the third, " how syntax is formed." The first part is perhaps the most important ; it was at all events the most difficult to write, and at the same time the necessary foundation of all that follows. " Law," however, in semantics and " law" in phonetics do not signify the same thing. In semantics there can be no inviolable law, no law that works blindly—always in the same direction and without exceptions. Here a law represents a tendency rather than an invariable rule, a psychological and not a physiological sequence of cause and effect. It is, in short, the category under which we can group a particular set of intellectual facts.

Among the laws formulated by Professor Bréal, what he calls " the law of specialisation " ranks first. It is this which in the analytical languages has replaced the inflections of more synthetic forms of speech by special and independent words. " Of " has taken the place of the suffix *-s* in English, " more " and " most " of *-er* and *-est*. Next comes the " law of repartition." By this is meant what is sometimes known under the barbarous name of desynonymisation. Synonyms become differentiated one from another ; shades of meaning grow up between them, and those which belong to the common language of the people not unfrequently acquire a vulgar or even immoral sense. The level of culture attained by a nation sets a limit to the action of the principle of " repartition." The more highly cultivated are the speakers, the greater is the tendency to discover subtle shades of meaning in the words they use. The number of synonyms in a language is a good test of the civilisation of its speakers.

Another law formulated by Professor Bréal is that of " irradiation." The signification of a word is extended to its suffix or grammatical form, which is then detached from the word to which it properly belongs and employed in lending to other words the new sense it has acquired. Thus in Latin the " inchoative " sense of the termination *-sco* is derived from that of a few verbs like *adolesco* and *floresco*, to which it happened to be attached ; the meaning of the verbs was, as it were, read into the suffix, which thus came to be used in order to form other verbs with an " inchoative " signification.

To enumerate, however, each of the "laws" of semantics which Professor Bréal has described and illustrated would take too long a time, much more to discuss his application of them. Probably the most generally interesting part of his work will be considered the second, in which such matters are treated as the restriction and widening of the sense of terms, the metaphorical use of words, the origin of abstracts, and the causes of the multiplication of meanings. They are all subjects which appeal as much to the philosopher or the logician as to the philologist, and they are all treated with singular lucidity and wealth of illustration. The illustrations, moreover, are drawn from languages with which the educated reader is supposed to be well acquainted, from Latin and Greek, from French, English, and German. We are carried without apparent effort over the abstract reasoning of a new science, and lay down the book with a feeling of regret. Professor Bréal has led us into a new world, but it is a world which, as soon as it is opened to us, seems familiar and comprehensible.

On the side of comparative philology he still remains a faithful disciple of Bopp. He still clings to the theory of the agglutinative origin of flexion, and sees in the termination of the Latin *ama-bam* or *ama-bo* the substantive verb *fuō*. Here I cannot follow him. But the question is one of probable evidence only. The origin of most of the verbal suffixes can never be known with certainty; the materials are wanting, and the balance of probabilities will necessarily strike different minds in a different way.

A. H. SAYCE.

Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter secundum formam quae videtur Romanam.

Edidit Fridericus Blass. Lipsiae: Teubner; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 96. Price, 2 marks.

DR BLASS's theory that in the "Western Text" we have St Luke's first edition of his work, has been before the world now for more than two years, and it would be an impertinence to set forth at this time the principles which the author has attempted to justify by presenting his *Roman Recension* in concrete form. It may perhaps be doubted whether Dr Blass has been wise in his method of recommending his theory. His restoration in many points recalls the great work of his friend August Fick, to whom he dedicated his N.T. Grammar. Had Fick contented himself with merely propounding and pleading for his brilliant hypothesis that the original nucleus of the Homeric poems

was in a dialect which might be generally described as Aeolic, he would probably have convinced the majority of scholars. But he proceeded to demonstrate by experiment that "Homer" could be re-written in the theoretical dialect of theoretical ancestors of the various Aeolic tribes of centuries later; and he thus diverted criticism on to the hosts of minutiae on which neither he nor anyone else could possibly attain more than a fair degree of plausibility. In this reconstruction of the hypothetical Roman edition of *Acts*, Dr Blass has been making bricks without much straw in a rather similar fashion. Where the Bezan text diverges from the Vatican and Sinaitic, the matter is fairly simple. But where D has been assimilated to the other recension, what sure ground is there to stand on? The coincidence of *two* witnesses from the little group of authorities who more or less favour the "Roman text" may have some weight; but when Cyprian or Augustine, or the "mixed" Codex Laudianus, the palimpsest of Fleury, or the Philoxenian Syriac, presents us with a variant otherwise unknown, the "Roman" reading of the passage in question becomes little more than a conjecture. We may take half a dozen consecutive examples from a part of the book selected at random. In chaps. xii. and xiii. I notice six readings which are accepted as Roman on the single authority of a Latin MS. Three are due to the *Gigas* and three to the *Parisinus* (321), both of them dating from the thirteenth century. To the former belong the addition of καὶ ἀνέστη in xii. 7, the substitution of καὶ for ὥς δὲ before ἐτέλουν in xiii. 29, and the reading τινὰς τῶν σεβομένων τὸν θεὸν γυναῖκας εὐσχημόνας in xiii. 50; to the latter the addition of ἡ πῶς ἐξῆλθεν in xii. 18, the reading Παῦλος in xiii. 1, 2, and the substitution of τοῦτον (added by conjecture) ἀπεδοκίμασαν for κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν in xiii. 27. At first sight, it is hard to resist the impression that this high honouring of thirteenth century MSS. is a habit contracted in classical study, like the *cacoethes conjectandi*, which we cannot help feeling is too little restrained in all Blass's N.T. work. But it is certainly fair to reply that Blass is only using *Gigas* in the same way as Hort would use the cursive 61 of *Acts*, were K and B defective in any passage; while the paucity of witnesses may to some extent justify conjecture. Obviously, however, the resultant text depends too much on the editor's subjectivity to claim acceptance as anything more than a working hypothesis.

Perhaps the fairest way to show what this reconstructed "Roman text" is like will be to present its more important variants in the course of a single chapter. Taking ch. xvi. for the purpose, we may represent the deviations by italicising words which differ from the R.V.

1. *And having gone through these nations* he came to Derbe. . .

4. *And going through the cities they proclaimed to them with all boldness the Lord Jesus Christ, at the same time delivering also the commandments of the apostles.* . .

10. *Having risen up, therefore, he set forth the vision to us, and we considered that God had called us for to preach the gospel unto those who were in Macedonia.*

11. *And on the morrow setting sail.* . .

16. . . . *soothsaying through it.*

19. *But as the masters of the maid saw that they had been deprived of their gain, which they had through her.* . .

22. *And a great multitude rose up together against them, crying out.*

29. *And the jailor heard and called for lights, and . . . fell down before the feet of Paul and Silas ; (30) and brought them out, and having secured the rest came and said to them.* . .

35. *But when it was day, the praetors came together into the market-place, and remembering the earthquake which had taken place they feared, and sent the lictors, saying, Let those men go, whom thou receivedst yesterday.*

39. *And having come with many friends to the prison, they besought them to go out, saying, We knew not the things concerning you, that ye are righteous men. And when they had brought them out, they entreated them, saying, Go out from this city, lest we have them again gathering together and crying out against you.*

40. . . . *and when they had seen the brethren, they set forth what things the Lord had done unto them, and having exhorted them they departed.*

In this chapter it happens that all the variants which can be thus exhibited in English are due to D, except the trifle at the beginning of ver. 29, so that there is nothing here which Dr Blass is urging on our attention for the first time. But as practically the "Roman text" means D, just as the "Antiochian text" means \aleph B, the chapter is as fair a test as could be found. The most remarkable additions, those in verses 30 and 39 (end), are approved by Ramsay as plausibly Lucan (*Paul the Traveller*, pp. 222, 224), a view which requires us to ask why the words were dropped: in the second case, at any rate, this question is hard to answer. Blass would have us suppose that St Luke himself cut them out in his revised edition. It is clear that we have very little to guide us in choosing between these alternatives, and the third view, that these are glosses by some later reader. In the case of the other variants here noted it would be very hard to make out any great plausibility for the view that they came from St Luke's first draft. Making all possible allowance for the pre-

judice against the unfamiliar, we seem instinctively to feel that the bulk of the aberrant matter would never have suggested such a view, and that the small minority of readings which recommend themselves in any way can be more simply and naturally accounted for by other theories. But the examination of these readings in detail, and the not less necessary examination of the mass of readings in which the general sense is not affected, could not be even summarised in a short review, and without such investigations the mere statement of impressions is worthless. It is enough to say that Blass's restoration is in general probably as near the mysterious " β text" as available materials permit us to approach, so that those who pursue the fascinating problem further will find this little book an exceedingly useful basis to work on. Besides this, the skill and suggestiveness with which Blass manipulates the text in his Preface to relieve some of the notable difficulties of the book, cannot fail to interest all, and will convince many of those who are bold enough to believe that textual conjecture has a part to play in solving problems of New Testament exegesis. For scholarship, acuteness, and industry, the book is worthy of its predecessor the Commentary, and it would be superfluous to say more.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Die paulinischen Briefe im berichtigten Text mit kurzer Erläuterung zum Handgebrauch bei der Schrift-lecture.

Von Bernhard Weiss. Leipzig, 1896; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 682. M.12.50.

For those who read German this is probably the most compact and useful commentary on the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) that exists. There are less than twenty pages of preface and introduction. The remainder of the volume, which is a not very heavy octavo, is occupied with full Greek text of the fourteen Epistles and brief but pregnant commentary. Each page contains about three or four verses of Greek, with the notes on them below. The print is good, that of the text being larger than that of the notes. In the notes the Greek is very much abbreviated, and has neither accents nor breathings. In other respects, abbreviations are not excessive. One can read without constantly stopping to decipher, or (still worse) to consult a table of abbreviations in order to decipher. There is no index of any kind, and the end of the volume has in consequence an abrupt and unfinished appearance. An index to be of any great use would have had to be rather voluminous, and perhaps there was serious objection to

adding to a volume which was to be a handbook, and which had already reached 682 pages. Moreover, there is no *apparatus criticus*, or explanation of the readings adopted. All this is in another volume, which has preceded this one. There are hundreds of people who are deeply interested in critical exegesis, and who nevertheless care very little about the details of textual criticism. So that there is every practical advantage in separating the two, and allowing those who want interpretation only, and are content to have the text settled for them, to buy ready-made text with the explanation of it which they desire. But it would have done no harm to the readers, and would have been a real advantage to those who do take an interest in textual criticism, if some kind of a mark had been placed in the Greek text to indicate that the reading is discussed in the companion volume.

This companion volume has been published for some months. It is entitled *Textkritik der paulinischen Briefe*, and it forms the third part in the fourteenth volume of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*. Parts one and two have yet to appear. It naturally appeals to a comparatively small number of readers. It is the result of many years of close study of the Greek text. Dr Weiss puts the eleven uncial MSS. which contain the text in three groups, thus—KLP, DEFG, \aleph ABC. In the third and most important group, A lacks more than 150 verses of 2 Cor., B all from Heb. ix. 14 onwards, and C about two-fifths of the whole; \aleph alone is complete. Some of the statistics at which Weiss has arrived with regard to these MSS. are of special interest. The great superiority of B as a witness of the true text comes out in a very marked way. In his judgment there are eighty-five cases in which B alone gives the right reading, and seventy in which B with A and C does so. But with A alone B gives the true text ten times, and with C alone only thrice. Combined with \aleph alone B preserves the right reading thirty times; combined with D or DE alone more than twenty-five times. And these figures are immensely increased when other witnesses are added. But the errors which are common to B and D show how related the two texts are. In considering these figures it must be remembered that B contains only about four-fifths of the whole which is under consideration. If we had it as a witness for the whole of Hebrews and for the Pastoral Epistles, the figures would no doubt be still more strongly in its favour.

In the Preface to the volume before us, Dr Weiss protests against the tendency to resort to hypotheses of corruption of the text, whether intentional or accidental, wherever the text seems to present difficulty. In most cases he believes that the apparent difficulty can be explained without any such assumptions. The

fact that St Paul commonly dictated his letters, and that they were often written under the influence of strong emotion, will account for a great deal of irregularity of expression.

In the tantalisingly short introduction,—barely nineteen pages for the whole of the fourteen Epistles—we have a good deal of material put into a small compass. From the earliest times, most of the Apostolic Epistles were known and much read. As having the same authority which was assigned to the Gospels, they have been recognised since the last quarter of the second century, and thirteen were definitely ascribed to St Paul. With the exception of that to Philemon (an exception thoroughly intelligible) all thirteen were quoted as his : and Philemon is mentioned by Tertullian. That the Apostle of the Gentiles never wrote any other letters is improbable in itself, and we know from 1 Cor. v. 9 and Col. iv. 16 that at least two have been lost. There is nothing surprising in the fact that we know of no collection of the Apostle's letters earlier than that of Marcion, and that his collection did not contain the Pastoral Epistles. The necessity for marking off such a group as the Pauline Epistles would hardly arise before Marcion's time ; and, seeing that from the first the Pastoral Epistles were regarded as containing a prediction of the Gnostic heresy, Marcion's exclusion of them is very intelligible. We know from his treatment of the Gospels how arbitrary his method of selection was. In addition to the four great Epistles, which even Baur allowed to be unquestionably genuine, modern criticism places at least 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Philemon among the indisputably Pauline Epistles, while Colossians and 2 Thessalonians are supposed to contain, at any rate, a substratum that is genuine ; and here and there doubts are expressed as to whether the doubts respecting Ephesians are really well grounded. As to 2 Thessalonians, Weiss holds that the apocalyptic ideas which it exhibits are inconceivable, if placed later than the early part of the Pauline period ; and as to Colossians, that the companion letter to Philemon is a strong guarantee for the authenticity of the longer letter. Baur's rejection of this innocent private letter is now generally recognised as one of the most glaring errors of his criticism. Nor is the Pauline authorship of Ephesians really doubtful. Its relationship to Colossians is at once so close and so original, so true and so free, as to be beyond the reach of an imitator. But textual criticism renders the conclusion certain that in the first instance it was not addressed to the Church of Ephesus.

Weiss is confident that the common view respecting these three letters, viz., that they and the one to the Philippians were written during the first Roman imprisonment, is wrong. Philippians alone belongs to that crisis. The other three were written during the two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea. When the Apostle wrote to

the Philippians, he intended in case of release to go from Rome to Macedonia (Phil. i. 26, ii. 24). But when he wrote to Philemon, feeling confident of release (comp. Acts xxiv. 26), he tells him to prepare him a lodging at Colossae (Philem. 22). Yet there are essential points in which Philippians exhibits the same characteristics as the other three letters; and those who allow the genuineness of Philippians as beyond doubt must reconsider their objections to Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon.

The genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles also may be confidently maintained. No doubt they exhibit a condition of things about which there is no trace in the life of S. Paul as known to us from other sources. But there is no difficulty in believing that his life included situations such as we find in these three letters. It is quite true that apart from their contents there is no sure evidence that the Apostle was ever released from the Roman imprisonment, during which he wrote to the Philippians. But it is equally true that there is no sure evidence that he was not released. Whichever view we take we are in the region of hypothesis; and, of the two, that hypothesis is the better which is supported by the Pastoral Epistles, viz., that he was released then, but imprisoned again some years later. The other difficulties respecting these letters are in like manner balanced by still weightier objections on the other side. It is very difficult to believe that the purely personal touches, especially in Titus and 2 Timothy, are not authentic. If this is conceded, then the whole is conceded. Each of these two letters is such a connected whole in itself, and both of them are so closely connected with 1 Timothy, that if parts of either are allowed to be Pauline, then the whole group must be his. Neither view is free from difficulty; but the heavier amount of difficulty falls to those who reject the group as spurious.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is included in this commentary on the Pauline Epistles, not because Weiss believes for a moment that it was written by S. Paul, but because in the oldest MSS., which he takes as his chief guide in forming his text, the Epistle is placed among those of S. Paul, viz., after those letters which are addressed to Churches and before those which are addressed to individuals. This arrangement has stereotyped the erroneous belief, which had its origin mainly in Alexandria, and which has been a serious impediment to a right understanding of the Epistle, that it is Pauline, and is to be interpreted from the Pauline point of view. And this uncertainty about the authorship has produced or aggravated an uncertainty as to the class of persons addressed. Where within the sphere of S. Paul's activity could a community such as is addressed in this treatise be found? This question has

at last led to the irrational suggestion that the persons addressed are Gentile Christians,—a suggestion which renders all historical explanation of the writing impossible. The arguments of the writer to prove that, by the coming of Jesus as the Messianic Highpriest, and by His sacrifice for sin, the highpriesthood and sacrifices of the old covenant are done away, are of importance to those only who are still attached to this covenant and disposed to rest in it. And the terrible warnings against apostasy receive their right explanation only when they are regarded as addressed to Jewish Christians, who, for the sake of reconciliation with their unbelieving countrymen, were thinking of returning to their original creed and worship. It is this crisis which has inspired some man of prophetic insight to point out, with earnest and elaborate argument, the reasons which allow, and indeed require, the Jew to make a complete break with an obsolete past.

These are the main conclusions which are pointed out in the Introduction. It remains to give the reader some idea of what is to be found in the text and commentary. In the new and revised edition of Meyer's invaluable Commentary, the volumes on Romans, Hebrews, and the Pastoral Epistles are among those which have been in the hands of the public for some time as re-edited by Dr Weiss. His views, therefore, with regard to the exegesis of these Epistles are already well-known, and the symbol "Mey-Weiss" is becoming familiar to students. It will therefore be more interesting to take samples out of some of the other Epistles.

In *Galatians*, which he holds to be the earliest of the four great Epistles, he interprets i. 19 to mean that, excepting Cephas, all the Twelve were absent from Jerusalem at the time, and that yet James the Lord's brother, who was not one of the Twelve, must be mentioned as being along with them one of the leaders of the first body of Christians. In iii. 1 he of course omits both *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι* and *ἐν ὑμῖν*, and in v. 17, *εἰς Χριστόν*: and in iv. 25 he adopts *τὸ γὰρ Ἀγαρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστίν*. In v. 21, against NB and some other authorities, he admits *φόνου* to the list of "the works of the flesh," and believes that *φθόνου* and *φόνου* have been purposely put side by side because of the similarity of sound; but in the same verse he omits the *καί* (interpolated probably for emphasis) before *προεῖπον*. Comp. the *καί* before *αὐτοῖς*, Rom. iv. 11, and before *ἐλογίσθη*, Rom. iv. 22, which in each case is probably an insertion. Although Weiss admits that the correction of the present or aorist participle into the perfect participle, in order to suit the context, is a very common form of corruption (e.g., Gal. iii. 23; Eph. vi. 14; 1 Thes. iv. 13; &c., in certain texts), yet he prefers *οἱ περιτεμνήμενοι* to *οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι* in

Gal. vi. 13, because it fits the context so much better ; which is the obvious explanation of the change. The *στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* in vi. 17 he regards as actual scars of wounds received in the persecution which Paul encountered for the sake of Jesus Christ, and by which Jesus has branded him as His slave. They may well convince the Galatians that he is better worth listening to than the Judaizers, who have led them astray without any such proof of earnestness or of a high mission. This letter ought to suffice without his having to take further trouble. The emphatic *ἐγὼ* marks the contrast between him and the Judaizing teachers ; *ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα κ.τ.λ.*

In 1 *Corinthians* there is plenty that is of great interest. In ii. 1, *τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Θεοῦ* is preferred to *τὸ μυστήριον τ. Θ.*, and is explained the witness of God's acts for the salvation of man in Christ. In ii. 9 the *καθὼς γέγραπται* is explained as a slip of memory. What follows is a quotation from something ; but whether an exact quotation or not we cannot tell. The Apostle erroneously fancies that he is quoting Scripture.¹ We have no right to assume that an Apostle could not make such a mistake. The difficult passage, iii. 12-15, is explained almost exactly as in Ellicott. On Jesus Christ as a foundation men build some things that will endure, and others which will not. At the Day of Judgment the fire of God's wrath will show which is which. Those who have built what is of value will receive a reward. Those who have built what is worthless will lose this reward. Yet they themselves will be saved from destruction, for they have built on the right foundation. But, seeing that the Day comes upon them while they are in the act of building, it is through the conflagration (*ὡς διὰ πυρός*) of their own worthless materials that they will have to rush for safety. The words *τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ* in vii. 5 are, of course, treated as an interpolation. The evidence against them is decisive (NABCDEF, &c.). Although *ἐβαπτίσθησαν* is the prevalent form in the Pauline Epistles (Rom. vi. 3 ; 1 Cor. i. 13, 15 ; xii. 13 ; Gal. iii. 27), yet in 1 Cor. x. 2 *ἠβαπτίσαντο* (BKLP, &c.) is to be preferred. The Apostle seems to have deliberately written the middle rather than the passive form, in order to bring out the point that through trust in Moses the Israelites of themselves ventured to take the plunge into the Red Sea (Exod. xiv. 21, 31). In v. 3 the manna is called "spiritual meat," because, while it nourished their bodies it also strengthened their faith. The water from the

¹ Such mistakes might occur among ourselves. Even educated people might be found who think that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or "Cleanliness is next to godliness," is to be found in the Bible (probably in Proverbs), or in the Apocrypha.

rock is called "spiritual drink," for the same reason. The mention of it reminds St Paul of the rabbinical tradition of the rock following the Israelites. But he at once excludes the idea of a material rock, by calling it "spiritual," and taking it as representing the pre-existing Christ. Thus the grace, which the Israelites received through the strengthening of their faith by this supernatural drink, is attributed to the Redeemer of the New Covenant, and the analogy with the eucharist is made all the more striking. In xi. 10 διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους is explained of the angels present at the public services of the Church. The desire of a wife for emancipation from authority is in the Apostle's view identical with shamelessness. If she is not ashamed to deny before men her subordination to her husband, at least the thought that angels are present ought to restrain her from publicly discarding the sign of his authority. In xi. 24 Λάβετε, φάγετε and κλάμενον are rightly omitted, and in xi. 29 ἀναξίως after πίνων and τοῦ κυρίου after τὸ σῶμα, in all cases on the decisive authority of ABC and other witnesses. And v. 30 receives the reasonable interpretation that in consequence of unworthy reception of the eucharist many in the Church of Corinth had been visited with sickness and death (κοιμῶνται like κοιμηθῆ in vii. 39). In v. 24 τοῦτο ποιεῖτε is rightly explained as "Do what I have done," i.e. break bread with thanksgiving and a declaration of its meaning. The supposed sacrificial meaning of ποιεῖτε is not thought worthy of mention. In xv. 51 the reading adopted is πάντες οὐ κοιμηθισόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, where many important witnesses transpose the οὐ: but the balance is the other way. The verse is regarded as presupposing that the large majority of the generation then living will live to see the Second Advent. Comp. 1 Thessalonians iv. 15, 17. The repetition of the πάντες emphasises the fact that there is no exception to the law that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" (v. 50).

One or two specimens may be given from 2 *Corinthians*. A not uncommon feature in corruptions of the text is transposition or confusion of pronouns, especially of ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς. In 2 Cor. v. 12 B has διδόντες ἡμῖν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν instead of διδόντες ἡμῖν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. But in viii. 7 it is B with a few cursives which preserves what seems to be the true reading, τῇ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγάπη: where all other uncials have τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπη, which the Revisers adopt and translate, "in your love to us"; placing the other reading in the margin, with the translation, "in our love to you." But it is very difficult to explain either the ἐξ or the ἐν, if this translation be accepted. With the reading of B we understand "the love which

flows from us and rests in you"; i.e. the love for the poor saints at Jerusalem, with which the Apostle and his associates have inspired the Corinthians. For cases of mere substitution of *ἡμεῖς* for *ὕμεῖς* or *vice versa* (in some cases quite spoiling the sense) see vi. 11, ix. 14, x. 15; 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23; in all which passages B seems to be in error. In 2 Cor. xi. 3, Weiss regards καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος after ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος as certainly genuine and as looking back to παρθένον ἀγνήν in the preceding verse. They are not to be seduced from the loyalty which they owe towards Christ, to whom they are espoused. With regard to the σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος σατανᾶ (xii. 7), we are not to think of some grievous temptation; but rather of some chronic malady, which at times manifested itself in violent pains or distressing sickness. With this the evil one was allowed to afflict him; but solely for his good, as the double ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι shows. And although many authorities omit the second ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι, there is no doubt as to its genuineness, the motive for the omission being so clear. It is much less easy to follow Weiss, when, against all the best MSS., which are here supported by important Versions and Fathers, he retains καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας after εἰς πάντας in Rom. iii. 22. No doubt it might have been omitted by design as redundant, or by accident through homœoteleuton, but the wide diffusion of the omission cannot easily be accounted for on either hypothesis. He may easily be right, however, in declining to follow WH., when, on the authority of NCJM, they banish to the margin τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσεται ἀφθαρσίαν καί in 1 Cor. xv. 54.

These instances will perhaps suffice as specimens of the results to be found in this admirably compressed, critical, and practical commentary. The writer of it may readily be believed when he tells us that we have here the results of decades of study. And although here and there one may be disposed to hesitate as to the correctness of some of the conclusions reached, yet everywhere one feels that one is in the hands of a strong and competent guide.

A. PLUMMER.

Vocabulaire de l'Angélogologie d'après les MSS. Hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Par M. Moïse Schwab. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897.
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 4to, pp.
318. Price, F.12.

THE absolute monotheism of the Pentateuch left heaven and earth empty of all save one spiritual presence, a Presence which Itself

filled all heaven and earth. God is One, and the Universe with all that it contains is the expression of a single will.

But this spiritual atmosphere was too fine for the natural man to breathe. His eye dwelt on the external variety of Nature, instead of penetrating to its inner unity ; so he became in earlier days a polytheist, in later an angelologist.

The first step by which the monotheist expressed his sense of the variety of Nature was by dwelling on the number and varied significance of the names and epithets of God. Seventy names are reckoned in the *Othiyoth d'Rabbi Akiva*, a work perhaps of the tenth century, while Mohammed is traditionally said to have ascribed ninety-nine names or epithets to the Almighty. To personify these as good angels is an easy development, and to invent evil angels to confront the good is the natural complement of this personification.

Fancy next ran riot with the numbers of the angels. The book of Enoch says that there are tens of thousands ; the *Pirke R. Eliezer* reckons that 600,000 accompanied the Almighty at the giving of the Law ; tradition asserts that 90,000 demons were present at the Exodus. To match this vast number both of angels and demons, vast numbers of names of both were found or invented. Much depended on the name. The good angel was invoked by name, the bad was unmasked and confounded by being confronted with his own name written or pronounced.

But a difficulty arose with regard to many of the names. Some of them are compounded with the Ineffable name, and these compounds, and even other words which in some way recalled The Name, became themselves ineffable. In order to get over the difficulty ("prononcer et ne pas prononcer"), various subterfuges were employed. The letters of the true spelling were replaced by others, according to *atbash*, *albam*, or other systems. Or again the original letters were merely transposed, or again Greek or Latin names were substituted for Hebrew.

From all this it appears that the number of angel-names in Hebrew is considerable, and that a large proportion of them are difficult to read and to explain. M. Schwab, therefore, has earned the thanks of students of Hebrew and of theology by his full and well-furnished vocabulary of angel names. The vocabulary is divided between two lists ; the first fills 235 pages, and consists of Hebrew and Aramaic words ; the second, of Greek and Latin words, fills 45 pages. References are given under each word to the printed editions, or MSS., or terra-cotta vases, or all three in which the word is found ; and in the case of Hebrew and Aramaic the probable pronunciation is given in Roman letters. The probable meaning of each name is also given.

The amount of work represented by the book is very great ; a hundred and thirteen MSS. have been examined. The separate articles contain much that is interesting, *e.g.*, p. 91 (Gabriel), p. 105 (Daniel), p. 170 (Metatron). The book should prove a very valuable work of reference to all who go a little outside the beaten track of theological study.

W. E. BARNES.

Notice du MS. Bibl. Nat. Fr. 6447.

Par M. Paul Meyer. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 4to, pp. 78. Price, F.3.50.

M. MEYER's work does not concern Theology so much as it concerns the history of French literature, yet the contents of his MS. justify a short notice of his book in this Review. MS. Fr. 6447 (written about 1275 A.D.), contains, amongst other pieces, a curious prose paraphrase of the book of Genesis, which M. Meyer shows is based upon an earlier poetic version. Here is a restoration of a few lines :—

Li quars flums est diz Eufratès.
Ensi l' apela Moysès,
Mais l'Escripture ne dist pas
Ne son aler ne son trespas.

Bel me seroit se je savoie
Quel part li flueves fait sa voie.
Tant vous en di com j'ai apris
Et com tesmoigne li escriis.

(Happy should I be to know
Which way the river turns to flow ;
But I have told you all I learned,
And write the thing I have discerned.)

The two books of Maccabees are similarly paraphrased (Gorgias goes to surprise Judas, and finds him flown, 1 Macc. iv.) :—

Quant nul n'en trueve aval les plaines,
Ses vait querant par les montaignes ;
Si dist a cels kil vont sivant :
"Ieist caitif s'en vont fuiant."

M. Meyer's book is a model of careful and thorough bibliographical work.

W. E. BARNES.

Massilia-Carthago Sacrifice Tablets.*Edited by Rev. J. M. Macdonald, M.A. London, 1897.**8vo, pp. 45. Price, 3s. 6d. net.*

PERHAPS the most important document in the Phœnician language at present known is the monument found at Marseilles in 1844, of which Mr Macdonald has published an edition. The inscription deals with the division of things sacrificed between the priest and the worshipper, defining the shares of each. Thus in the case of the sacrifice of an animal, the skin with some other parts always went to the worshipper, while the priest received a larger or smaller weight of flesh, together with a larger or smaller sum of money, as the animal sacrificed was larger or smaller.

This practice varies somewhat from that of the Hebrews. Among these the priest received the "skin of the burnt offering" (Lev. vii. 8) and (in the case of the "peace-offering") the breast and right shoulder ("thigh" R.V., Lev. vii. 32-33). Moreover no payment of money was enjoined.

The chief value of the inscription, however, is linguistic. It is long enough and varied enough to illustrate many points of Phœnician orthography and grammar, and to show how many words are common to Phœnician and Hebrew. It might fitly supply material for a dissertation on the inter-relations between the two Semitic dialects.

Unfortunately Mr Macdonald does not give us such a dissertation, though he frequently in his notes compares Phœnician forms with those of Hebrew and Syriac. The contents of his book are—(1) the original text in photographic reproduction, and also in print with gaps conjecturally restored; (2) an English translation; (3) notes chiefly linguistic, but rather unscholarly.

W. E. BARNES.

**Die Sprüche Jesu die in den kanonischen Evangelien
nicht überliefert sind.**

Eine kritische Bearbeitung des von D. Alfred Resch gesammelten materials, von James Hardy Ropes. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 176. Price, M.5.50.

WHEN, some few months ago, this book was entrusted to me for review, no one could have presaged that the discovery of a solitary leaf of papyrus in an Egyptian tomb would have invested the subject of the volume with such profound and universal interest.

That there were sentences, like Acts xx. 35, ascribed to our Lord, in early Christian literature, but which are not contained in the canonical gospels, has long been recognised, and not a few collections of them have been made during the last half century by New Testament scholars. R. Hoffmann collected 30 ; Westcott about the same number ; Schaff, Plumptre, and others have given attention to the matter. But the first to treat the subject exhaustively was Dr Resch in his "*Agrapha*," published in 1889, in the *Texte und Untersuchungen*. With his perhaps unrivalled acquaintance with early church literature, he collected 74 passages which he considered to be genuine sayings of Jesus, outside the Gospels ; and 103 which he designated "*Apokrypha*," or "*Doubtful and Spurious Agrapha*," quoting the passages where each one occurs, and making very valuable comments.¹ The leap from 30 to 177 was certainly startling, and suggested criticism. It lay on the surface that very many of what Resch considers genuine *Logia*, *do not claim* to be sayings of Jesus, but are, for various reasons, *inferred* to be so. For instance, the author's favourite argument from synonyms comes into play ; as in Eph. v. 14, "*Awake, thou that sleepest,*" &c. Here, because in different authors who quote the passage, we have the variants *ἐξεγέρθητι*, *ἐγείραι* and *ἀνάστα*, this is deemed to prove the existence of a Hebrew original, and the words *διὸ λέγει* point to the Matthean Hebrew gospel. And again, because both Peter and Paul advise women to "*be submissive to their husbands*," and Peter, James, and Paul advise men to "*resist the devil*," Resch infers that a saying of Jesus must lie behind. Many non-biblical passages also are for similar reasons assigned to our Lord. Then among the "*spurious Agrapha*" there are at least a dozen which are not "*sayings*" at all, but are narratives ; and 36 are not sayings of *Jesus* but of the Apostles. It was, therefore, fitting that the vast accumulation which Dr Resch has compiled should be submitted to searching examination ; and such it has undoubtedly received in the work specially before us, at the hands of Mr J. H. Ropes, now "*Instructor*" in Harvard University, but formerly a pupil of Harnack's—indeed, the work was undertaken at the instigation of his former professor. Mr Ropes pays a very fitting tribute to Dr Resch's erudition, and rightly states that the *Agrapha* is beyond all doubt a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί*, and will long be a veritable Thesaurus for *Agrapha*-material.

His criticisms of Resch's materials fall into three categories :—

I. Passages which were never intended to be a citation of the words of Jesus, but were (1) conscious paraphrases or modifications of Christ's words, (2) quotations from a divergent text, or (3)

¹ Many references to Resch's *Agrapha* were made by Dr Sanday and myself in the *Expositor* for 1891.

quotations from some authoritative source, but without any claim to be sayings of Jesus. Illogically, as I venture to think, Ropes treats these three in one group, on the ground that they cannot easily be kept aloof. But it would have conduced much to clearness if (3) had been treated separately; and surely those passages which are merely introduced by *φησί* or *λέγει*, "it says," or by *γέγραπται*, "it is written," with nothing but inference to connect the "saying" with Christ, may be considered distinct from those which are professedly utterances of our Lord, though deviating more or less from our canonical text. For purposes of critical investigation Ropes does not distinguish between Resch's *Logia* and *Apokrypha*—indeed, some of the latter are preferred to the former—and of Resch's 177, or, with the deductions alluded to above, 130, apparent *Agrapha*, there are 67 which our author, in this his first category, rejects *in toto*. In the great majority of these instances we thoroughly agree with the criticism, yet there are some few which we are reluctant to "cut down," but would like to "spare" for further investigation; such, *e.g.*, as 2 Clem. viii. 5, "The Lord says in the Gospel, If ye have not kept the little, who will give you the great?" and Barnabas vii. 2, "They that wish to see Me, and to enjoy My kingdom, must receive Me through tribulation and suffering." This may be a recast of John xvi. 33, but it *may* be the source of Acts xiv. 22. Then we are drawn to Origen's words in his *Com. on Matt.*, "Jesus said: For the weak I became weak; for the hungry I hungered; for the thirsty I thirsted"; and to the passage, quoted by both Hermas and the *Διδαχὴ*, "Give to all, for God gives to all from His own gifts"; and there is, at any rate, something truly Christ-like in the words of the *Didascalia*, which are said to be *ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*: "Blessed are they that mourn for the perdition of unbelievers. Fast and pray for the perishing," though both Resch and Ropes consider this one to be un genuine.

II. The second list consists of those sentences which through defective memory are alleged to be sayings of Jesus, though in reality they belong to some other part of Scripture. Ropes finds eleven of these, 74 to 84, and it is remarkable there are not more. Jerome, *e.g.*, cites Ecclus. iv. 21 as from the Gospel; Origen affirms that "the good Lord" says: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath," and *Didascalia* gives as sayings of "our Lord," "Love covers a multitude of sins," and "Wrath destroys the wise." There was certainly no justifiable reason why Resch should regard these as genuine sayings of Christ; but the case of Aphraates (83), "Pray and be not weary," ought to have been placed by Ropes in his first class as a modification of Luke xviii. 1.

III. The third list consists of those which *claim* to be utterances of Christ, but their historic value has to be decided on by their

intrinsic quality, or by the source which furnishes them to us. Thus judged, Ropes decides that of Resch's apparent *Agrapha* 28 are worthless, 7 are probable and 11 are genuine. Of the 28 worthless ones, we must say, in justice to Resch, that there are only *seven* which he deemed genuine. As to these seven, our verdict is in most cases the same as Ropes'. We cannot on the authority of Epiphanius regard No. 85 as a genuine Logion, "*Sufficient* for the labourer is his hire"; nor on the supposed authority of Justin, *Apol.* i. 15, "The heavenly Father desires the repentance of the sinner rather than his punishment," since the context shows that this is rather Justin's comment on Matt. ix. 13 which immediately precedes. On the other hand, we are not so certain as Ropes as to the worthlessness of No. 88, when we find that Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, ch. 35, and *Didascalia* vi. 5, both give as the words of Jesus, *ἐσονται αἰρέσεις καὶ σχίσματα*. Is not this the basis of Paul's certainty when he says, "It is necessary that there should be *αἰρέσεις* among you?" (1 Cor. xi. 19). Nor can it be lightly decided whether 1 Cor. xi. 26, "As oft as ye eat this bread, &c.," is an addition made by Paul, or goes back, as is attested twice in the Apostolic constitutions, and also in several ancient liturgies, to a saying of Christ Himself, "... ye do show *My* death till I come."

Among the *probable* fragments, Ropes includes "He that is near Me is near the fire," attested by Origen; "The weak shall be saved by the strong," *Judicium Petri*; and the interpolation of Codex Bezae, after Luke vi. 4, as to the man working on the Sabbath. He also considers as probable three sayings which Resch classes among the *Apokrypha*. Two of these are from the Gospel of the Hebrews: "Wherein have I sinned, that I should go to be baptized?" and "He that wonders shall reign, and he that reigns shall rest"; while Ropes places more credence than Resch in the testimony of Clemens Alex. that our Lord told Salome that the kingdom should come, "when the two shall become one, and the male with the female be neither male nor female."

Of the 74 passages which Resch deems genuine there are only six which fully satisfy Ropes, No. 141-6. These are: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." "Among whom I find you, among them will I judge you" (Justin and Clem. Al.). "Ask great things and little things shall be added to you" (Clem. Al. and Orig.). "Be ye approved money-changers" (for which Logion Resch gives 69 quotations in early literature). "I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth," &c. (found parenthetically in Rev. xvi. 15); and the account of the woman taken in adultery. On the other hand, he considers as genuine FIVE sayings which Resch is doubtful about. These are: (1) The passage in the Gospel of the Hebrews which

says, according to the testimony of Jerome, that Christ reckoned as a very grave offender "him that made sad his brother's spirit." (2) "Never be joyful except when you see your brother in love," which is also in the Hebrew Gospel. (3) "Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they (the lambs) are dead" (2 Clem. v. 4). (4) "Many of thy brothers, sons of Abraham, are clad with dung, dying for hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing at all goes forth for them." So Origen: but surely this is a sermonic paraphrase of Luke xvi. 25, though alleged to have been said by Christ to the young Ruler. (5) "I will choose to myself the excellent. Excellent are those which my Father in Heaven has given me" (Eusebius.)

Mr Ropes is himself a diligent student of early Christian literature, and has added 30 apparent Logia to the list of Resch, in conjunction with Professor Harnack, who is credited with six. Eleven of these are from the New Testament, or rather from N.T. MSS.; twelve from various extra-canonical sources, and seven from the Gnostic Book *Pistis Sophia*, which, by the way, has recently been translated into English by the Theosophical Publishing Society. Of his own citations from the N.T., Ropes rejects "There is need of few things or of one" as an arbitrary alteration of Luke x. 41. He also rejects the doxology in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 13) as appropriated from the Jewish liturgy; and the words "Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt," in Text. Rec. of Mk. ix. 49, as derived from Lev. ii. 13. These we concede; but when Mr Ropes maintains that Mark xvi. 15-18 is not a genuine Logion, we demur. Though it may not have formed part of the original Gospel of Mark, we are reluctant to believe that these are not the words of Jesus, especially verses 15, 16. Our author is more kindly disposed to Luke ix. 55, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of"; and Luke xxiii. 34, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." These he considers as probably valid Logia, though he would exclude them from the Greek Text. Of the alleged sayings of Jesus in the *Pistis Sophia*, there is only one which Ropes deems even probable, viz., "He who shall impart life to one soul, and save it, shall, apart from his own light in the kingdom of light, receive another glory."

Three Logia contributed by himself, Ropes considers genuine. One is Codex D's addition to Matt. xx. 28, "Ye seek from little to grow and from the greater to be less." The second is 1 Thess. iv. 15-17, where he interprets Paul's phrase, *λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου*, to mean that we have here Christ's own words. The third we view with grave misgiving. It is a passage from the Talmud, *Aboda Zara*, 16b, 17a, where the question is raised whether one might build a privy for the High Priest from the offering of a whore, and Jesus of Nazareth is said to have decided thus: "She gathered it

from the hire of a harlot and unto the hire of a harlot shall it return (Micah i. 7) : from refuse is it come, to the place of refuse shall it go." One can but wonder why Mr Ropes, who is so stringent in his criticisms, should affix his seal to an unsavoury morsel like this.

And now we may be expected to say one word as to the light which the study of these Agrapha sheds upon the papyrus page recently discovered ; and there are one or two remarks we would like to offer. First, as to the introductory formula, which is regularly λέγει Ἰησοῦς. It is certainly noteworthy that this phrase is never once used to introduce any one of the Logia which have come before our notice, genuine or spurious. We have λέγει, λέγει ὁ κύριος, λέγει ὁ σωτήρ and ὁ Ἰησοῦς φησί, etc., but never λέγει Ἰησοῦς. Even in the New Testament this phrase occurs only in the Fourth Gospel. As the introduction to an agraphon, the name "Jesus," *standing alone*, only occurs three times, and they are all in Origen. In Clem. Rom., the *Didascalia* and the Constitutions, it is found *once* each, but in conjunction with some other name. This is slender evidence, perhaps, on which to connect the fragment with Origen ; but it may, possibly, be a straw in the stream. The fragment was found in Egypt ; Origen was an Egyptian. Origen lived A.D. 186-254 ; the extreme dates for the papyrus are A.D. 140-240. Origen was the first great student of written texts of Scripture. He was very familiar with extra-canonical New Testament literature. He cites the Gospel according to the Hebrews. He contributes to no less than 8 of the sayings of Jesus which Resch deems genuine, and to 10 which he deems doubtful. The name "Jesus" points to an early date. The present λέγει, instead of εἶπε, indicates citation from a *written* document. Is it not possible then that we have here part of a collection made by Origen from early sources?

As to fasting, the only two sayings I find are : "Fast and pray for the perishing," which *Didascalia* quotes from "the gospel" ; and an apostolic dictum given by Origen : "Blessed is he that fasts, that thereby he may feed the poor." As to Logion 3, there is quite a string of quotations given by Resch (p. 458), all of late date though, in which Jesus is said to have pointed with his finger, and said : "This is the middle of the world." The early part of Logion 5 closely resembles a passage in Ephraem Syrus : "Christ comforted those who live a solitary life, saying : 'Where there is one there am I,' lest any of the lonely ones should be sad, because He Himself is our joy, and he is with us : 'and where there two, there will I be,' because His mercy and grace overshadow us : 'and where there are three,' as we gather in the church, which is the perfect body of Christ, and His express image."

In conclusion, I wish to offer some indications that the Greek of

the new Logia is a translation from the Syriac. (1) εἰ μὴ νηστεύητε τὸν κόσμον would be in Syriac (using Hebrew characters) אֵן לֹא תַצְוֹן לְעֹלָם. The word עֹלָם ought to be rendered τῷ κόσμῳ: but since ל is so often the sign of the Accus. it might easily be rendered τὸν κόσμον. (2) "Sons of men" is essentially an Aramaic phrase not found in Greek New Testament. "Men" is always in Syriac "Sons of men." (3) In Luke xiii. 32, ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ, "I work cures," is in Syriac Pesh. אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה עֲבָרָא עֲבָרָא is the precise equivalent of ποιεῖν: and the Logion reads ποιεῖ θεραπείας. (4) οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτός is not found in any of the parallel passages in the Greek text, but Pesh. of Luke iv. 24 is לֹא יִתְּנָה וְלֹא יִתְּנָה = οὐκ ἔστιν. (5) All the Syriac versions, except the Palestinian, read "Built on a hill," in Matt. v. 14, instead of "set on a hill." (6) The agreement of Logion 5 with Ephraem.

As to whether these passages are the veritable words of Christ it will be wisest for the present to suspend judgment. They are all intrinsically valuable.

J. T. MARSHALL.

Das Kindheitsevangelium nach Lucas und Matthaëus unter Herbeiziehung der aussercanonischen Paralleltex-te.

Quellenkritisch untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 336. Price, M.6.50.

THIS section completes Dr Resch's great work. Its purpose is thoroughly well known to readers of this *Review*, and the citations now given from early apocryphal and patristic literature, parallel to Matt. i., ii., Luke i., ii., are, as in previous volumes, simply invaluable to one who studies the beginnings of our holy faith. Here again also we find that Dr Resch has theories as a "higher critic," which claim thoughtful attention, and which we will now briefly set forth. The main thesis is that there once existed, as a separate work, a primitive Hebrew *Gospel of the Infancy*, to which both Matthew and Luke were indebted, and which was also known to Paul, Justin Martyr, and the writers of the Apocalypse and the Apocryphal Gospels. Resch is quite aware that he is almost the first to maintain that the two evangelists drew from the one "source," and has his replies ready for probable objections. He accounts for the linguistic differences between Matt. i., ii. and Luke i., ii. by assuming that the evangelists both translated from the one Hebrew book. As to the utter diversity of contents, he explains this by the purpose or plan of the two men. Matthew selected from the source those incidents only which seemed to him

to be a fulfilment of Prophecy ; and attached in each case the O.T. passage. Luke had Matthew before him, and in accordance with his law of Parcimony, said nothing which had previously been said by Matthew ; while as regards the genealogy, Luke used a secondary source as he did in Luke v. 1-11. As for positive arguments, (1) Resch considers that the title in Matt. *βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ* was borrowed by him from *סֵפֶר הַיְלֻדוֹת* in the Hebrew Gospel ; (2) The Gospel as first preached and first written was silent as to the Infancy. The Matthaean Logia began as does Mark i. This rendered necessary an authoritative separate book on the Infancy. (3) There are many apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy, therefore there was probably a genuine one which served as model. (4) Many quotations in Justin are divergent from the canonical text ; so much so as to imply that he often used an extra canonical source—a Greek recension of the Hebrew Gospel—and these divergent quotations cover the ground of both our Gospels. (5) Matthew and Luke presuppose one another. The journey to Bethlehem, in Luke, presupposes the betrothal in Matt. i., as the naming in Matthew does the circumcision in Luke ; and the silence as to the visit to Egypt in Luke ii. 23 is not more remarkable than the gap between Luke ix. 17, 18. (6) The Johannean prologue is held by our author to be “a theological meditation on the Gospel of the Infancy.” He very ingeniously tries to show that its truths and its words imply a study of the Gospel in its original form. (6) Resch employs his test of synonymous variants to show that there was a Hebrew original for the whole.

There is a wide diversity as to the cogency of these arguments, but on the whole I think that Resch makes out a strong case for unity of source. That source was Semitic. It *may* have been Hebrew ; in fact there is an *à priori* probability that its “songs” were Hebrew ; but the kind of evidence furnished by Resch is, as we have often said, quite inconclusive. The method I have employed for determining that the *Logia* was Aramaic, needs for its application two parallel translations from the same source. The materials are, in the present case, not forthcoming.

We will now collect some readings from extra-canonical sources which Resch considers more true to the original Hebrew Gospel, than those found in Matthew and Luke. He considers as genuine the reading of Justin, that the “angel said to the virgin, thou shalt call His name Jesus” ; and of *Protev. Jac.* καὶ συλλήψῃ ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ. Our small Gospel of the Infancy, and not Philo, is thus the source of the Logos-doctrine of the fourth Gospel. Resch thinks ἐπίτροπος, in Justin, a more accurate description of Cyrenius than ἡγεμών in Luke ii. 2, and that in the source the re-

gistration was limited to Judea. Luke, he maintains, had in his copy כְּלִי-הָאָרֶץ which he translated "all the world" (ii. 1) instead of "all the land"—both being possible renderings. He attaches historical value to the oft-repeated statement that Jesus was born in a *cave*; that the Magi came from Arabia; and that Jesus, when hurried away from Judea, was in a *desert*. This last he deems specially important, inasmuch as he considers Rev. xii. to be a sort of apocalyptic embellishment of Herod's persecution of the infant Saviour. He has great respect for the Gospel of Thomas, and regards its account of Christ's interview with the doctors as authentic, being abbreviated, as is his wont, by Luke; and as for the Genealogical Tables he considers the genuine one—at all events that which was contained in our Hebrew source—to be that found in Codex Bezae, Syr. Cur., and a list furnished by Epiphanius. Its peculiarity is that it traces the descent backward from Jesus, as does Luke, but it traces it to David through Solomon as Matthew, and not, as Luke, through Nathan.

Dr Resch is a devout believer. For thirty-three years he has, he tells us, as a Christian pastor, proclaimed the Christmas-gospel with ever increasing joy, and hence his strictures on the theory that the story of the virgin-birth is a Grecian accretion on primitive Christianity, and his defence of the genuineness of the Songs of Mary (p. 99) and of Zacharias (p. 106) are well worthy of perusal. His remarks also on the census (119 f.), on the "star" (144), and on the genealogical register (182-202), and especially his essay on the relation of the gospel of the Infancy to the ancient Confessions (291-319), will well repay attention.

We conclude our review with growing appreciation for the erudition of the author, and hearty congratulations that he has been permitted to bring such a valuable work to its close.

J. T. MARSHALL.

Introduction à la Dogmatique.

Œuvres posthumes de P. F. Jalaguier, Professor à la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban (1834-1864). Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1897. Pp. xxiii. 673. Price, F.10.

AN "Introduction to Dogmatics" in nearly 700 pages seems to show a want of the sense of proportion. The size of this volume is, however, accounted for by observing that it might with equal appropriateness be described as a handbook of Christian Evidences. How closely it corresponds in range and purpose to the apologetic treatise may be seen from a summary of its contents:—

(1) Religion—its idea, origin and nature ; (2) Theology—its relation to religion, and its divisions ; (3) Revelation—its necessity, its difficulties, its proofs, and its relation to reason ; (4) Authenticity or Credibility of N.T. ; (5) The Christian Revelation—internal and external evidences ; (6) Inspiration of N.T. ; (7) Use and authority of the Scriptures ; (8) Principles of Theology—comparative exposition of the rule of faith. The discussion is indeed lightened by a summary treatment of the theistic proofs, and by the evasion of the heavy task of examining the anti-theistic theories ; but the review of the specifically Christian Evidences is remarkably full and searching, while the argument has the not too common merit of advancing carefully and steadily towards the capital apologetic purpose of defining and defending the source and norm of Christian truth.

Professor Jalaguier's *Introduction à la Dogmatique* possesses very considerable historical interest. By the older clergy of the Reformed Church of France it will be cherished as the chief monument of a gifted and revered teacher. From the point of view of the student of Church History, it is an important document which exhibits the doctrinal standpoint, and indicates the staple of the doctrinal teaching of the conservative Montauban theologian who, perhaps more profoundly than some more famous contemporaries, influenced the thought of the Church in a critical period of internecine controversy. But M. Decoppet, who contributes a touching and instructive preface, might well hesitate to affirm that its interest is more than historical. It requires some courage, in an age of over-production, to publish a book which has been laboriously put together, more than thirty years after the writer's death, from an accumulation of College lectures eked out by students' note-books, and which is marred by occasional lacunae and undeniable diffuse repetitions. The publication of the lectures appears even foolhardy when it is remembered that, since Professor Jalaguier laid down his pen, almost every department of theology which he touches has seen the extension of knowledge or the raising of fresh issues. The inevitable disadvantages under which the book labours are that it discourses on the history and philosophy of religion without reference to Max Müller, Herbert Spencer or Pfeiderer ; treats of prophecy in ignorance of Riehm, Kuenen and Robertson Smith ; commends Biblical Theology without mention of Weiss, and in the field of Dogmatics settles accounts with Schleiermacher rather than Ritschl. But while the comparative antiquity of the lectures must seriously detract from their value as an introduction to the ample fields which they cultivate or survey, their appearance may be confidently justified on the ground that an argument on the traditional apologetic lines is still well

entitled to a hearing, and especially in consideration of the fact that the argument is developed by Professor Jalaguier with a degree of clearness, acuteness and vigour which may excite the envy of the average apologist of German or English tongue.

The general attitude of Professor Jalaguier towards modern movements in theology is one of antagonism. To illustrate his attitude, and at the same time to bring into relief the more important positions taken in the lectures, we may refer to his views on the Philosophy of Religion, on the handling of the Christian Evidences, and on the principles of Dogmatics.

Perhaps the section which is most obviously belated is that which deals with the topics usually comprehended under the Philosophy of Religion. The discussion of the nature of religion is, indeed, satisfactory, except as regards the etymology of the term; the psychological elements are admirably distinguished, and the imperfect forms of religion are happily characterised and classified. The treatment of the origin of religion, on the other hand, in view of the wealth of newer speculation and research, is practically useless. Its primitive form is affirmed to have been a monotheism, which was derived from a primitive revelation. The fact of a primitive revelation, it is added, cannot be contested by the Christian, and has always been invoked by theology. On this it may be noted that in the interval not a few theologians who may be very confidently claimed as Christians have argued strongly against this hypothesis of the origin of religion, while in a recent remarkable book so reverent a thinker as Rauwenhoff dismissed it as the one hypothesis not now meriting serious discussion. The truth is, it is admitted by writers of different schools that the Bible does not affirm a primitive special revelation; and in general it may be said that the conditions under which, and the form in which, religion originated, may be determined in various ways without prejudicing the validity of the religious relationship, or the truth and supernatural character of the absolute religion that has emerged in the course of history. It may be added that this theory was never less required than by one holding the old view, as the writer does, of man's possession both of an intuitional and of an inferential knowledge of God—*cognitio insita et acquisita*. For he frankly admits the validity and fruitfulness of the theistic proofs, although he obviously leans most on the intuitional theory, and exhibits as data of the conscience a very complete system of Natural Theology. Since Kant there have been many theologians who offered no proof of the being of the God in whom they believed, there are others who rely for their Natural Theology on inference or on intuition and reject the alternative method, but the theologian who claims both sources as valid and supplements them by the contribution

from a primitive revelation must be regarded as an anachronism indeed.

The main significance of the "Introduction" lies in its vigorous defence of the older apologetic method which assigned cardinal importance to the external evidences in establishing the divine origin of Christianity, while internal evidences were appealed to by it as subsidiary or corroborative. By the external or historical evidences are here understood miracles, prophecy and the *præparatio evangelica*; while the chief heads of the internal or rational are the sublimity of Christian doctrine, its adaptation to the needs of human nature, the *Gesta Christi* and the weakness and inconsistency of infidelity. It is, however, well pointed out that much of the internal evidence is often so handled as to approximate to the argument from miracles—*e.g.*, when it is argued that the doctrinal and ethical content of Christianity, or the character of Christ, are inexplicable as the natural product of their antecedents and environment. The characteristic form of this branch of the evidences is that which affirms that the content of Christianity is self-evidencing to reason and conscience. And it is against the displacement of the argument from supernatural power and wisdom in favour of a mere appeal to experience that Professor Jalaguier so earnestly protests. The sound method, he contends, was that of the older school of apologetics which held that Christianity was true because proved by miracles to be of divine origin, while the method of the new school, which declares Christianity divine because immediately perceived to be true, is, when exclusively relied on, scarcely honest and certainly futile. To put it shortly, most of those who abandon the old method do not wish to demonstrate a Christianity worthy of the name, and by the new method they could not demonstrate it if they would. The real source of the disparagement of the external evidences is, he maintains, the repugnance of the age to the supernatural; and if it be pointed out that many representatives of supernatural faith have taken the same course, it is replied that we may relish the patronage of infidelity while refusing to submit to its dominion. In the second place he urges that this procedure cannot conduct us to and assure us of "true evangelical Christianity"—the heart or the conscience being incapable of vouching for the deep things of revelation; and in any case there remains the disturbing probability that the truths which have their sole proof in human experience had their sole origin in the activity of human reason, and are not immediately from God.

In these strictures on modern apologetics there is doubtless considerable force. To a certain extent the alteration of apologetic method is symptomatic of new conceptions of the nature and lead-

ing doctrines of Christianity. When Christianity is reduced to an amiable Unitarianism, a morality touched with emotion, or a popular version of some philosophical system, these constructions of it will be accepted by many minds on the single ground that they satisfy the mind and the heart, and miracles and prophecy, which are regarded as incredible, will be looked on as also fortunately unnecessary. But neither, certainly, is it the case that the new method has been adopted exclusively in the interests of an evaporated Christianity, or by those who value "the patronage" of unbelieving science. This suggestion is disposed of by a remark of Köstlin, which is at least valid for Germany, that "the theologians of the nineteenth century, widely as they differ from one another in their attitude towards the Bible and tradition, agree in basing the truth of Christianity upon the internal evidences, and in particular on the witness of experience." As regards our author's further contention as to the futility of an exclusive reliance on the witness of experience, it is possible to hold that it carries further than he allows, while admitting that he is right in protesting against its being isolated from the historical evidences. The deepest reason for keeping the faith by which most men are influenced, at least those who have any better ground for their faith than unreflecting custom, is that Christianity "finds" them. It is still less doubtful that one who has broken with Christianity will not listen to the argument from miracles, but will yet sometimes recall sorrowfully what he has lost, and find therein a reason why he should return to his Father's house. Further, it does not appear that experience is unable to witness to truths above reason once they have been revealed; our Lord's promise to them who do the will of God is in the contrary sense. At the same time it may well be felt that it is a strong support to faith to discover that the system which commends itself to us as the truth appeared historically in a supernatural setting; and it is an example of English common sense that our apologists, probably largely influenced by Mozley's powerful monograph, have generally refused to concede that miracles have lost all evidential value.

The discussions of the lectures culminate, as the title implies, in the statement, proof, and defence of the source and norm of Dogmatics—in the common phrase, the formal principle of Protestantism. The view taken is that usual in the Reformed Church—viz., that the Scriptures are the supreme and sole rule of faith and practice, and that neither tradition, nor reason, nor the Christian consciousness may be admitted to a share of the divinely-appointed authority of the Bible. Notice may be taken of an interesting section in which it is forcibly argued that the significance of the Reformation in this connection lay in the substitution of the authority of the Bible for the

authority of the Church, and not, as is often alleged, in the emancipation of the conscience from all external authority, or the assertion of the right of private judgment. The question is an extremely important one, as it involves the title of some modern schools of theology to a *locus standi* in the Protestant Church, and it is not very easily settled: for if on the one hand the Reformers unquestionably accepted the authority of the Scriptures, on the other hand it was as certainly in the exercise of private judgment that they transferred their allegiance to the Scriptures from the Church. For the writer, then, "the Bible and the Bible alone" is the Protestant rule of faith, and this authority the New Testament possesses because of the inspiration granted to the apostles and confirmed by signs, the Old Testament because for it Christ and His inspired apostles stand sponsors. It is, however, only the Scriptural teaching in regard to God and divine things which has this authoritative character; plenary inspiration is not affirmed, and it is implied that matters outside the spiritual sphere were treated under the usual limitations of the historian. And the task of Dogmatic Theology simply is to collect, expound, and defend the teachings of Scripture on spiritual concerns: against Schleiermacher its object is expressly said to be the verification, not of this or that conception of Christianity, but of Christianity itself—the construction, not of an ecclesiastical or confessional Dogmatic, but of an evangelical or biblical system.

At the present day a discussion of the rule of faith would have needed to reckon with other shades of opinion besides those dealt with by Professor Jalaguier—notably with the standpoint of those who, recognising as normative the Word of God contained in the Scriptures, regard as the Bible within the Bible, either the teaching of our Lord, or the Gospel as distinguished from the theology of the New Testament. In criticism of Professor Jalaguier's position it may be enough to remark that he does not sufficiently distinguish the task of Dogmatics from that of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament. Assuredly the work of the former has not been done even when, besides collecting, arranging, and expounding the doctrinal contents of the New Testament writings, it has been sought to prove and defend them. Dogmatics is the science of Christian dogmas, which implies that, although its highest standard doubtless is the Word of God in the Bible, its immediate commission is in the light thereof to re-edit the heritage of faith which is discoverable in a particular Church at a particular time. It has further to unify the system of Christian thought, and to work out Christian principles in relation to the complex phenomena of the Universe and of human life. Moreover, while it has one supreme, it has no single standard, for the science which professes to expound the truth

of truth is entitled and bound to make use of the light wheresoever it shall be found.

One feature of this book which merits notice is the strain of earnest piety by which it is pervaded. Overcoming the professional temptation to magnify unduly his office, the author never ceases to remind his students that religion is more than theology. It would indeed be difficult to name another book which so admirably combines with scientific thoroughness and literary skill the spirit of the man of prayer and the faithful trustee of souls. So great is the ability of the writer, as revealed in the book, and so beautiful is the character of the man as portrayed in the preface, that one parts with the subject with the regret that the lot of Professor Jalaguier fell in the period before the developments of modern theology had run their course, and thus furnished the material, if not for unanimous decisions, at least for final discussions.

W. P. PATERSON.

Das Herrenmahl, nach Ursprung und Bedeutung.

Von Rudolf Schaefer, Licentiaten der Theologie. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vii. 420. Price, M.6.

A FRESH treatise upon the origin and significance of the Lord's Supper might appear to be a work of supererogation. It is rendered desirable, however, if not necessary, by the investigations into the subject, which have recently been undertaken and the theories upon it propounded by writers eminent in the theological world, as Spitta, Harnack, Jülicher and Zahn. The article, *Abendmahl*, in the new edition of "*Herzog*" is divided into two parts, the *Schriftlehre* by Cremer, and the *Kirchenlehre* by Loofs, and both portions bear testimony to the recent revival of interest in this subject, and the need of a fresh treatment of it, if full account is to be taken of the work of the last few years. Harnack, in Bd. vii. Heft 2 of the *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1891), on certain passages in Justin, claimed to have shown that the Institution of the Lord's Supper was not originally understood to be a consecration of bread and wine as eucharistic elements, but that Christ's "blessing" was pronounced upon the whole meal, upon the act of eating and drinking; accordingly, that the elements in the Lord's Supper were "the bread" and "the cup," the latter of which need not contain wine, but might be only a cup of water. Zahn replied to Harnack's arguments in the *Theol. Literaturz.* for 1892, and in a separate treatise. Jülicher and Spitta wrote somewhat more elaborately on the subject, in 1892-93, but it is impossible in this article to state or even to

summarise their theories. It may be said in a few words that both of them substantially deny that Christ instituted the Supper as a Christian festival, Spitta denying the connection of the Eucharist with the Jewish Passover, though Jülicher holds this to be established, and Jülicher finds in the Supper simply a parting meal at which Jesus announced His approaching death, whilst Spitta gives to our Lord's words an eschatological significance. All these writers, with other recent German theologians whose names we have not mentioned, discard the idea of the reception of "the body and blood" of the Lord in the Eucharist, in the sense which is given to the phrase in the Lutheran—and, generally speaking, the Evangelical—Confessions.

The volume before us undertakes, therefore, a fresh investigation into the whole subject. After an introduction which briefly reviews the present position, the author divides his work into two parts, dealing severally with the Origin and the Signification of the Lord's Supper. Under the first of these heads he discusses the time at which it was held and the apparent discrepancy between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel; the occasion, and the measure of connection that exists between the Passover and the Eucharist; the accounts of the Institution which have come down to us, the problem raised by the differences between them and its probable solution; closing with a critical investigation of recent hypotheses, and a chapter in which he seeks to show the impossibility of accounting for the observance of the Supper from the first in the Christian Church, if Christ had not directly ordained it. The conclusion reached is, that the Master did institute this observance as a New Covenant, a counterpart, both in its outward form and its inner meaning, to the Passover of the Old Testament. In dealing with the significance of the rite, Schaefer examines minutely the meaning of the words of our Lord as found in the several accounts of the Synoptic Gospels, and of St Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. To the last topic he devotes considerable space, the subject occupying nearly one quarter of the whole treatise.

The examination which has been thus outlined is mainly scriptural, and on its own ground is patient, candid, and fairly complete. Early sources of information as to the observance of the Lord's Supper in the apostolic and sub-apostolic periods are not neglected, but the author is chiefly engaged with the evidence of Scripture, and he discusses current critical theories regarding the documents, and the interpretation of the narratives that have come down to us with a fairness which a writer who can make out so strong a case for his own view can afford to show. It is not to be supposed that a reviewer can agree to every position taken up in a work like this. For example, the conclusion of the inquiry into the date of the

crucifixion will not satisfy all. It is substantially this, that according to the Synoptists, Jesus died on the 15th Nisan, and took His last meal with His disciples on the evening of the 14th, a view not contravened in any way by St Paul, whilst St John agrees with this account in assigning the death to a Friday, but in other respects must be admitted to deviate from the Synoptic tradition. For the purposes of this inquiry, Schaefer's conclusion is probably sufficient, and it is perhaps as well that he did not burden his argument with doubtful speculations. His criticism of the "momentary-inspiration-theory" of Spitta and others, which would rob the Supper of its institutional significance, is conclusive, and his explanation of the differences between St Mark's account of the Supper—on which critics have largely relied as a basis for their speculations—and the fuller accounts of other writers, is as complete as the circumstances admit. The interpretation given of *κοινωνία* in 1 Cor. x. 16 foll. is not so satisfactory. But as regards his main object, Schaefer appears to us to have made good his position against recent criticism, in proving the definite institution of the Supper by Christ and its connection with the Jewish Passover; and he will take most of his Protestant readers with him in his protest against the "magical" interpretation of the meaning of the Eucharist, and his conclusion that faith alone can enjoy in its observance the blessing which Jesus promised, the mystical partaking of His "body and blood." The book, as a whole, furnishes an excellent example of sound modern exegesis of Scripture.

W. T. DAVISON.

1. The Books of Joel and Amos.

By *Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D.* Cambridge: University Press, 1897.
Extra Fcp. 8vo, pp. 244. Price, 3s. 6d.

2. The First Book of Maccabees.

By *W. Fairweather, M.A., and J. Sutherland Black, LL.D.* Cambridge: University Press, 1897. Extra Fcp. 8vo, pp. 271.
Price, 3s. 6d.

3. The Myths of Israel.

The Ancient Book of Genesis, with analysis and explanation of its Composition. By *Amos Kidder Fiske.* New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. and 355. Price, 6s.

1. DR DRIVER's Commentary on *Joel and Amos* is not only a valuable addition to the *Cambridge Bible* series, but will henceforward be

reckoned amongst the most notable contributions to the Literature of the Twelve Prophets. Like everything that comes from his pen, this little work is marked by that severe accuracy in the minutest details which we have learned to expect from this author. Not only linguistic knowledge and exegetical skill, but archæological and scientific research mark the pages of this text-book. It may safely be predicted that the elaborate excursus on "Locusts" will in future be a favourite mine for commentators on Joel to quarry from.

The date of Joel, as is well known, has in the past seriously divided critics, having been fixed at periods hundreds of years apart from each other. There are tokens, however, that the reproach of this uncertainty is about to be taken away, and we have little doubt that ere long a post-exilic date will be generally accepted. After the closest examination of the data, Dr Driver assigns the book to the early post-exilic period, c. 500 B.C. We are glad to find him also accepting the locusts as actual and not allegorical. In this connection he deals very satisfactorily with the "northerner," an expression which we have long felt does not deserve the importance it has been customary to attach to it.

In the part of his work dealing with Amos, Dr Driver's characteristic candour and caution find excellent illustration, when he discusses those passages which many modern scholars regard as later interpolations. Upon the whole he fails to discover sufficient grounds for denying their authenticity.

This commentary, with its Illustrations and Additional Notes, as well as its carefully prepared Index (including a very useful list of Hebrew words commented on or explained), is the very ideal of what such a work should be.

2. Considering that it is a "source" of extreme value for our knowledge of a certain period of Jewish history, the First Book of Maccabees has not hitherto received in this country the attention due to it. In some quarters, indeed, the whole Apocrypha was until lately practically a sealed book. It is therefore gratifying to have a commentary on First Maccabees included in such a reliable series as the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*. Mr Fairweather and Dr Black have accomplished their task well, and the publication of this volume should dissipate not a few misunderstandings, and dispel a good deal of ignorance. Very wisely, we think, the text of the Revised Version (published two years ago) has been adopted. The volume opens with a very careful historical examination of the words "Apocrypha" and "Apocryphal," which have so often altered their meaning. Attention is rightly concentrated upon the technical sense which, since the Reformation, the word "Apocrypha" has borne (differing here from the usage of the Greek and Roman

Churches), as applied to the *deutero-canonical* works, which had a place in the Greek and Latin Bibles, but not in the Hebrew Canon. The name *Maccabaeus* is admitted to be of uncertain origin, but, upon the whole, the authors are inclined to interpret it as = "the hammerer," from *makkābāh* = hammer. A succinct sketch of the Maccabæan struggle is followed by a discussion of the Authorship, Sources, Original Language, and Unity of the book. On some of these points a good deal of diversity of opinion still prevails, and the materials for arriving at an independent judgment, or, at least, for further study, are placed at the disposal of readers. The book is prefaced by a useful map and enriched with valuable illustrations. The commentary proper leaves nothing to be desired. The printing is marvellously correct; we have noted only one slip, *Bandissin*, on page 197.

3. This book has undoubted merits, but it has also serious defects. Its author has the gift of clear exposition, his style is bright and flowing, and his aim is praiseworthy, "to set forth for the common understanding the view of the Old Testament which modern knowledge justifies." But Mr Fiske strikes one as hardly adequately furnished for his self-imposed task. Neither in knowledge of the literary analysis of the Hexateuch nor in acquaintance with recent archæological discoveries does he appear to be up to date. Genesis he partitions between *two* authors, whom he calls by the misleading titles, the Jehovist and the Elohist. By the first he apparently means J (of E, so far as appears, he has never heard), whom, contrary to all probability, he assigns to the northern kingdom, further throwing out the "fascinating conjecture" that this writer may have been identical with the personality veiled behind the names of Elijah and Elisha. In dealing with the narratives of Genesis, our author's method is very drastic. We are not of those who pin their faith to Sayce or Hommel, and would rescue the literal historicity of these stories at all costs, but we must protest against the reduction of *everything* to myth. This work will not have been written in vain if it leads to the study of works (*e.g.*, those of Ryle and Driver) which supply its defects.

J. A. SELBIE.

Twelve Indian Statesmen.

By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. London: John Murray, 1897.
8vo, pp. 324. Price, 10s. 6d.

THIS book has come as a surprise to readers. We all knew that great men had been among us; our empire-building, especially on the continent of India, could not have been done without expendi-

ture both of genius and energy. But we did not all know, or many of us had forgot, how much of that shaping and moulding energy has been distinctively Christian. This book has revealed it, in the biographies of twelve men who "subdued kingdoms and wrought righteousness" in India. One of these twelve, Sir Herbert Edwardes, wrote the life of another, Sir Henry Lawrence, and prefixed to it a Dedication, which Dr George Smith has borrowed, as expressing his own purpose in this volume :—

"To all my countrymen who care for India, and especially to the young whose lot is to be cast there :

"To show how possible and good it is to unite the statesman with the soldier, the philanthropist with the patriot, and the Christian with all, in the government of a subject race."

Not many books are successful, and even of those which succeed few attain their intended and proclaimed object. But we really think that the present volume has done this. It would have attained it, had it only contained the sketches of the first three : Charles Grant, "the first and greatest of Indian philanthropists," and the two Lawrence brothers. All these were men of the most pronounced personal piety and Christian belief ; and the fact that modern India is so largely their monument makes one look back with deeper respect to the early evangelicalism of this century, as well as, with a somewhat anxious hope, to the larger and laxer faith of the present. But it is well that the volume does not stop with them. All the others are interesting—Outram, M'Leod, Durand, Mackenzie, Edwardes, Marshman, Maine, Ramsay, and Aitchison ; and of the whole twelve, Dr Smith says, "Except the first, I had the good fortune to know them all, and to count some of them as intimate friends." They did not all agree in opinion : the two Lawrences, for example, were divided by "the conflicting policies of the two Afghan and two Sikh wars of the last half-century, which have resulted in the Russo-Afghan peace, and the present subjugation of the independent tribes of the frontier"—policies even which, to judge from recent vacillations, may still to some extent divide men. Dr Smith has his own opinion on these matters. But such dividing questions do not bulk in the book : the moral and religious interest of the imperial story is undoubtedly what arrests us as we open it, and what predominates till the close.

We are glad to learn, too, that our distinguished countryman is not to be content with these rough cameos (for with all their excellencies they are undoubtedly rough and careless in their execution). He has it in prospect "to review historically the acts of the whole series of Governor-Generals," from Lord Dalhousie to the present Lord Elgin. And in this larger enterprise he hopes incidentally "to do justice to other workers with whom I have been

associated"—some dead, such as Sir Henry Yule and Sir Henry Daly, Sir George Campbell and Sir Bartle Frere, Dr John Muir and Sir William Mackinnon; and some living, such as "the other great Field-Marshal" who is not Lord Roberts, Sir Donald Stewart, Mr Meredith Townsend, Dr William Miller, Sir William Muir, Sir Henry Norman, Sir Richard and Sir John Strachey, and others. We congratulate Dr Smith and his readers on the prospect of so large a canvass, which (without losing the attractive personal and biographical element) will justify him in the use throughout of the bigger brush and the stronger sweep of arm.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

Ethics: An Investigation of the Facts and Laws of the Moral Life.

By William Wundt, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leipzig. Vol. I.: The Facts of the Moral Life, translated by Julia Gulliver, Professor of Philosophy in Rockford College, and Edward Bradford Titchener, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. 8vo, pp. xii. 339. Price, 7s. 6d. Vol. II.: Ethical Systems, translated by Margaret Floy Washburn, Professor of Psychology and Ethics in Wells College. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. vii. 196. Price, 6s.

Introduction to Philosophy. A Handbook for Students of Psychology, Logic, Ethics, Æsthetics and General Philosophy.

By Oswald Külpe, Professor of Philosophy and Æsthetics in the University of Würzburg. Translated from the German by W. R. Pillsbury, Instructor of Psychology in the Cornell University, and E. B. Titchener, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. x. 256. Price, 6s.

Two Lectures on Theism, delivered on the Occasion of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Princeton University.

By Andrew Seth, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 2s. 6d.

The Herbartian Psychology applied to Education, being a series of Essays applying the Psychology of Johann Friedrich Herbart.

By John Adams, M.A., B.Sc., Fellow of the College of Preceptors, President of the Educational Institute of Scotland, 1896-7, Rector of the Free Church Training College, Aberdeen. London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. 284. Price, 2s. 6d.

THE translation of Wundt's *Ethics* confers a great boon on English students of philosophy. There is no book in our language which covers the same ground, or is constructed on a similar plan. The system of *Ethics*, when the whole of it is translated, will extend to three volumes, and of these the translation of the first two now lies before us. The first volume deals with the facts of the moral life, and the second is a compact historical sketch and brief criticism of ethical systems. This work is done to prepare the way for his own constructive system, the translation of which will, no doubt, speedily follow. As to the system of Wundt, its merits or defects, we shall say nothing at present, reserving criticism until the translation appears. We shall speak shortly on the two volumes already in English.

We have read them with delight, and with much interest. The translation is done in a most scholarly fashion, with a due regard no less to the meaning of the author than to the demands of the English tongue. It is really rendered into English which is both graceful and idiomatic.

The treatise is worthy of an adequate rendering, for it is one of the most valuable and instructive on its subject it has been our fortune to read. Professor Wundt has set himself in a thorough way to ascertain the facts of the moral life. A brief introduction deals with *Ethics* as the science of norms, sets forth the methods of ethics, and describes the problems of ethics. Then he proceeds to find the facts of the moral life. He believes that these may be found by an examination of these workings of the human mind which are objectively manifested in language, in religion, in custom and in civilisation generally. While he does not neglect the introspective method, he does not lay stress on it. Indeed it is only in an occasional manner that he casts a glance into the mind of the individual. But his investigation into language, religion, custom, and into the conditions of moral evolution in civilisation and in savagery, with a view to ascertain the facts of the moral life, is most instructive, as well as original. It is a useful work, exceedingly well done. It is a field of inquiry that has been

wrought by comparatively few, and as it is a very fruitful field, we may expect that the labourers will increase. The first chapter interrogates language with a view to ascertain what light it may cast on the general idea of morality, and on the development of special ethical ideas. The second chapter inquires into the contribution which religion has made to morality, and it dwells on such subjects as myth and religion, the Gods as moral ideals, and on religion and the moral order of the world. We wish that we had space to dwell on some of the sections of this chapter, and to indicate the fine, clear and scientific result of his investigation into the religious history of mankind in its bearing on the nature and growth of morality. As much might be said on the third chapter on custom and the moral life. It must be remembered that he writes on these things not for their own sake, but for the light they cast on the facts of the moral life. Yet the case is so lucidly dealt with, and so clearly set forth, that we have really a history of religion and a history of custom of a very valuable sort. While he tells us what custom is, and how it grew, he is also telling us of the ethical significance of this custom and of that. Thus we learn of the ethical significance of the forms of social intercourse, of the feelings of sympathy and filial affection, and of the legal system. Perhaps the quickest way of letting the reader know the results of the whole investigation is to quote:—"Wherever we can trace the development of moral conceptions with sufficient fulness, we find that it falls into three stages. Each of these has its own distinguishing marks, mainly determined by the relations in which the various parallel part-developments stand to one another at any given time. In its first beginnings the moral life is very much the same the world over: the growth of the social impulses, overrun as they are by the selfishness of barbarism, is greatly confined: and consequently certain external advantages that are useful to their possessor and to his associates are held in chief esteem as virtues. The first stage in which there is an almost total lack of moral incentive is transcended for the most part under the interactions of religious feelings with the social impulses. Morality thus enters on its second stage, in which the differences in religious and social conditions are paralleled by a growing differentiation of views of life. We may therefore term it the age of the differentiation of moral ideas. The third stage is introduced by yet another change in religious conceptions, and characterised by the gradual growth of philosophical influence. Religion and philosophy continue to further that humanistic tendency in the moral life whose preponderance always marks the maturity of the moral consciousness: so that under this influence the differences of national standpoint are effaced again. This law

of the three stages, or of the successive differentiation and unification of moral ideas is as fully attested by the change in the meaning of words as it is by the history of religious civilisation."

If the method of Professor Wundt has not enabled him to ascertain all the facts of the moral life, it certainly has enabled him to find many of them, to classify them, and to regard them in their history and development, but criticism we reserve till his system is before us, then we shall be able to look at his preliminary studies in the light of his completed work.

He passes on to a history of ethical systems, and here his work might be fitly compared with the similar work of Professor Sidgwick. Here, too, he applies the idea of development, and strives to trace the history of ethical systems as an evolution. The general title of the second volume is, "the development of moral theories of the universe." It is a difficult task, for a history of the development of ethical system is bound to be exhaustive and complete. As a matter of fact, the history is limited to the line of Western thought on ethics, and any contribution from India or ancient Persia is quite ignored. He begins with Greek ethics, then passes to Christian ethics, and then gives a full history of modern ethics. Indeed, it would seem to be taken for granted that there has been no ethical development outside of these Western lands. There are, however, traces of the influence of Eastern thought on the life and thought of Europe, and some recognition of this fact might have found a place in a volume which professes to trace the development of moral theories of the universe. The influence of Persia on European theories can be traced, and we have evidence of the influence of India in many ways, even so recently as the case of Schopenhauer.

Still what we get is of supreme worth. The sketch of Greek ethics is luminous, and the development of Greek thought in this sphere of thought is adequately and firmly traced. The transition from ancient ethics to Christian is set forth in an instructive, if in a somewhat partial manner. In the description of Christian ethics a comparatively large space is given to Augustine and the Pelagian controversy, which had so decisive an influence on later Christian thought and life. Scholastic ethics is well treated, and the description of the fall of scholasticism is most graphic. There is a good sketch of the ethics of the reformation. His strength is chiefly put forth in his description and criticism of modern ethical systems. Full justice is done to the ethical systems, which had their rise in our country. Bacon and Hobbes, Locke, Shaftesbury, the English Deists, and Hume duly appear, for the Germans are familiar with these; for they flourished before Germany had arrived at the consciousness of her destiny, and before she had made much of a con-

tribution to ethics or philosophy. The absence of Butler's name from the list of British moralists gives rise to many reflections, which we have not space to express. From England he passes to France, and gives us a lucid description of the ethics of French Materialism. The metaphysical ethics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, associated with the names of Spinoza, Leibnitz, Descartes, Wolff, and the German Enlightenment being dealt with, he passes to the ethics of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and thence to the realistic ethics of Herbart, and to the various naturalistic theories of ethics current in England and Germany, and finally to utilitarian ethics as affected by the influence of evolution.

The final chapter of the volume deals with the classification of ethical systems. We can only give the general scheme, which is this, Authoritative ethical systems, Eudaimonistic systems, and Evolutionary ethical systems. It will be readily seen that this is a great and noteworthy contribution to the literature of ethics. We look forward with eagerness to the reading of Wundt's own contribution to this great subject.

The Introduction to Philosophy by Professor Külpe is the very book which a student needs, in order to give him a general notion of philosophy as a whole, and of the particular philosophical sciences, before he begins a special study of one of them. The only Introduction to philosophy which we know as a book likely to be useful to the student, is the one written by Professor Ladd of Yale, and it is too awful to be put into the hand of a student. Professor Ladd is a voluminous writer, who has written many books on philosophy, and these books contain many good things, but they are too long, and are badly expressed, and are hard to be understood. The book before us is brief, it is also clear in style, lucid in thought, artistically divided, and the arrangement of topics leaves nothing to be desired. It is the book we should place in the hands of a beginner in philosophy, it is a book to put into the hands of a specialist in one of the departments of philosophy, to remind him of the height, depth, length, and breadth of philosophy; and the veteran student can learn something from its masterly pages. We know the philosophical views of Professor Külpe from his other works, but this book is written not to set forth his own views, but to give us an objective knowledge of the general idea of philosophy, and of the problems set to the particular philosophical disciplines. It is splendidly done, calmly and objectively he sets forth the views of those with whom he has to deal, and strives to do so without bias. He has not allowed a difference of view to bias his statement, and on the whole he has succeeded in treating with uniform interest and impartiality ancient and modern systems of philosophy, those

he approves of and also those from whose teaching he dissents. It is impossible to criticise a book like this which travels over the whole sphere of philosophy, deals succinctly with all the problems of its special disciplines, and leaves no philosophical problem untouched. We can only say that the spirit and ability of the book are excellent.

The lectures delivered by Professor Seth at Princeton, on a memorable occasion, are now published, and are worthy of the man and of the occasion. They form a great contribution to the history and to the solution of the theistic problem. The gift of exposition of Professor Seth is as remarkable as his speculative power and his wide knowledge. He is a metaphysician and a poet, and he always makes us acquainted with the concrete implications of any matter he discusses. In these lectures the theistic question is not lost sight of in abstract discussions nor drowned in verbal argumentation. He begins with a reference to deism, pantheism, theism—old friends whose garbs have been worn threadbare by frequent discussion, and in his hands they become fresh, vigorous and vital. We see them in their historical setting as they appeared in English, German and French thought in the eighteenth century, and their nature and interrelations are vividly and truly described. They prepare the way for the great names of Kant and Hegel, and the value of their contributions to the theistic argument are set forth with that lucid ability characteristic of the author. He acknowledges freely the great value of their work, no less freely he points out their defects and their shortcomings, and this part of his work will command the gratitude of all who know. Hegelianism attracts a large share of his attention, and Bradley's book on "Appearance and Reality" finally is dealt with in some remarkable paragraphs. Many books on Theism have appeared in recent years, but these two lectures are as valuable a contribution to the literature of Theism as any of them. We wish Professor Seth would give us a treatise on the subject.

Mr Adams is recognised to be one of our foremost educationalists, and the honours of his profession have been showered on him. Trained at our normal colleges and at our universities, master of all that they could teach him, he has continued to work and to study, and has ever striven to use all that science and philosophy can give him in the service of education. He is an enthusiastic teacher, and all his resources are ready to his hand. From this book we can see that he has studied psychology in many schools, and is acquainted with the method and results of them all. While he has studied psychological schools for their own sake, we can see how the

enthusiastic teacher soon began to study them with a view to education. Can psychology help me to train the young mind? This was the question he ever asked himself, and the answer is in this wise, witty, and deeply interesting book. We are rather sorry that Mr Adams has weighted himself with the burden of an exposition of Herbart's psychology. It distracts the attention of the reader from the main object of the treatise, and is apt to discourage teachers from the attempt to master a book, the perusal of which would be to their lasting benefit. It is a pity, too, for what Mr Adams owes to Herbart might have been found in other psychologists, in fact it may now be regarded as common property, though due largely to Herbart in the first instance. The part of Herbart which Mr Adams uses is associated in the minds of those who know the history of psychology with the part that Mr Adams discards, and they might, if they did not read Mr Adams' book, think that Mr Adams is an atomist. This would be a great mistake, as Mr Adams is too well informed to accept the whole teaching of Herbart. We imagine that he, in the search for help in teaching, found that Herbart presented many psychological facts and principles in such a way as to be directly helpful to the teacher, and gratitude led Mr Adams to place his own contribution to the science and art of teaching under the name of the man to whom he felt indebted. It was generous and chivalrous on his part, but he will have to pay a price for it.

The book is brilliant and suggestive, the first chapter is an attempt to show the teacher how he may come to know his pupil, and a bright and helpful chapter it is. The second is a review of Psychologies, not in themselves, but in their bearing on education. Then there is the exposition of the Herbartian psychology, a piece of work thoroughly well done. Then we have a humorous examination of the theory of initial equality. "The conclusion of the whole matter is," says Mr Adams, "that we do not know whether all souls are equal at birth, and that after all it does not matter, for by the time the pupil makes his appearance in school his soul is different from the other souls in his class." The chapters we should single out for special commendation are those on "the meaning of observation" and "the doctrine of interest." We do not mean that the chapters we have not named are devoid of interest, or that they are less able than the rest. We mean that these illustrate the power of the author to excite interest and to quicken the intelligence of the reader. They are valuable, not only for their educative function, they are also fine examples of literary criticism. We hope that Mr Adams will continue this kind of work. It is fitted to be eminently useful, and not many men are qualified to do it.

JAMES IVERACH.

**Philosophy of Knowledge : An Inquiry into the Nature,
Limits, and Validity of Human Cognitive Faculty.**

By *George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Longmans, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 614. Price, \$4; 18s.

THE problem of knowledge is, in some respects, one of the most fundamental and profound that can engage the mind of man. In it the spirit of man turns upon itself to ask, with severe and earnest air, in respect of Reality—What canst thou know? It is that inquiry which, of all others, comes nearest to what may be styled “presuppositionless.” In it the mind is not content with the uncritical attitude of the scientific realist any more than it is with that of “the man in the street.” It demands an inquiry into human cognition alike on the psychological and the ontological sides. It maintains, as its indefeasible right, that it *does* know truth or reality, but it is yet eager to subject the principles of all such cognition to the severest and most protracted scrutiny. So may it come to know *what* is really known in the process of knowledge, for its knowing will carry it beyond knowledge itself to reality. This it will do in virtue of the objectivity, or at least trans-subjectivity, which is of the very nature of knowledge. The cognitive subject cannot fail to recognise that that of which he has knowledge exists without him, and cannot possibly be one with his own mental state. He who would essay to solve the epistemological problem cannot begin—if he would improve upon Kant—with a too complete and severe psychological analysis, however true it be that mere psychology cannot carry him to his destined end or goal. The problem of knowledge has been a fruitful branch of inquiry since Kant's time. Hence the numerous works in Germany on *Erkenntnisstheorie*, or *Erkenntnislehre*, or *Wissenschaftslehre*, or such like subjects, among which might be instanced the writings of Zeller, Stählin, Volkelt, Uphues, Paulsen, Riehl, Volkmann, von Volkmar, Hartmann, Caspari, Busse, Kaulich, Stumpf, Schuppe, Thiele, and others whose names are not written in the minds of philosophical students in this country. Passing strange seems, therefore, the remarkable dearth of investigations in English upon the subject. Though Professor Henry Jones a few years ago commended Hegel as having no epistemology and needing none, it was very properly pointed out by Professor Andrew Seth that there never was a time when such really dogmatic procedure, in respect of the possibility and validity of knowledge, was so little in order as amid the confusions of the present. Though we may never be able to find a vantage ground outside of thought or knowledge whence we may pass judgment

upon it, we may surely reduce to true and full significance these mind principles, and inquire what real validity attaches to representations of reality found within our consciousness. It is, as far as possible from an idle or superfluous task to make explicit our warrant for assuming the valid character of our knowledge. Professor Ladd had already, in his "Introduction to Philosophy," evidenced his keen interest in the problem of knowledge. But it was reserved for the present work to make that a separate subject of investigation. It may very well claim to be "a pioneer work." It is the most complete and satisfying work on the subject in the language. He has "striven constantly to make epistemology vital," and when it is said that, in spite of its abstract and academic interest, he has wondrously succeeded, the praise is not small. Every difficulty may not have been resolved, nor every sceptical uprising quelled, but this, from the nature of the case, could hardly be expected, however competent the handling might be. Professor Ladd has none of Lotze's indifference to discussion of theories of cognition, but has pursued his self-imposed task with a patience and enthusiasm that are worthy of all praise. In his strivings after clearness he even runs risk of being charged as prolix. So comprehensive is the treatment that the directness and force of the argument might for some be at first hardly quite apparent. Through many vicissitudes is knowledge traced by our author—in its kinds, degrees, and limits—until it appears at length in presence of the Absolute, where "knowledge is indeed relative," but where "it is itself the establishment of a relation between the Revealer, the Absolute Self, and the self to whom the revelation comes." This conclusion of the whole matter is due, Professor Ladd contends, to man's kinship with Reality, such kinship coming into view as a presupposition that had been really present during the whole epistemological inquiry, however critical and "presuppositionless" that inquiry in its attempted mode might be. A somewhat refreshing unconventionality marks our author's style and illustrations, and he seems to be of those of us who think it hardly possible to do much for the world's thought to-day and yet remain absolute purists. In the opening chapter the problem is very well stated, and the history of opinion is suggestively dealt with in the two chapters that follow. Then follows the psychological view, whereby the study of cognitive faculty, or its critical analysis, yields the sufficient answer to scepticism and agnosticism. "The denial," says Professor Ladd, "of the full import of the primary acts of cognition is the denial of the possibility of knowledge of any kind; it is the abandonment of all attempt at a critical epistemology." And

"the facts of consciousness are not themselves intelligible without the assumption of an extra-mental reality on which consciousness is dependent." It is this, in fact, which stimulates in us that impulse to know which the Germans fitly style *Wissenstrieb* or *Wissensdrang*. Knowledge and thinking, knowledge as feeling, knowledge as will, knowledge of things, and knowledge of self, are among the subjects that next receive attention. These are very necessary, since knowledge—apart from feeling and volition—cannot be expressive of the whole of reality, and since neither the complete identity nor the total separation of thing and self is admissible. We should have esteemed still more highly Professor Ladd's philosophical services here if he had not treated the knowledge of self and the knowledge of things in quite so separate a fashion, but had dealt more with such matters as to whether there is any knowledge of the self which is not a knowledge of the world, and as to the significance our knowledge of the world carries for our knowledge of the self. From consideration of identity and difference, and sufficient reason, we onward pass to experience and the transcendent, a theme of more than ordinary moment. Of "Experience" our author says that, however extensive we may make the meaning of the word, "critical examination shows that experience is always and necessarily transcended by cognition." For, "if man did not transcend his own experience, he could, as a man, have no *cognitive* experience." With great clearness he brings out the need, to the concept of experience itself, alike of the immanent and the transcendent, the subjective and the trans-subjective. "In cognition always, as soon as we inquire critically into its grounds and its significance, we see the mind leaping beyond its present limits into the real world that is unseen and unrecognised by any present act of consciousness." So we easily come to consider the ontological implicates of our knowledge, when the trans-subjective—the transcendent Real—is insisted upon as implicate in all cognition. The categories, ontologically regarded, become, in the view of our author, forms of being, because implicate in self-consciousness. Really existent being, as man knows it, has for its implicates powers of intellect, feeling, and will, for these all are "implicates of that life of cognition which the Self knows itself to have." The alleged "antinomies" are disposed of as by one who stoutly believes that these antinomies are solved with every act of knowledge. In this connection we have some tolerably candid criticism of Bradley's "Appearance and Reality" in its ontological bearings. The teleological character of all perceptive cognition is carefully set forth, our author being fully alive to the fact that cognition is only part of that life in us which is moving towards those ideals that ever lie

beyond us. Already we have said sufficient to show the excellent character of the work, and we are too grateful for "pioneer work" in this or any like department to take pleasure in serious fault-finding, or to do other, in fact, than bid it cordial welcome.

JAMES LINDSAY.

Mose B. Samuel Hakkohen Ibn Chiquitilla, nebst den Fragmenten seiner Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibelexege und der hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft im Mittelalter.

Von Dr Samuel Poznanski. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8vo, pp. viii. 200. Price, M.7.

In the eleventh century Cordova was the first city of Spain. It was a city of temples. At the close of the tenth century, if Prescott's census is trustworthy, it contained six hundred places of worship.¹ Among these, it is unnecessary to say, the famous Mosque occupied a place quite unique. To the faithful in Europe Cordova filled the place of Mecca to their co-religionists in the East; and the Mosque of the Caliphs in Spain (with the doubtful exception of that of Omar in Jerusalem) was regarded as the second of the sacred edifices of Islam.

To the Caliphs of the West religion was not a superstition. During the prosperous period of the Omiades, the men of learning and literary ability who were attracted to Cordova brought much greater distinction to the capital than its hundreds of churches. Among the learned Jews who did honour to the fair city on the Guadalquivir was Ibn Chiquitilla. He was a native of Cordova, and, notwithstanding a bodily infirmity, he appears to have won a foremost place among his contemporaries as a Biblical exegete, a grammarian, a preacher, and a poet. Such, at least, is the testimony of Moses Ibn Ezra (as quoted by Dr Poznanski, p. 10), and, in point of time, he was near enough to Ibn Chiquitilla to be likely to know. If Graetz may be trusted Ibn Chiquitilla was a disciple of Abulwalid,² the date of whose birth was probably about the close of the tenth century. By that time the prosperity of the Moorish dynasty was beginning to wane. Early in the eleventh century the Jews in Cordova were exposed to troubles of various kinds, and not a few of their distinguished men left the city. Among these was Abulwalid, who went to Saragossa. By and bye

¹ Ferd. and Isab. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., p. 186.

² Gesch. d. Juden, Bd. vi., 1 Aufg., pp. 82, 3.

Ibn Chiquitilla followed him to that city, and, if Graetz's statement is correct, it is possible that the desire to be near his old master drew him to the capital of Aragon. The information which has reached us goes to show that, after a time, he left Saragossa and anticipated Ibn Ezra, who has preserved to us so many fragments of his writings, in travelling from place to place, probably using his special gifts as a preacher as opportunity offered. (Dr Poznanski throws out the hint that rationalistic views possibly rendered it difficult for him to reside for any length of time in one place. That he was in advance of his time in his theological and other opinions may be safely inferred from the fragments of his works which have been preserved to us. But the information necessary to construct anything like a reliable biography is wanting. We are left to conjecture.)

It is a matter of deep regret that the most interesting and important works of Ibn Chiquitilla have been lost. His translation of Chayyug's Hebrew Grammar has been preserved, but his exegetical works, which would have been highly prized in these days, have reached us in a comparatively small number of fragments, most of which are translations. The thanks of Old Testament students are due to Dr Poznanski for collecting these fragments and giving them to the world as they are presented in the volume before us. The conclusion at which Dr Poznanski arrives regarding Ibn Chiquitilla as an exegete will probably be regarded, in most quarters, as reasonable, when regard is had to the scanty materials available for his estimate.

It has been observed that recent critical views on O.T. questions may largely be found in the literary works of Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages. And these fragments from the pen of Ibn Ch. *pro tanto* support the correctness of the observation. To speak generally, his opinions appear to have been characterised by a freshness of view and a freedom from prejudice remarkable for the times to which he belonged. This will probably be conceded, when regard is had to his critical opinions on some O.T. questions which, in our day, have been subjects of keen discussion. The second part of Isaiah he appears to have assigned to the exilic or post-exilic period. The opening words of chap. xl. are applied to the Jews of the second temple (על בית שני). But as the *servant* of chap. lii. 13 ffg. is Hezekiah, the unity of chs. xl.-lxvi. would have to be given up. This is one of the points on which we crave information, and the fragments which have reached us do not supply it.

Ibn Ezra (Abraham) has generally received the credit of having suggested the Deutero-Isaiah. He held Ibn Chiquitilla in high repute. He speaks of him as the greatest grammarian and one of the most

famous Biblical exegetes. In his writings he has preserved to us more of the literary productions of his distinguished predecessor than any other Jewish scholar of the period.¹ It is only reasonable to assume that he was familiar with Ib. Ch.'s opinion regarding the book of Isaiah. And it may be that Ib. Ezra simply adopted the view already propounded by his predecessor.

The reference of the words of Isa. lii. 13 ffg. to Hezekiah brings to the front another point of connection between Ib. Ch. and advanced critics of our own time. One of the most valuable results of recent discussions is that which directly connects O.T. prophecy with the times of the prophet. The prophet has a message to the men of his day. The interpretation and application of the prophetic message raise a more difficult problem. Anything like a consensus of opinion on this point can scarcely be expected at present. The whole question of Messianic prophecy is involved. No discussion of this subject can be attempted in a notice like this; but it may be of some interest to indicate what appears to have been the attitude of Ib. Ch. to this important question. An example may best serve the purpose. Take the well-known prophecy, Mic. iv. 11-v. 1 (Heb.). If the N.T. is authoritative, the words refer to Jesus Christ (*cf.* Matt. ii. 4-6). Of course the N.T. has no authority for Ib. Ch. The question is, "does he regard the prophecy as Messianic?" And the answer is, No! unless Zerubbabel is the Messiah. The prophecy refers to the Jews in Jerusalem under Zerubbabel. The prophet has the second temple before his mind (ידבר על בית שני). The ruler (ch. v. 1) is Zerubbabel, for Zerubbabel was of the family of Jeconiah, the lineal descendant of David (*cf.* 1 Chron. iii. 15 ffg., etc.). This Zerubbabel is the person spoken of under the name of The Branch in Zech. vi. 12, and in v. 13 it is said of him that he shall sit and rule upon his throne. Farther, the words of Mic. iv. 13, are explained in connection with what is said of Zerubbabel (Zech. iv. 7), "who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel a plain!" Accordingly, this message which Micah delivers for the encouragement of Zion—which promises to the Church a crushing defeat of the hostile world powers—(the result of which is to be the conversion of the resources of those powers to the service of the people of Jehovah), is explained in connection with a prince who, however worthy, had to maintain a continuous struggle against the petty tribes round about Jerusalem, and, if the history of the O.T. is trustworthy, did not succeed in rebuilding the temple till twenty years after the restoration from Babylon. The same line of remark may be followed in regard to the words of Zech. ix. 9. The king, in this

¹ Abr. Ibn Ezra bildet die Hauptquelle für die Kenntniss der Bibelexegese und der Grammatik I. Ch.'s, p. 55.

passage, according to Ib. Ch., is Nehemiah; and Neh. vi. 7 is referred to in support of the opinion. When we turn to Nehemiah we find that, on four different occasions, Sanballat endeavoured to arrest the work of the patriotic Jew in Jerusalem. When these attempts failed this bitter enemy of the Jews circulated, through an open letter, a false report to the effect that it was the intention of the Jews to rebel and to make Nehemiah king. And it is apparently on this report that Ib. Ch. founds his view that the king referred to in Zech. ix. 9 is Nehemiah.

These examples may suffice to show how this distinguished Jewish scholar was disposed to handle O.T. prophecy. It may seem perilous to suggest a general view from one or two cases. Other passages might be referred to which are interpreted in a similar fashion. The exposition fails to do justice to the language. The historical references are unsuitable, and the conclusion arrived at frequently diverges as seriously from current Jewish as from Christian opinion. This, according to Dr Poznanski, sufficiently explains the disappearance of Ib. Ch.'s works. For a century or more he was quoted by Jewish scholars, but after the thirteenth century his writings seem to have been lost. David Kimchi used them, and, if our author may be trusted, he was the last Western European scholar to do so. How is it, asks Dr Poznanski, that an age like this, which has brought to light so many literary works that were unknown or buried out of sight, has failed to discover any of the biblical writings of Ib. Ch.? The answer he suggests is that these writings are probably lost beyond the hope of recovery, and that, mainly, on account of the rationalistic views of the author. "If he had had the sense to conceal his free opinions, or to give expression to them in the form of suggestions, as Ibn Ezra did somewhat later, some at least of his commentaries might have been preserved. As it is, they have sunk and disappeared in the stream of time" (p. 69). The remark is significant. If Ib. Ch.'s works have been lost, for the reason suggested by Dr Poznanski, they are probably not the only works which have shared such a fate.

Fortunately his translation of the grammatical work of Judah b. David (Chayyug) remains. This great scholar (Chayyug) was the first to set Hebrew grammar on a scientific basis. "Among us," says Ibn Ezra, "there was no real knowledge of grammar till Rab. Judah b. David, the first of the grammarians, arose." Chayyug devoted his attention mainly to verbs containing feeble and double letters. He established the principle that Hebrew roots consist of three consonants, and in this way laid the foundation for a scientific treatment of Hebrew grammar. Abulwalid carried forward the work so well begun by Chayyug. The latter wrote in Arabic, which was an unknown tongue to many of the Jews in the West.

And Ib. Ch. rendered a service of high value to the Christian as well as to the Jewish world by his translation of Chayyug's grammatical treatises into Hebrew.¹ An impulse was given to the study of Hebrew grammar, which was continued during the succeeding centuries through men like the Kimchis (and others) among the Jews, and Reuchlin (especially) among the Christians. The latter (Reuchlin) connected the Reformation of the sixteenth century with the best Hebrew scholarship of the centuries immediately preceding. Through him the grammatical results arrived at by Hebraists like Chayyug, Ib. Ch., the Kimchis, and others, were made available for Luther and the other scholars of the Reformation. In this way the accurate interpretation of Holy Scripture—which formed the foundation of the work undertaken by the Reformers—was rendered unspeakably more easy than it would otherwise have been. Accordingly, Ib. Ch. has a place of honour among the scholars who prepared the way for the Reformation. The theologians of the Reformation could not use his exegetical works as they used the commentaries of men like Raschi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi, because these works were already lost. Even if they had survived it is doubtful if they would have been of great value for the special work the Reformers had in hand. But his grammatical work rendered important service to those who desired to reach the exact meaning of the O.T. text, and this remains to us. GEO. G. CAMERON.

Santa Teresa : an Appreciation, with some of the best passages of the Saint's Writings.

Selected, Adapted and Arranged by Alexander Whyte, D.D.
Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 81.
Price 2s.

THIS is an attractively got up little book of the sort that we are now pretty well accustomed to get from Dr Whyte. It will no doubt serve to introduce to a considerable number of English readers the Spanish lady who has been enshrined by the Roman Catholic Church among her saints under the name of Santa Teresa. Probably such readers, with very few exceptions, will be more than satisfied with what is here supplied, and will have no wish awakened within them to prosecute their studies by undertaking to read in detail any of the Saint's own writings, or any of the more lengthy and credulous accounts of her wonderful life. Dr Whyte, notwithstanding his unbounded appreciation of her character and genius, lets quite enough escape his lips to pre-

¹ An English translation of this work of Ib. Ch.'s appeared in London in 1870 (Nutt).

vent his enthusiasm becoming contagious. It would, however, be a pity if the praise lavished upon her in this *Appreciation* and Introduction should cause readers to turn away altogether from the story and writings of this Spanish mystic. If we do not get much that is forcible or fresh in Teresa's writings, there are many not unfamiliar thoughts pleasantly and sweetly uttered.

Dr Whyte takes pains to show that he was not the first who was fascinated by what he calls "her sheer power of mind" and "her powerful understanding." Those who confess to have fallen under her spell are described as the highest in learning and rank and godliness, great and learned theologians, responsible church leaders, and even the secret inquisitors. It would seem that for one who fails to grow enthusiastic over Teresa and her writings there is left only a very humble place, which it might be unsafe or unkind more particularly to define. For such, however, there may be some consolation, or at least something that may save them from losing all self-respect, in the reflection that sweet as the Saint's words seem to have been, inquisitors read them, felt the spell of them, and went back to the work of the inquisition. Few probably will agree with Dr Whyte in characterising Vaughan's account of Teresa as an "indecent and disgraceful attack," "a contemptuous and malicious caricature," an "extravagant misrepresentation." Those who are now sent back to read the chapter in the *Hours with the Mystics* will probably have their confidence in Vaughan's competence and sobriety largely confirmed.

The point at which most readers, and surely all careful students of the extravagances of mysticism, will be inclined to enter their protest and part company with Dr Whyte is his *Appreciation* of the locutions and visions of Teresa. Notwithstanding the threat that he will leave all who do not agree with him, and that he will call their seat the seat of the scorner, some may be bold enough to say that they prefer to account for those extraordinary manifestations in a simpler and more natural way. Zöckler, the author of able and much appreciated treatises on the Monkish Counter Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century, contributes a very full and informing article on Teresa to Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*² (xv., 313-328). He tells of a serious and long-continued illness from which she suffered in her twentieth year at the beginning of her conventual life, and of the mismanagement of the ignorant women and the cruelty of certain physicians which brought her to the gates of death. For four days she lay helpless in a sort of spasm, wholly unconscious, so that she did not feel burning wax when it was laid on her skin. Even when she returned to the convent she was coiled up like a ball, could only use one finger of the right hand, was carried in a linen cloth since the

slightest movement was torture, and three years passed before the worst features of her malady disappeared. A stomachic weakness, with fits of vomiting every evening, continued to afflict her to the end of her days. No one can read such a story as this without seeing that we have here what we may call a psycho-physical basis for all the wonderful manifestations which this nun of a hysterical tendency, with a debilitated body and shattered nerves, made herself believe that she so often saw. Without taking his seat in the chair of the scorner, one may be allowed, perhaps, to suggest that the explanation lies in this direction. We may heartily agree, again, with Dr Whyte in saying: "I had rather believe every syllable of Teresa's so-staggering locutions and visions than to be left to this, that since Paul and John went home to heaven our Lord's greatest promises have been so many idle words." But our faith in these promises rests on another basis, because we believe those promises to be of a very different kind and to refer to very different manifestations from those seen by Teresa. And so we cannot agree with Dr Whyte when he says: "I am driven in sheer desperation to believe such testimonies and attainments as those of Teresa, if only to support my failing faith in the words of my Master."

JOHN MACPHERSON.

The Expositor's Greek Testament.

Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Volume I.:

1. *The Synoptic Gospels. By the Rev. Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics, Free Church College, Glasgow.*
2. *The Gospel of St John. By the Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Royal 8vo, pp. viii. 872. Price, 28s.; subscription price of Vols. I. and II., 30s.*

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon.

By Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D., Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xlv. 201. Price, 8s. 6d.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians.

By Rev. T. K. Abbott, B.D., D.Litt., formerly Professor of Biblical Greek, now of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. lxx. 315. Price, 10s. 6d.

THESE three volumes, which have been given to the public in close succession, make a material addition to our exegetical literature.

The first inaugurates an undertaking which promises to be of the utmost service to students and to a busy, working clergy. The other two are further instalments of the *International Critical Commentary*, a series which has already established itself in general favour. The first has the advantage of the experienced editorship of Dr W. Robertson Nicoll, which is itself a guarantee of its success. The others have the benefit of the careful superintendence of the Master of University College, Durham, and Professor Briggs. The objects of these two enterprises are by no means the same, nor do they follow quite the same methods. But it may be said at once of them that, so far as they have yet gone, they have been efficiently conducted, and that in some of their sections they have given us work of unusual merit. These three volumes will make their way into a large circulation. They will rank with the best of their kind, and will be acknowledged to answer admirably to the purposes they have severally in view. In these able, learned, and carefully constructed commentaries we have fresh proof of the thoroughness of English scholarship, and of the ability of British and American theologians to hold their own with the most accomplished students of Germany, France, or Holland in the wide field of New Testament exegesis.

The first thing that strikes one when he takes up the volume on the *Gospels* is the uncommon handsomeness of the book. It is a joy to handle it and look into its pages. It is the very book to lure a student into reading. The form is so superb, the paper so choice and so light, the margins so delightfully broad, the type so clear and so tasteful. The Aberdeen University Press should have a cordial word of praise for this splendid bit of work. But apart from these external recommendations the book has merits both of purpose and of performance, which make it a welcome addition to the many commentaries we already possess. It is to do for this generation what Dean Alford's *Greek Testament* did for a former generation, and no one who remembers what a boon that commentary was when it was first published will think that a small service to attempt. Alford's volumes had nothing in English to compete with them. They introduced a new style of commentary, and came upon the ordinary English student like a revelation. It is scarcely possible to convey to the richly furnished young theologians of the present day any adequate conception of what *Alford* was to their predecessors, or how great has been the debt of a whole generation of clergymen to the book. Nor is it to be dispensed with yet. Experience has proved that it is the kind of commentary that best suits a very large class of students, and to provide something of the same kind for these days is so happy an

idea that one wonders why it was not taken up till now. It will be felt, too, that in most respects this first instalment fulfils the highest expectation. There is one thing in which it seems to us inferior to our former friend. That is in the matter of the criticism of the Text. In nothing was Dean Alford's work more conspicuously in advance of what the English public had been accustomed to than in its Textual criticism. In the *Expositor's Greek Testament* considerable attention is also given to that, and the more important varieties of reading are dealt with in a careful and scholarly way. But in many cases the discussion is too limited, and all through we lack the continuous fulness and orderliness of treatment which in Alford's case made it possible for the student, not only to have an intelligent view of the condition of the text from paragraph to paragraph, but to form his own judgment in cases of difficulty on the basis of a full presentation of evidence. In other respects, however, this new *Alford* is the equal and often the superior of the old. The *Prolegomena* in the latter were admirably done for their time, especially strong in their statements of the historical testimonies to the several books, and most useful for the purposes of the student. Its exegesis also was generally good, by no means of equal value throughout (a thing impossible in the case of so large an undertaking carried out by one hand), but often independent and always representing the best work of others, where it had less of the stamp of first hand exposition. The *Introductions* in the latter are less complete in the exhibition of the historical evidence, but in other things more satisfactory. They show more insight into the genius of the writings, and they pay more attention to questions which were less in Alford's view, especially those of the Higher Criticism. The exegesis of the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, too, has some qualities which were either lacking or in less degree in Alford. It makes more use of the ideas of the time in its interpretations of the words and thoughts of the Gospels. It has also a character of its own. The man is felt in the exegesis, and the latter becomes thereby more interesting. This is true of both authors. It is particularly true of Dr Bruce. In all his work the force of his strong personality is felt. His own ideas and convictions express themselves in his comments. This gives a remarkable flavour and an interesting piquancy to his words. Sometimes it makes us question whether what we are getting in these vivid and characteristic expositions is just things as they were in their own time and circumstance, or admirable ideas of Dr Bruce's own, which these things are charmingly made to reflect.

The two scholars to whom this volume has been committed are the very men for the work. Dr Robertson Nicoll could have made no better choice. Each is a master of his subject, and each has

gone into his task *con amore*. The Synoptical Gospels have been Dr Bruce's favourite study. Everyone who knows him will understand him when he tells us how they have "taken a more powerful and abiding hold" of him than any other part of Scripture, and how much he has "learnt from them concerning Christ in the course of these years." It is to their simple, genial, human representation of the Son of Man that he has always been most attracted. Dr Dods, on the other hand, has been most strongly drawn to the deep thought of the Fourth Gospel, and the Johannine picture of the ministry and the words of the Eternal Son, the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. He has studied the book and lived with it till he has come to see Christ and life and truth in its supernal light. Each has got his choicest subject, and each gives us of his best.

In each case the literary questions are handled with great precision and with sound judgment. It would be difficult to find anything better of its kind than the summary which Dr Bruce gives of the Synoptic problem, or his characterisation of the different Gospels. Dr Bruce, we notice, while he gives a cordial welcome to works like Resch's on *Extra-canonical Parallel Texts to the Gospels*, is not very hopeful that much will result from them. He gives the case between Weiss and Wendt on the relation between the two sources in Matthew and Luke, without giving any expression of his own opinion. There are other things which he passes by with small remark, and some for which much importance is often claimed that he makes little of. His main interest is in the question of the historical trustworthiness of the Synoptical records. On this his statement is particularly strong, and it is made all the more convincing by his criticisms of the position of extremists like Brandt. But, while he puts the case for the historicity of these narratives with great power, he is careful not to identify it with the question of literal accuracy or perfect agreement between parallel accounts, and he has a fine scorn for Harmonistic—"a well-meant discipline," as he admits, but engaged with an insoluble problem, and thinking too highly "of the importance of a solution, even if it had been possible."

Nor would it be easy for the student to lay his hand on a better statement of the Johannine problem than is given us here by Dr Dods. The gravity of the question is fully recognised. Dr Dods knows how high an estimate is made of the Fourth Gospel by many critics who do not accept the apostolic authorship. He knows how men like Weizsäcker, Holtzmann and Schürer would persuade us that its value (and they hold it to be a great value) lies in its being a witness to the faith of the Church of the first half of the second century, in its being a "mirror of the times in which the

writer lived, and of the experiences through which the Church had reached that period," in its "expression of the conviction that in Jesus Christ God revealed himself," and not in its historical narrative. But Dr Dods sees otherwise. The Fourth Gospel, he readily admits, must have a certain value, whoever wrote it, and at whatsoever date. But he sees that if it is not a historical record, but only a reflex of the life of the Church of the second century, "given in terms of the life of Christ," it may be a "very interesting document, but not a document on which we can build our knowledge of our Lord," rather one which has been the means of bringing the Church into serious error regarding its Founder. It is in view of this issue that Dr Dods enters upon his inquiry, and in sobriety, definiteness and courage his estimate of the case is worthy of it.

There are things which seem to us open to criticism. That is inevitable. We think Dr Bruce makes too much of what he calls the "editorial solicitude" in Luke's Gospel, the evangelist's tendency to "enhance," to "magnify the miracle," and improve on facts. For most of the instances on which this is made to rest a simpler explanation may be found. The parts of Dr Bruce's work which will seem least satisfactory to many are those in which he has to deal with words with less or more theological meaning, "the Son of Man," the words of institution of the Lord's Supper, and the like. But these are things only of incidental moment. In both its parts this first volume of the *Expositor's Greek Testament* is a work worthy of the most cordial appreciation.

The additions recently made to the *International Critical Commentary* by Dr Marvin Vincent and Dr T. K. Abbott, representatives respectively of American and of Irish scholarship, also deserve hearty recognition. They are important contributions to the study of Epistles which are of undying interest, but which have been so often and so ably expounded that it must seem difficult to say anything very fresh or very distinctive upon them. These two volumes, however, have their own character, and will secure their own place in the long line of similar performances. They are both thoroughly independent studies, and will both add something to our understanding of these writings. The exegetical notes in both cases are such as only good grammarians could write. They are also concise in style, and seldom fail to touch the quick of the question. Textual matters are carefully considered by both writers, with particular distinction by Dr Abbott. In each, and especially in Dr Vincent's work, there is abundant use of pertinent illustrative matter. In the case of the Epistle to the Philippians, for example, the various facts in the history of Macedonia and in

that of Philippi itself which have any bearing on the statements of the Epistle, or on the situation represented in it, are brought within our view. In the case of the Epistle to the Colossians, everything that can shed light upon the heresy in question, or explain the position of the Church, is made use of. Matters that cannot be sufficiently handled in the form of notes are discussed at greater length in the form of an excursus. Dr Vincent gives us in this way a very full statement on the question of "Bishops and Deacons" as suggested by Philippians i. 1. Some fifteen pages are given to this, and the result reached is that the bishop's office was originally "not spiritual but administrative," that he had a "local function in a particular community," but that we have not the materials to define very clearly "the precise range and action of this function." Another excursus is occupied with a very careful examination of the great Christological paragraph in Phil. ii. In this Dr Vincent comes to the conclusion that Paul cannot be committed there to "any precise theological statement of the limitations of Christ's humanity"; that the phrase *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* finds its best definition in the words which follow it descriptive of the incidents of Christ's humanity; and that it does not indicate a "surrender of deity, nor a paralysis of deity, nor a change of personality, nor a break in the continuity of self-consciousness." It may be further said of Dr Vincent's book that it gives much attention to the exposition of Paul's *thought*, and is often very successful in this.

Dr Abbott's commentary is a strong book, with a certain marked individuality. Its most distinctive feature probably is its treatment of the text. Dr Abbott is a trained textual critic, and in everything belonging to the state of the text of the two Epistles which he expounds his work will at once take a foremost place. We have nothing better to point to in this direction, nothing that bears more distinctly the stamp of the expert. It is in this line that the book makes its most special contribution. But Dr Abbott is also a master of vocabulary and style, and a competent and independent exegete. As excellent examples of his exegetical faculty we might point to his exposition of such passages as Eph. iii. 14-21; Col. i. 15; ii. 14, 15. Where it seems to us to come short is in its treatment of some of the more distinctively Pauline ideas. Here it is less frankly faithful than Meyer's to the plain historical sense, and betrays a disposition to explain away or tone down those statements in the Epistle to the Ephesians which form the basis of the Calvinistic system of doctrine. There is much that deserves consideration in Dr Abbott's handling of the literary and historical problems. In matters of internal evidence he shows much of the spirit and

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the method of Paley, and speaks in an appreciative way of the *Horæ Paulinæ*. His discussions of the character of the Epistle to the Ephesians, the circle of readers, and the claims of the local designation "in Ephesus" to form part of the inscription, are models of clear and balanced statement. Nor is he less satisfactory in dealing with the objections taken to the genuineness of the Epistle. He has a happy way of dealing with these, not merely in detail, but in the light of larger literary considerations. Dr Abbott has his own way of looking at things. He has thought out the great questions which are raised by these Epistles, and has good reasons to offer for the opinions he gives. All is done in a clear and easy style, and with a point and precision which will make his Commentary one that the student will consult with satisfaction.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded.

By Dr A. Dillmann, late Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the last edition by Wm. B. Stevenson, B.D., assistant to the Professor of Hebrew, Edinburgh University. In 2 volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. 413, 507. Price, 21s.

AMONGST the numerous services rendered by Messrs Clark to English-speaking students of the Old Testament, none will be more highly appreciated than their publishing of a translation of Dillmann's *Genesis*. We expect of an Old Testament commentator nowadays that he be a thorough linguist, a skilled exegete, and that he have an acquaintance with the latest results of archaeological research. All these requirements are met by Dillmann, whose *Genesis* has been declared by Professor Budde to be "the most perfect form of the *Commentarius perpetuus*," and by Professor A. B. Davidson to be "without doubt the fullest and best informed work on the Book of Genesis that exists." It is a commentary which literally, and not merely by a figure of speech, is indispensable to every Old Testament student.

We need not use space to describe Dillmann's critical standpoint. While the "sources" he recognises are the same as those of other critics, he differs from not a few in assigning to E the priority in time over J, and differs materially from the school of Wellhausen regarding the relative dates of the Deuteronomic and the Priestly Codes. The method followed in the work before us is, first, to divide the material into large sections. Of these there are five. I. The Primitive History from the Creation to the Flood. II. The History of Noah and his Descendants down to Abraham. III. The History of Abraham. IV. The History of

Isaac. V. The History of Jacob. Each of these sections is then broken up into the appropriate sub-sections, which are first discussed in general, and then taken up verse by verse. The arrangement in the translation deserves special praise. Even the most zealous student must at times have felt it wearisome work to make his way through the closely-packed, unbroken pages of the original. We can now see clearly that we have before us a perfect mine of linguistic and archaeological information. Assyriology, Egyptology, Natural Science, Geographical research are all pressed into the service; and the copious references to authorities (wisely relegated to foot-notes) enable the student to prosecute further researches, and to form an independent judgment. And amidst it all the acute and generally convincing exegesis of our author never fails to make itself conspicuous. The utility of the work is enhanced by the carefully prepared Indexes (English and Hebrew) and the Lexical Lists showing the linguistic usage of P, E and J (we agree with the translator that this nomenclature had better have been substituted for Dillmann's A, B, C) respectively.

Mr Stevenson is to be congratulated on having given us a translation which is not merely accurate (that is a matter of course), but reads with an ease to which, until lately, we were little accustomed in works of this kind. It is safe to predict that these two handsome volumes will speedily be recognised as *the* commentary on Genesis. It is a worthy counterpart to Driver's *Deuteronomy*.
J. A. SELBIE.

Notices.

MR OTTLEY'S *Bampton Lectures for 1897*¹ make a large volume. It would not be difficult to show that at certain points they might have been condensed with advantage. But we should be slow to quarrel with them for that. Their merits far outweigh deficiencies in form, proportion, or method of reasoning which may be discovered in them. They carry us pleasantly along, and say many good and helpful things in admirable style. They have also the great recommendation of opportuneness. They address themselves to a question of anxious moment to many earnest minds, and they face that question fairly, courageously, and in a liberal spirit. They show a special and most proper regard for the large class of persons whose faith is disquieted by the change from the traditional view of the Old Testament. But they keep also in view those who are

¹ Aspects of the Old Testament considered in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. By Robert Lawrence Ottley, M.A., &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. xix. 448. Price, 16s.

tempted to belittle the importance of the critical movement, and the extremists who will allow nothing but contradiction between the new ideas and the old faith of High Churchmen like the author. They do not profess to do more than "illustrate" a view of the Old Testament, which the writer believes to furnish a true *via media* at the present juncture. But in dealing with certain "aspects" of the Old Testament they touch the essential points of difficulty in the adjustment of the ancient faith in the authority of the Old Testament to the critical view of its origin and history.

Mr Ottley is wise enough to recognise how futile it is to look at things otherwise than they are, or to think of going back to the position of a century ago. He is not blind to the extravagances and mistakes into which criticism, in some of its schools and at the hand of some of its masters, has fallen. But he frankly acknowledges that there is a substantial modification of the "traditional theory of Hebrew history and religion," which cannot be ignored, and he claims that the criticism of the last 150 years has yielded certain broad results which are of far-reaching consequence. He admits the parabolic character of sections of the Old Testament which have been regarded by most as pure narrative, the existence of mythic elements and moral imperfections, and the operation of methods of constructing history which are strange to the modern mind. And in face of this he contends that the authority and the religious function of the Old Testament remain what they were, only enlarged.

When a former Principal of Pusey House makes these concessions, and admits further that the Book of Daniel was "apparently composed as a manual of consolation for the confessors and martyrs of the Maccabean period," we see how far we have travelled since the Oxford Movement was at its height. But, if Mr Ottley's book is a sign of the times, it is a book that should disarm fear and help faith. It plants our feet firmly upon the broad foundation of the historical view of Revelation, and shows with power what is involved in the idea of a fragmentary and progressive Revelation. It is apt perhaps to press certain lines of argument too far. It does so, we think, in the analogy which it draws out between the Incarnate Word and Scripture. But it says many fit and beautiful things about the religious use of the Hebrew records, especially the Psalter, and it vindicates in a noble way the permanent function of the Old Testament in revealing God, preparing for the Christ who was to come, bearing witness to the Divine Government and its laws, furthering individual and social righteousness, and helping us to understand the New Testament. Mr Ottley has done a great and timely service to a free and well-established faith.

Professor S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*¹ has reached its sixth English edition—a distinction rarely attained in so brief a space of time by a theological treatise, and most remarkable in the case of a book dealing with the most complicated questions of Old Testament criticism with the precision and unadorned definiteness of scientific scholarship. It took at once the first place among English books of its kind and it continues to hold it in virtue of its solid merits, the reliableness of its statements, the caution of its judgments, and the pains with which it is kept abreast of all that is done in its province. The present edition may be regarded as a new book. There has been a thorough revision in the light of the most recent contributions to the study of the Old Testament books, the work has been entirely re-set, and considerable additions have been made to the matter. In a new Preface, Dr Driver has much to say on the progress of critical opinion and the bearings of archaeological research that will be read with interest.

It is a pleasure to welcome Professor Orr's *Kerr Lectures*² in their third edition. It is a most gratifying success, and it is entirely due to the merits of the work. The book has steadily won its way by the command of its subject which it shows on every page, the largeness and trustworthiness of its acquaintance with the literature of its theme, the precision of its statements, the fairness of its criticism, and the vigour of its style. It has established itself in general esteem as one of the best books that have been produced by Scottish theologians in recent years, and one of the most satisfactory contributions to Christian Apologetics. It has given real help to many minds, and it will continue to do so.

We are glad to receive from the same hand a volume on *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*,³ being the latest addition to the *Theological Educator* series. Few British theologians have studied the theology of Ritschl, whether as it appears in Ritschl's own writings, or as it has been modified in various directions in those of his disciples, with the care, the patience, and the critical faculty with which Dr Orr has approached it. His volume is not a large one, but it is packed with matter, and it embodies the well-considered results of careful and extensive reading. It is the best English book we have on its subject. Nothing is left un-

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xx. xi. 577. Price, 12s.

² *The Christian View of God and the World as centring in the Incarnation.* By James Orr, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 480. Price, 7s 6d.

³ By James Orr, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xii. 216. Price, 2s. 6d.

noticed that is necessary to a proper appreciation of this influential school of theology. We get all that it concerns us to know about Ritschl himself, his mental development, the influences under which he came, the changes in his position, and the way in which his system was thought out. His theory of knowledge, his general idea of the Christian religion, his theological method, his view of Scripture, his attitude to the special Christian doctrines, the agreements and divergencies of Kaftan, Herrmann, Schultz, and other disciples, and the relation of the whole type of theology to the evangelical faith, are all stated with the precision of one who knows what he is dealing with. The importance of this theology and its attractive points are fully recognised. In one thing we should be disposed to differ from Dr Orr's general estimate of Ritschl's worth. We should allow much less value to his exegetical work. It is there indeed that he is weakest. Dr Orr's judgment, however, of the system as a whole is unmistakable. It is distinctly and definitely adverse, and the criticisms which he directs against it touch its essential positions. These criticisms no doubt may seem to the most pronounced Ritschlians to be lacking in sympathy. But their ability will not be denied. They have to be reckoned with, and they are nowhere more successful than in bringing out the inconsistencies of Ritschl's own system.

Under the title of *The Return to the Cross*,¹ Dr Robertson Nicoll publishes a series of papers which have a serious purpose, and come opportunely. Many readers will be familiar with most of them in another form. They will be glad, however, to have them as they are now brought together in this attractive volume. They have, it needs scarce be said, all the charm of Dr Nicoll's clear and practised style. They have also the special interest of giving the views of one who has a wide outlook and large opportunities of seeing into the condition of things as regards the religious temper of our day, and the work of the Churches. They travel over a considerable variety of subjects, from the profound experiences of grace to criticisms of Walter Pater and refutations of Goldwin Smith. But there is one spirit in them all, and they have one general purpose. They are a recall to the evangelical faith, a vindication of the type of religion in which the strength of the older generation lay, and which time after time has made the Church a conquering spiritual power. The opening paper, originally an address to the students of the Theological College, Bala, on "The Secret of Christian Experience," is meant to show that the things of which books like Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* bear witness still belong, and cannot but belong, to "a genuine and normal Christian experience." And the papers which follow contribute each in its

¹ London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 320. Price, 3s. 6d.

own way to commend the power and beauty of the Evangelical faith, with its strong grasp of what is meant by sin, grace, justification, atonement. The book should have the earnest attention of all whose desire is to see the Church fruitful and the pulpit strong.

Dr Joseph Agar Beet issues a volume on *The Last Things*,¹ founded in part on a number of articles contributed to *The Expositor*. It is occupied with two great subjects, the Second Coming of Christ and the Future Punishment of Sin. Both questions are examined in a sober and devout spirit, with all due deliberation, and with a sincere loyalty to the witness of the Word of God. In each case the main thing is the full and painstaking discussion of the relevant passages of Scripture. Dr Beet's exegesis is always careful and often convincing. Where it fails is in limiting itself too much to a verbal exegesis, without sufficient regard to the ideas presupposed in the New Testament. In dealing with the first of the two subjects Dr Beet follows the usual lines of argument (some of which, however, are made much less cogent than before by the changed view of Prophecy), by which the pre-millennial theory is met. The interest of the book lies more in the second question, and in it Dr Beet's position is not very determinate. On the one hand, he affirms in the strongest terms that the New Testament teaches the future punishment of sin, and that its writers "see no end" of that punishment, "nor do they teach anything which logically implies or even suggests that it will ever end." On the other hand, he holds that they do not go so far as to "assert expressly and indisputably the endless permanence of those ruined and wretched ones." This being the case, he appears to incline to some such position as that stated by Dr Clemance, viz., that "in Scripture the duration of future punishment is left indefinite," and that a possibility is left open that "the lost may sink into unconsciousness." He acknowledges, however, in the fullest sense of the term, that "final exclusion is plainly asserted by Christ and His Apostles" for the persistently wicked, and that the emphasis of the New Testament doctrine is thrown upon the moral decisions of the present life. The essence of the matter is there.

Among the various systems of theology which we owe to American theologians, a high place belongs to Professor Gerhart's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.² The author, who has long held an

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 318. Price, 6s.

² By Emmanuel V. Gerhart, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xxvii. 754 and xxvi. 938.

honoured position as a Professor of Theology, belongs to the Reformed Church, and in matters of creed stands upon the platform of the *Heidelberg Catechism*. He writes in a catholic spirit, appreciating the work of Christian thinkers of all schools from Clement and Origen onward. He confesses a special regard for the great ideas of Augustin and Calvin, but declines to be in bondage to these or any of the other great masters in Theology, and claims the freedom of thought as well as the freedom of faith of which the Reformation of the sixteenth century made us heirs. His treatise is a very large one. It consists of two great volumes, which give evidence in every chapter of wide and laborious reading. It is introduced by a sympathetic Preface from the hand of the late Philip Schaff. It recognises the value of the "Christological trend of Christian sentiment and scholarship of our age," and offers itself to the public as "an earnest effort to make answer to the call for a doctrinal system in which Jesus Christ stands as the central truth; not only as the instrument of redemption and salvation, but also as the beginning and the end of revelation." It follows, therefore, the Christo-centric method. But, while it does this, it has the peculiarity of postponing the topic of Christology to a late point in its discussions. Its plan is this. It begins with a statement on the *Source of Theological Knowledge*, in which it expounds the theory of the Evangelical Protestant Church, and criticises the defective theories of Romanism, Rationalism, and Mysticism. The most interesting portions of this first Book are those dealing with the Objective Source (which is found in Christ Glorified) and with the Source in the Christian Consciousness, Christ in the believer being taken as the vital Principle of Divine Knowledge and Christ in the New Testament as the Norm of Christian Consciousness. The second Book is devoted to a statement of the *Christ-idea, or the Principle of Christian Doctrine*. Then follow seven books, which treat successively of Theology, or the Doctrine on God; Cosmology, or the Doctrine on Creation and Providence; Anthropology, or Doctrine on the Adamic Race; Christology, or Doctrine on Jesus Christ; Pneumatology, or Doctrine on the Holy Spirit; Soteriology, or the Doctrine on Personal Salvation; Eschatology, or Doctrine on the Last Things. The order is peculiar, and the arrangement of particular subjects seems strange in some cases. This however is a subordinate matter. The questions assigned to each book are handled with remarkable clearness and completeness, all due attention being given at once to the great creeds and to the results of the improved exegesis of our own time. The volumes are honourable to American scholarship, and furnish an admirable example of the good work done in Theology by the Reformed Church of the United States.

The treatise on *Homiletik* by the late Dr Theodor Christlieb, of Bonn, so well known by his able and interesting volume on *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, has had an excellent reception in Germany. Its merits have been already recognised in the pages of this Journal.¹ It is the work of one who, both by his success as a Professor of Theology and by his experience as a University preacher, had peculiar qualifications for such a task. It is full of good counsel and, though the style is by no means easy, it is far removed from being a dull book. An English translation has been needed, and we are glad to have it now from the hand of one who is not a stranger to such work—the translator of Huther's *Epistles of St John* in Meyer's Commentary.²

It is now about a quarter of a century since Mr Girdlestone's *Synonyms of the Old Testament* appeared. After that long lapse of time a second edition³ is issued. In the preparation of the first edition the author used, together with the various versions of the Scriptures themselves, mostly the dictionaries and concordances that were then available—Buxtorf, Trommius, Kircher, Bruder, Fürst, Wilson, &c. Beyond these he did not venture far. He has followed substantially the same method in this new edition. No notice is taken of what criticism has been doing all the time, neither is there anything to show that the great commentaries of recent times and the systems of Old Testament Theology, with the rich material which they provide for the study of words, have been consulted. The book, therefore, lacks the precision and the scientific method of the great Old Testament scholars of our time. One has only to glance into the discussions of such terms, e.g., as *El Shaddai*, to see how deficient it is in the historical treatment of its matter. It limits itself expressly, however, to the particular question of the bearing of the synonyms on Christian doctrine. On this it has often something that is to the point. It furnishes also a large amount of matter, laboriously collected, which will be of interest to certain classes of readers.

Under the title of *The Revel and the Battle, and other Sermons*,⁴ the Bishop of Southwell publishes a series of pulpit discourses, which are not of the conventional pattern. Most of them have

¹ See Vol. vi. p. 57.

² *Homiletic Lectures on Preaching*. By Theodor Christlieb, D.D. Edited by Th. Haarbeck. Translated by Rev. C. H. Irwin, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 390. Price, 7s. 6d.

³ *Synonyms of the Old Testament: Their bearing on Christian Doctrine*. Second Edition. By the Rev. Robert Baker Girdlestone, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, late Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. London: Nisbet & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. xiv. 346. Price, 12s.

⁴ By George Ridding, D.D., Bishop of Southwell. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 340. Price, 6s.

been preached on special occasions, before the University of Oxford, the British Association, the Co-operative Congress, the British Medical Association, &c. They are full of life and spirit, and are written in telling, often ringing terms. Some of them are of a striking order. Among such we may refer to those on "The Danger of Young Self-Absorption," "Stability and Instability of Mind," "The Complexity of the World." But why does the Bishop disfigure his book by ignorant or prejudiced representations of other systems of Theology than his own, as when he says that "one of the true changes in teaching is that other-worldliness is not exaggerated to the Calvinist degree of making hell-fire the motive for rectitude"?

*The Kingdom of Manhood*¹ is a book of wise counsel specially for young men, though not for them only. It is written in a lively, interesting, and sometimes touching style. It deals briefly and pointedly with such subjects as Ideals, Talents, Enthusiasm, Environment, Sympathy, &c. There are chapters, such as those on "Looking Forward," "High Failure," "Now—and After," which might be singled out as particularly suggestive and impressive. But the whole volume makes pleasant and profitable reading, and should both interest and help those for whom it is specially written.

In 1893, Professor Gwatkin published a series of *Selections from Early Writers, illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine*. The volume has been found of great service to students, the passages being admirably chosen and carefully edited. It is now reprinted, with additions and corrections which will make it still more valuable.² Both text and translation are given for each extract. The Introductory Notes, too, are precisely what the student requires, giving much useful information in the most concise form.

In the spring of 1896, the Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, delivered the course of Students' Lectures on Missions at Princeton Theological Seminary. These Lectures form the basis of a large treatise, of which the first volume is now published, and to which the title *Christian Missions and Social Progress*³ is given. What is aimed at is a Sociological Study of Foreign Missions, and for an undertaking of that kind

¹ By Horace G. Groser. London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, 250. Price, 3s. 6d.

² By Henry Melvill Gwatkin, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 194. Price, 4s. 6d. net.

³ In two volumes, Vol. i. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. xvi. 468. Price, 10s. 6d.

Dr Dennis, who has already written a volume on *Foreign Missions after a Century*, has some considerable qualifications. He has read extensively on the subject and has been at pains to obtain his information on many important aspects of the question by direct communication with men in a position to furnish it in a reliable form. More than three hundred missionaries, of different Churches and connections and in many different lands, have been consulted. The result is that in this book we have a kind of Encyclopedia of Missions on the Sociological side. It is a mine of matter. But it also states important conclusions which the facts are held to suggest. The apologetic import of the investigation, the estimate which should be formed of ethnic religions, the place of the supernatural in a true theory of social evolution, and the "need of a deeper world-consciousness" in Christianity, are among the questions raised and answered by the inquiry. The book is provided also with numerous illustrations, and good bibliographies. It is an argument for the "benign energy and unexampled precision" with which Christian Missions have worked in "the production of the best civilisation we have yet seen in the history of mankind."

Under the title of *A Kirk and a College in the Craigs*,¹ the Rev. D. D. Ormond, F.S.A., Scot., gives an account of an old Cameronian congregation in Stirling and the provision made there for the training of Divinity students. The volume is a very dainty one in type and in form generally, and has a series of tasteful illustrations. It is a good example of the "local history." The original documents have been consulted, and interesting glimpses are given of old ways in the "City of the Rock," and of the ecclesiastical life of a by-gone time.

Professor R. M. Wenley, of the University of Michigan, publishes an *Outline Introductory to Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason."*² It explains the genesis of Kant's great work, states its problem, and gives an account of the contents of the book, dealing successively with the Transcendental Æsthetic, the Transcendental Analytic, and the Transcendental Dialectic. A list of books and an explanation of terms are added. The author's object is to prepare students for the first hand study of a classical text by giving them a general conspectus of its contents. The idea is a happy one, and it has been very successfully carried out. The theological student, no less than the philosophical, will read with interest the summaries of the *Antinomies*, the criticism of the Theistic arguments, &c.

M. Auguste Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la Religion* appears now in an authorised English translation by the Rev. T. A.

¹ Stirling: *Journal and Advertiser* Office, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 117 and Index.

² New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 95.

Seed.¹ The translation is well done and preserves much of the style and flavour of the original. The book has already been reviewed in these pages.² It is enough to say of it, therefore, that it is an original and suggestive book. It deals in succession with Religion, its origin, nature, &c.; Christianity, its origin in Hebraism, its essence, its historical forms; and Dogma, its definition, its life, the science of dogmas, the critical theory of religious knowledge, &c. There is much in the book from which we must dissent; especially in its general treatment of miracle and the supernatural, and in its statement of the essence of Christianity, in which, with the view of commending the Christian religion to a generation baptised in science, it makes concessions and introduces limitations that will seem to many to threaten the existence of that which it seeks to conserve. It is to be judged, however, from the apologetic standpoint, and as a series of stimulating chapters rather than as a systematic treatise, and it has the undoubted merit of placing old things in new lights.

The Messrs Macmillan have begun the issue of a new edition of the *Holy Bible* in the style of their well-known and much appreciated *Eversley* series. It is to be completed in eight volumes, of which three are now before us.³ It makes a beautiful book, and does for the Authorised Version in a well-considered and consistent way what has been occurring with it in a fragmentary, incidental, and less reasonable way almost from the beginning. The object is to present the Authorised Version in its best fashion to readers of the present day by remodelling its text, and giving it, as far as is consistent with loyalty to its genius, the form in which literature comes to us now. This is done with admirable judgment. The modernising process is carried through in good taste, and in a perfectly considerate and reverent spirit. The division into verses, which is not found in any English Bible before 1560, is dropped. Marks of quotation are introduced, inconsistencies and disturbing archaisms in spelling are removed, irregularities and mistakes in punctuation are corrected, and all is done that is necessary now to the intelligent and enjoyable reading of the ancient version. Mr Mackail contributes also an Introduction full of valuable matter, in which his good taste and his just idea of the requirements of the case are no less conspicuous than his

¹ Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion based on Psychology and History. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 348. Price, 7s. 6d.

² Vol. vii. p. 321.

³ The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: To which is prefixed an Introduction by J. W. Mackail. Vol. i., Genesis to Numbers, pp. xxix. 513; Vol. ii., Deuteronomy to 2 Samuel, pp. 459; Vol. iii., 1 Kings to Esther, pp. 477. 1897. Cr. 8vo. Price, 5s. each volume.

easy mastery of the history of the subject. In his hands the cause is safe.

We have received the eighth volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*,¹ containing a large variety of careful and instructive papers by Professors G. G. Findlay and A. S. Geden, the Rev. Messrs T. G. Selby, W. Spiers, J. Hope Moulton, J. T. L. Maggs, J. Robinson Gregory, and other experienced writers—a well managed magazine, from which preachers and teachers will get much to help them; *Lessons from Life*,² a compendium of facts, not all indeed of equal scientific value, but all of more or less interest, taken from the world of living creatures, and capable of being applied to the illustration of moral truths—a large collection well arranged, furnished with good classified indexes, and meeting in a very handy way the practical needs of teachers, especially those concerned with ethical subjects; another addition to the very tasteful *Books for the Heart* series, edited by Alexander Smellie, M.A., viz., a handy edition of Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*,³ beautifully printed, furnished with an excellent Introduction, and in every way attractive; a second edition of the Rev. N. Dimock's careful and candid treatise on *The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*,⁴ enlarged by an important Introduction on the Decree of Eugenius IV., *Exultate Deo*, and the history of the Council of Florence, and by other additions; a volume on *The Ten Commandments*,⁵ by the Rev. George Jackson, B.A., of the Methodist Mission, Edinburgh, with the direct and vigorous note of one who is at home in the pulpit, marked all through by good sense and practical Christian purpose, certain to edify and instruct; a small volume by the Rev. F. Warburton Lewis, B.A., on *Jesus Son of God*,⁶ in which a modest and devout attempt is made to interpret the consciousness of Jesus, and show what it meant to Himself to claim to be the Son of God; a useful little book by Professor Adeney of New College, London, on *The Construction of the Bible*,⁷ giving in clear and simple terms the story of the way in which the several parts of Scripture came to form one volume; a short treatise on *The Teaching of Morality in*

¹ For Preachers, Teachers and Bible Students. Editors, Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory. London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. 8vo, pp. 580. Price, 5s.

² With an Introduction by Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Demy 8vo, pp. xiv. 527. Price, 7s. 6d.

³ London: Andrew Melrose, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. 263. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock, 1897. 8vo, pp. 114. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

⁵ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 191. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁶ London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 67. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁷ London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. 95. 1s.

the Family and the School,¹ forming a volume of *The Ethical Library*, dealing in a practical, sensible, and enlightened way both with the principles of moral teaching and with the subject-matter in "virtuous character" and "social membership"; the third and fourth sections of the sixteenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,² containing the literature on Systematic Theology and Practical Theology, &c., for 1896—a most useful chronicle, remarkable both for its general accuracy and for its completeness; a brightly written sketch of *Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation*,³ by E. Velvin, in the "Splendid Lives" series; a story with the title of *Battledown Boys or an Enemy Overcome*,⁴ manly in tone and well told; the annual volumes of our old and established friends, *Good Words*⁵ and *The Sunday Magazine*,⁶ neither showing any signs of decaying vigour, but both rich in matter too varied to give here in detail, representing the choice work of many of our best writers, and deserving as cordial a welcome as ever into our homes; the first volume of *The Home Blessing*,⁷ a magazine that has begun well, full of healthy matter and excellently illustrated; the sixth volume of *The Silver Tent*,⁸ another magazine, intended specially for home and school, and admirably suited to its object; a well written and instructive book on *The Companions of Jesus*,⁹ for young people.

A collection of *University and Other Sermons*,¹⁰ by the late Dean of Llandaff, is published, with a Preface by an old friend and pupil. Few men have been so generally esteemed in the English Church, and beyond it, in our day. Few have written so largely, to such profit, and in so admirable a spirit; and few have left behind them a name with which so little is associated but respect and affec-

¹ By Sophie Bryant, D.Sc., London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 146. Price, 3s.

² Dritte Abtheilung: Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, Sulze und Dreyer. Braunschweig, Schwetschke, 1897. 8vo, pp. 477-631. Price, M.4; Vierte Abtheilung: Praktische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Marbach, Ehlers, &c. Pp. 633-779. Price, M.7.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. 144. Price, 1s.

⁴ London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. Small 4to, pp. 239. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁵ Edited by the Very Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D. London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Imp. 8vo, pp. 860. Price, 7s. 6d.

⁶ London: Isbister & Co., 1897. Imp. 8vo, pp. 856. Price, 7s. 6d.

⁷ London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. 4to, pp. 239. Price, 2s.

⁸ London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. 4to, pp. iv. 238. Price, 2s.

⁹ London: The Sunday School Union, 1897. Small 4to, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

¹⁰ By C. J. Vaughan, D.D. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 356. Price, 6s.

tion. Dr Vaughan was an accomplished New Testament scholar, and his contributions to the interpretation of Acts, Romans, Philipians, and the Apocalypse have a distinct value of their own. He was above all a preacher—textual, practical, pointed, evangelical. The volume shows him at his best as a preacher. It is the second series of his University Sermons. It consists largely of discourses reprinted from editions which are rapidly becoming exhausted, or are now no longer in circulation. But it is none the less welcome for that. It contains some of his best and most memorable discourses, such as those delivered in connection with the Indian Mutiny and the death of the Prince Consort; and others, such as those on “The Work Burned, the Workman Saved,” “Regrets and Reparations of Human Life,” “The Great Decision,” &c., which will not be readily forgotten. In all we have the same admirable qualities of simplicity of style, earnestness, sympathy, practical force, and studious fidelity to the historical sense of the passage.

Having had Primers of Wordsworth, Tennyson, and others, we have now a *Primer of the Bible*.¹ It is an attractive book in point of form, and it is a good piece of writing. What it purposes to do is to show, in the light of the best criticism of these days, how the several books which make up our Bible came into being, how they stand to each other in chronological succession and other relations, how they are connected with the history of Israel, Judaism, and the Church, and how they became a collection of Sacred Writings set apart by the Church from all other writings of a religious kind. This is done by Professor Bennett in a way for which many students of Scripture will be grateful. The book is as scientific in the treatment of its subject as it is easy and pleasant to read. It gives a clearer and more scholarly outline of the history of the formation of the Bible than is to be found in any other book of anything like the same dimensions with which we are acquainted.

We are indebted to Mrs Lewis, of Cambridge, for the publication of an interesting *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*,² which forms the sixth part of the series known as *Studia Sinaitica*. The manuscript came into Mrs Lewis's possession in 1895, when she was passing through Cairo on her way to Mount Sinai. It was incomplete, the last ten leaves being missing. But it was found to contain Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles. It appears to have been used by the Malkite branch

¹ By W. H. Bennett, M.A., Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature, Hackney Coll., London, &c. London: Methuen & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 228. Price, 2s. 6d.

² Edited by Agnes Smith Lewis. With Critical Notes by Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D., and a Glossary by Margaret D. Gibson. London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1897. 4to, pp. cxli. 139. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

of the Syrian Church. Mrs Lewis prefers to speak of the dialect as "Palestinian" rather than "Jerusalem" Syriac, referring to Dalman's supposition that the Jewish Rabbis who fled "from Southern Judaea after the war with Hadrian migrated to Galilee, and thenceforward clothed their writings in a Galilean dress." She also notices the suggestion which has been made that the Lectionary is Egyptian. She admits that there is some probability in that, and points out that, if that is made good, two theories become possible: either that the dialect is not Palestinian nor Galilean at all, which is improbable, or else that there were Christian Syrians who sought refuge in Egypt from Roman oppression, and that "in Egypt service-books were written, the same in tongue, though perhaps differing slightly in form from those of the Malkite Syrians in Palestine. Among the more interesting readings is one in 1 Tim. iii. 16, which corroborates that in D gr., *ὁμολογοῦμεν ὡς*, and so far favours the idea that the verse gives part of an early creed. Professor Nestle furnishes many pages of Critical Notes, which add greatly to the value of the edition; Mrs Gibson has prepared a careful glossary, which will be appreciated by students.

The third volume of Professor Adolf Harnack's *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*¹ has gone into its third edition. That is a remarkable testimony to the impression made by the book. The volume deals with the history of the development of the Church's doctrines of sin, grace, and the means of grace, and with the threefold issue of the dogmatic process in Roman Catholicism, Anti-Unitarianism and Socinianism, and Protestantism. It gives us, therefore, Dr Harnack's estimates of Augustin's system, the positions of Gregory the Great, Bernard, Anselm, Luther, and other theologians of authority, the Pelagian, Predestinarian, Filioque, and other controversies. In this new edition the discussion of these great subjects has been brought up to date with an industry and a carefulness which may well astonish one. Some fifty monographs and larger treatises relating to the history of Dogma in the Western Church have appeared since the publication of the first edition of this volume. Diligent use has been made of these in the preparation of this issue, and other improvements and corrections have been introduced. In all that is essential, however, the conception and exposition of the Dogmatic process remain the same as before. Dr Harnack writes a new Preface, which is of special interest for the answers he gives to the weightier objections that have been made

¹ Dritter Band. Die Entwicklung des Kirchlichen Dogmas II., III., etc. Dritte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 1897. 8vo, pp. xxii. 840. Price,—Vol. II, 10s.; Vol. III., 17s.

to his method and his critical principles. The book is one with which all students of Christian doctrine have to reckon, and to which they will have to make frequent appeal. A full Index to the three volumes is appended, which will greatly help us in using this massive contribution to the theological literature of our time. The heavy task of translating the work into English is also being overtaken step by step. The third volume¹ of the English rendering is now before us, the first chapter of which, however, only takes us the length of the last chapter of the first volume of the German original. It carries us on to Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa in the exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and closes with the statement of Western views of Christ's work. The Appendix on Manichaeism is also given. We are glad that the translators have got even this length on their way, much as yet remains to be done.

We have to notice also a further instalment, the sixth, of the important *Lexicon*,² in the progress of which all Hebrew scholars rejoice, and for which they owe so much to the learning and the industry of the editors, Professors Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs; a second edition of the first part of the first volume of Moeller's *Kirchengeschichte*³—a work of real scholarship and of great practical utility, carefully revised now by Professor Schubert, of Kiel; a careful and intelligent translation of the *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*,⁴ with three valuable essays on "The Essential Nature of Sin," "Spirit and Matter," and "The Primary Criterion of Truth," by the Rev. Alan S. Hawkesworth, in which the trained theologian will find something to think of, if not to agree with in all points; a volume on *The Expansion of the Christian Life*,⁵ being the Duff Lecture for 1897, in which Dr Marshall Lang, of the Barony Parish, Glasgow, expounds with the glow of strong conviction an essential law of the religious life, and states in

¹ History of Dogma. By Dr Adolf Harnack, &c. Translated from the Third Edition of the German by James Millar, B.D. Vol. iii. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 336. Price, 10s. 6d.

² A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson, &c. Part vi. 75—827. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. 4to, pp. 441-528. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte von Dr Wilhelm Moeller, &c. Erster Band. Die alte Kirche. Erste Abtheilung. 2 Auflage. Neubearbeitet von Dr Hans von Schubert, &c. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 272. Price, M. 6.

⁴ With a Commendatory Preface by the Very Rev. E. A. Hoffman, S.T.D., LL.D. Albany: Riggs. 8vo, pp. 116.

⁵ Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 246. Price, 5s.

vivid, popular style how this great principle of Expansion first showed itself in the Christian community, how it has worked in Christian thought, in Christian civilisation, and towards the non-Christian religions, and what the missionary activity of the nineteenth century means; *Reasons for the Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*¹—one of the best, fairest, and most informing statements in brief compass with which we are acquainted on the subject of the Higher Criticism, its problems, its progress, and its defence; a series of Sermons² by Dr Joseph M'Cormick, Select Preacher at Oxford, 1895-7, discoursing wisely, reverently, and to edification of some of the great questions, doctrinal and practical, relating to sin; a most welcome translation of a book which has been already noticed in favourable terms in this Journal,³ Professor Gustav Krüger's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*,⁴ in many respects one of the very best of handbooks for a student.

The sixty-fifth number of the *Revue des Études Juives*, published by A. Durlacher, Paris, is full of matter. Considerable attention is given to historical studies. There are contributions, for example, to the history of the Jews in Corfu, a paper on *Les Juifs en Bretagne au XVIII^e Siècle*, notes on the history of the Jews in Spain. Other branches of Jewish lore are also represented. We have, e.g., a study of the term תהלה by M. Lambert, another by Israel Lévy on the Davidic Origin of Hillel, critical notes on the Pesikta Rabbah by W. Bacher, etc.

Professor Theodor Häring contributes an interesting article on Melancthon (*Rede zum vierhundertjährigen Geburtstag Philipp Melancthon*) to the fifth Heft of the Seventh Year of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. The same number contains a long article by J. Gottschick on *Paulinismus und Reformation*, in which an able and discriminating account is given of the relations between the Pauline doctrine and the Reformation Theology, the subordinate differences between the Pauline doctrine of Justification and the Lutheran, and the larger harmony between the two on fundamental ideas and practical connections and issues.

In addition to papers of a severer order and a series of admirable

¹ By the Rev. Isaac Gibson, Rector of St John's Church, Norriston, P.A. Introduction by the Rev. Willis Hazard, M.A. Philadelphia: Jacobs, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 100. Price, 50 cents. net.

² What is Sin? Sermons preached before the University of Oxford. London: Nisbet & Co., 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. 176. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Vol. v. pp. 426.

⁴ History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries. By Dr Gustav Krüger, &c. Translated by Rev. Charles R. Gillett, M.A., Librarian of the Union Theological Seminary in New York. With Corrections and Additions by the Author. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. xxiii. 409. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

reviews of recent philosophical publications, the *International Journal of Ethics* for October 1897 has several articles of a more popular kind, all of them readable and informing, one by Mr Leslie Stephen on *Nansen*, another by Mr P. E. Matheson on *Citizenship*, and an interesting appreciation of *Professor Jowett* by his successor in the Mastership of Balliol College.

We have received also the third number of the second year of the *Rivista Bibliografica Italiana*, published in Florence under the editorship of Sacc. Dott. S. Minocchi, which contains careful notices of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, xiv. 1, and other books, chiefly Italian; the *American Journal of Philology*, xviii. 1, giving, in addition to various articles of interest to the student of Greek and Latin literature, instructive reviews of Peck's *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, Hopkins's *Handbook of The Religions of India*, etc.; the second *Hef*t of the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche*¹ for the present year, in which among other papers of varied interest special reference may be made to those by Professor Gubelmann of Rochester, N.Y., on *The Relation of the Authority of Holy Scripture to the Authority of Christ*, and P. Walter Rauschenbusch on *The Eschatology of the Gospel and Epistles of John and that of the Apocalypse Compared*; further parts of the eighth year of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, the seventh *Hef*t having an article by Dr Johannes Kunze on a New Egyptian Symbol (referred to also in his *Marcus Eremita*), and the eighth containing among other things a careful historical statement by Pastor O. Undritz of Reval, which traces the development of Luther's doctrine of Scripture from the Leipsic Disputation to the Diet of Worms (April 1519 to April 1521), and his break with Pope, Council, and Church.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- BURROWS, Rev. W. O. Second Book of Kings. With Introduction. Notes, and Maps. London: Rivington. 12mo, pp. 146. 1s. 6d.
- LEWIS, Mrs A. S. *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 6. A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, etc. Cambridge: University Press. 4to. 12s. 6d. net.
- COWLEY, A. E. and NEUBAUER, Ad. *Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11*. Translated from the Original Hebrew and arranged in Parallel Columns with the English Revised Version of 1895. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xii. 65. 2s. 6d.
- SINKER, R. *Hezekiah and his Age*. London: Eyre. Cr. 8vo, pp. 202. 3s. 6d.

¹ Warrenton, Mo.

- RYLE, Prof. H. E. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, with Introduction and Notes. (Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools.) Cambridge: University Press. 18mo, pp. 94. 1s.
- DEANE, Rev. W. J., and Others. Ecclesiastes. (The Pulpit Commentary.) New ed. London: Paul, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. 610. 6s.
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- THOMAS, C. Handbuch der Geschichte des Alten u. Neuen Bundes. Ein Handbuch zum geschichtl. Verständnis des Alten Testaments. Besonders f. Lehrer. Magdeb: S. Böhling. 8vo, pp. xii. 819. M.9.
- ASCHKANAZE, M. Tempus Loquendi. Ueber die Agada der Palastinens. Amoräer. Nach der neuesten Darstellung. Strassb. i. E.: Fr. Engelhardt. 8vo, pp. 82. M.2.40.
- LOMBARD, J. Le Livre des Psaumes. Annecy: Abry. 18mo, pp. vii. 324.
- BUTTENWIESER, M. Die Hebräische Elias-Apokalypse u. ihre Stellung in der Apokalyptischen Litteratur des Rabbinischen Schrifttums u. der Kirche. 1. Hälfte. Kritische Ausgabe m. Erläuterugn. sprachl. Untersuchgn. u. e. Einleitg. nebst Uebersetzg. u. Untersuchg. der Abfassungszeit. Leipz: Pfeiffer. 8vo, pp. vii. 82. M.3.
- KERBER, G. Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Hebräischen Eigennamen des Alten Testaments v. Neuem geprüft. Freibg. i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. iii. 99. M.2.80.
- BEER, G. Der Text des Buches Hiob untersucht. 2. Hft. Kapitel xv.—Schluss. Marbg.: N. G. Elwert Verl. 8vo, pp. xvi. 89-258. M.5.60.
- Sacharja, der Prophet. Von d. Verfasser des Propheten 'Habakuk' u. 'Haggai' u. des christl. Hausschatzes. Berlin: Deutsche Evang. Buch- u. Tractagesellsch. 8vo, pp. iii. 296. M.2.
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- Das Buch Hiob. Uebers. v. B. Duhm. Die poetischen u. prophetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Uebersetzungen in den Versmassen der Urschrift. 1. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xx. 17. M.1.20.

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- ABRAHAM, I. Some Egyptian Fragments of the Passover Hagada. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1897.
- GRAY, G. Buchanan. Critical Remarks on Psalms LVII. and LIX. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1897.
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- RIESSLER, P. Zur Textgeschichte d. Buches Daniel. *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 4, 1897.
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- SCHODDE, Prof. G. H. Israel's Place in Universal History. *The Biblical World*, Oct. 1897.
- HARPER, Dr W. R. The Child Prophecies of Isaiah. *The Biblical World*, Dec. 1897.

II.—NEW TESTAMENT.

- BROUGH, J. The Early Life of our Lord. London: Murray. Cr. 8vo, pp. 274. 5s.

- WHITE, Rev. H. J. Old Latin Biblical Texts. No. 4. Portions of the Acts of the Apostles, of the Epistle of James, and of the First Epistle of St Peter. Edited by H. J. W. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo. 5s.
- DRESSMANN, Adolf. Neue Bibelstudien. Sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften zur Erklärung des Neuen Testaments. Marburg: Elwert. 8vo, pp. 110. F. 3.50.
- ARMSTRONG, R. A. The Significance of the Teaching of Jesus. London: P. Green. Cr. 8vo, pp. 50. 1s net.
- NICOLL, Dr W. Robertson. The Incarnate Saviour: A Life of Jesus Christ. New and cheaper edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 332. 3s 6d.
- TITIUS, A. Das Verhältniß der Herrnworte im Markusevangelium zu den Logia des Matthäus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. 50. M.1.60.
- WEISS, J. Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. 87. M.2.80.
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## The Early History of the Hebrews.

By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford.  
London: Rivingtons, 1897. 8vo, pp. v.-xv., 1-492. Price,  
8s. 6d.

PROFESSOR SAYCE's last book does not demand a lengthy notice, since the greater part of it consists of matter which has appeared in some of his previous publications, such as *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1893), and *Patriarchal Palestine* (1895). The present work professes to relate the history of the Hebrews from the time of the Patriarchs to that of Solomon. "During the last few years," says the author in the Preface, "discovery after discovery has come crowding upon us from the ancient East, revolutionising all our past conceptions of early Oriental history, and opening out a new and unexpected world of culture and civilisation." The reader will naturally ask, What evidence has Professor Sayce, in consequence of these discoveries, been able to bring forward on the subject of the history of Israel during the period in question?

Unfortunately it must be said that, as to all the main points at issue, the testimony which he has produced amounts to nothing. We possess, it is true, many inscriptions which are far older than the time of Solomon; but, with a single exception, none of these documents contains the faintest allusion to the Israelites. The single exception is an obscure reference in a well-known Egyptian inscription discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie; here Israel figures in a list of foreign nations who are said to have been vanquished by King Menepthah II. (fourteenth century B.C.). According to Professor Sayce, the passage is to be rendered: "The Israelites are spoiled so that they have no seed" (p. 159). This seems sufficiently vague, and what makes the matter worse is that Professor Sayce himself doubts the veracity of the "court-poet" by whom the inscription was composed. "He has skilfully combined the victories of Menepthah with those of his father, and given him the credit of conquests which he had not made" (p. 160). Thus all the *external* testimony as to "the early history of the Hebrews" reduces itself to one doubtful phrase. How, therefore, are we to test the trustworthiness of the Biblical narratives which relate to this period? Are the Patriarchs, for example, to be regarded as real persons? Did the Israelites enter Palestine peace-

ably, or as conquerors? From what quarter did they come, and to what degree of civilisation had they attained at the time of their arrival? These, it will be seen, are questions of fundamental importance, but unhappily Professor Sayce is not able to throw light upon a single one of them. In the absence of all direct evidence—apart from the Old Testament itself—he has recourse to vague arguments from analogy. He concludes, for example, from what is known as to the history of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Canaanites, that certain things are *likely* to have occurred—and, therefore, *did* occur—among the Hebrews. Here he frequently makes a mistake, natural enough in an ordinary European, but altogether inexcusable in an Orientalist, namely, that of ignoring the distinction between the settled peoples and the nomads, and of assuming that the arts and the literary culture which existed among the former must necessarily have existed also among the latter (pp. 121, 122). But if we wish to realise the uncertainty of the results obtained by arguing from the history of the East in general to the history of the Israelites in particular, we have only to compare the conclusions of Professor Sayce with those of another well-known Assyriologist, Dr Hugo Winckler, the editor and translator of the Tell-el-Amarna letters. In 1895 Dr Winckler published a *History of Israel*, and it is remarkable that on almost every important question his verdict is diametrically opposed to that of Professor Sayce. According to Dr Winckler, the Patriarchs never existed, the Israelites were never in Egypt, the whole account of the Exodus is consequently fictitious, and neither Moses nor Joshua is a historical person. The great majority of Biblical critics, it need hardly be said, occupy an intermediate position between Professor Sayce and Dr Winckler. But how do these two historians come to differ so widely? The answer is plain: as yet the inscriptions have neither distinctly confirmed nor distinctly contradicted the statements in the Bible as to the early history of the Hebrews, and hence the opinions which archæologists pronounce upon the subject naturally vary in accordance with their modes of interpreting the Biblical narrative.

Since then our information as to Israelite history, before the time of the kings, is derived entirely from the Old Testament, we have next to consider how far Professor Sayce is competent to deal with these writings. It may be assumed that no one can form an independent opinion as to the interpretation of the text unless he has carefully studied the Hebrew language and the kindred dialects which often serve to elucidate it. Some minds doubtless find much more pleasure in constructing bold theories about Amorites and Hittites, Sabaeans and Minaeans, than in learning the use of verbs and particles; but the fact remains, humiliating as it may appear,

that without an accurate knowledge of ancient languages a man cannot reasonably hope to make discoveries in ancient history. In this respect, as every impartial critic will admit, Professor Sayce is lamentably defective. What is to be said of the scholarship of a man who tells us that the Hebrew for "after him" is *akharono* (p. 35 note), that the name *Israel* is derived from the root *yds̄har* "to be upright" (p. 73), and that the words יִשָּׂשכָר בֶּן בָּרָק, in Judg. v. 15, literally (*sic*) mean "Issachar [is] like Barak" (p. 297, note 1)? Hebraists who are acquainted with Professor Sayce's other works must be aware that these are by no means unfair specimens of his philology. Similar inaccuracy shows itself in his references to the kindred dialects. In the book before us he asserts, for instance, that "in Canaanite or Phoenician the definite article of Hebrew did not exist" (p. 301 note). Could this have been written by a man who had seriously studied the Phoenician inscriptions? The definite article, expressed, as in Biblical Hebrew, by the prefix ה, is found in many Phoenician inscriptions; in a single one (*Corpus Inscr. Sem.* i. No. 165) it occurs *no less than twenty-four times*. Strange to say, Professor Sayce has given a translation of this very inscription on pp. 204-206 of his book. Did he ever read the original? Or is his acquaintance with the Phoenician inscriptions derived from translations made by other people? It must be remembered that he undertakes to supply us with the latest and most trustworthy information, based upon his own study of "the monuments." What then are his readers to think when they find that, in so elementary a matter, his assertions about the Phoenician language are refuted by the very inscriptions which he professes to translate?

Professor Sayce's method of criticising historical documents bears a great resemblance to his method of studying languages, that is to say, he combines a maximum of speculation with a minimum of investigation. He treats the Hebrew Scriptures much as they were treated by the old Rationalistic School at the beginning of this century; in other words, he accepts as true those statements which seem to him probable in themselves, and casts aside the remainder as fabulous or exaggerated. The question of the *attestation*, which is at the basis of all scientific historical criticism, is wholly ignored. No doubt it is much easier for a historian to state his general impressions than to analyse and digest a mass of complicated evidence; but without a critical analysis of the sources history becomes mere arbitrary guess-work. That a task involving a minute study of details should be highly distasteful to such minds as that of Professor Sayce is only what we might have expected (see pp. 100 *seq.*). He is apparently quite unconscious of the fact that the method which he despises is employed not only by Biblical critics,

but by all modern historians of repute. How disastrous are the consequences of neglecting literary analysis may be seen from almost every part of Professor Sayce's work. Thus, to give one instance, he is quite willing to accept the story about the vast quantities of gold, silver, and other costly materials which were used for the construction of the Tabernacle (p. 200). But the accounts of the numbering of the people he rejects (p. 211). Yet both stories rest on the same authority, and in fact they are inseparably connected, as Nöldeke has proved (*Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, 1869, p. 122). What right, therefore, have we to take the one and refuse the other? Is our own subjective intuition to be the sole arbiter in such matters? Or again, what are we to say of Professor Sayce's constant attempts to substitute "natural phenomena" for miracles? He suggests, for instance, that when the Israelites crossed the Jordan the drying up of the river-bed was due to some such occurrence as the fall of a mound, which impeded, for a while the flow of the waters (pp. 248, 249)? These theories, we should have thought, had long ago been abandoned by serious writers of history. Readers of Grote and of Freeman scarcely need to be reminded that myths are not necessarily, or even usually, exaggerations of real events; that there are "plausible myths" as well as wildly extravagant myths; and that, consequently, before we accept or reject a narrative, we have to inquire what was the purpose of the narrator and what means he had of obtaining information.

It must be added that Professor Sayce's book is disfigured by faults far worse than mere inaccuracy and inconclusiveness. Here, as in so many of the works which he has published of late, his reckless self-confidence perpetually leads him, not only to misrepresent, in the grossest manner, the views of other writers, but also to express an immeasurable contempt for any persons who venture to doubt the infallibility of "the Assyriologist," by which title he seems always to mean himself. Thus in his Preface (p. ix.) he inveighs against those who "in complacent ignorance of the cuneiform texts" do not accept his decipherment of certain names and his interpretation of a certain phrase. "The Assyriologist," he continues, "may therefore be pardoned if he finds in such displays of ignorance merely a proof of the worthlessness of the 'critical' method." The reader will perhaps be surprised to learn that among these complacently ignorant persons are to be found some of the most learned Assyriologists of our time, such men as Zimmern, Jensen, and Peiser. Can we suppose that the reputation of these eminent scholars will be injured by the fact that Professor Sayce considers them "ignorant"? But his vituperations, though unjustifiable, are perhaps not altogether inexplicable. It is notorious that during the last few years one Assyriologist after another has come

forward to caution the public against too implicit a belief in the assertions of Professor Sayce. Here it is enough to cite some remarks by Dr Jensen, Professor of Assyriology at Marburg, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. x. (1895), p. 378. "*Sayce's discovery*," he writes, with reference to a certain theory, "*crumbles away to nothing, as is the case with almost everything else that he has made out, pointed out, and discovered.*" These warnings, it is plain, have had some effect; both in English and in American journals there have lately been signs of a growing distrust of Professor Sayce's revelations. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*

A. A. BEVAN.

Ἀόγια Ἱησοῦ.

*Sayings of our Lord, from an early Greek Papyrus, discovered and edited, with Translation and Commentary, by Bernard P. Grenfell, M.A., sometime Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Queen's College, and Arthur S. Hunt, M.A., sometime Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, Senior Demy of Magdalen College. With two plates. Published for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, London, E.C. 1897. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 6d. net.*

Ueber die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu.

*Von Ad. Harnack, Berlin. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1897. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, M.0.80.*

*The Recently Discovered Sayings of Jesus, by the Rev. Professor Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin. "Expositor" for November and December 1897. A translation of the preceding.*

*Note on the above Paper, by the Rev. Professor J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Cambridge. "Expositor" for December 1897.*

*Two Lectures on the 'Sayings of Jesus' recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus, delivered at Oxford on Oct. 23, 1897, by the Rev. Walter Lock, D.D., Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, and the Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. 49. Price, 1s. 6d. net.*

IN addition to the publications which appear at the head of this article, the Oxyrhynchus fragment has called forth an immense number of lectures, pamphlets, letters, and articles. The bibliographical list, which is published along with Professors Lock and Sanday's Lectures, contains not far short of a hundred different

publications, all dealing with the *Logia*. In all this literature there is, naturally, the greatest variety of opinion expressed as to the date and character of the fragment, as to the meaning of its contents, and the filling up of its lacunae. On one point, however, there is the greatest unanimity. All are agreed as to the merits of the edition in which Messrs Grenfell and Hunt first introduced the discovery to the public. We may venture to predict that the "Two Lectures" in which Professors Lock and Sanday combine at the close of the year to take stock of the progress of the criticism and interpretation of the Sayings, will meet with an equally favourable reception. Along with the Two Lectures are published the careful Bibliography already mentioned, and a very valuable edition of the text, with emendations and illustrations, the latter printed in full both from Biblical and other sources.<sup>1</sup> For all this, the revised text, the critical apparatus, the illustrations, and the bibliography, the authors are jointly responsible. In the Lectures, they divide the subject between them, Professor Lock taking the interpretation of the Sayings, Professor Sanday their history and origin, though, of necessity, each occasionally treads upon the other's ground.

One point—we may say, the only one—on which the first editors have met with any unfavourable criticism, namely, the use of the title *Logia*, the new editors have completely threshed out between them. On the one hand, Professor Sanday opportunely reminds us that Messrs Grenfell and Hunt called the contents of the fragment '*Logia*,' not '*the Logia*,' and maintains that the title is in itself appropriate, that the contents of the fragment "are exactly what is meant by '*Logia*'—brief, authoritative, and, as it were, oracular sayings." On the other hand, Professor Lock does not think that the title *Λόγια* is wrong, but that we ought to remember that there is no authority for it as the title of this document. Many, he adds, will think it a probable suggestion, but considering that the phrase *Λόγια Ἰησοῦ* never occurs, and that the phrase *λόγια* or *τὰ λόγια*, with *Θεοῦ* or *τοῦ Κυρίου* or *Κυριακά*, most frequently seems to have another meaning, it seems at least as probable that the real title was *Λόγοι Ἰησοῦ*. Dr Lock further adds that, even if *Λόγια* is the correct title, "*Sayings*" is scarcely an adequate translation; '*Solemn Utterances*,' or '*Oracles*,' would, as Professor

<sup>1</sup> To the Bibliography may now be added the Note on Professor Harnack's Paper in the December *Expositor* by the Rev. Professor J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Cambridge, and a Letter in the *Guardian* of January 19, 1898, by the Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, of Exeter College; Canon Rawnsley's "*Sayings of Jesus*," Six Village Sermons on the Papyrus Fragment; Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, price One Shilling, and "*The Christ Always with Us*," a Sermon, by Charles Hargrove, M.A., price One Penny; Leeds: Goodall & Suddick, may also be mentioned.

Sanday suggests, better reproduce the authoritative associations of the word.

Especial attention may be called to the 'Text, with Emendations and Illustrations,' published with the Two Lectures, which alone will be sufficient to render this publication as indispensable to the student of the Logia as the *editio princeps* was in the beginning. In each case where the manuscript is deficient the selected conjecture is embodied in the text, and it and the other conjectural readings are given in the notes. Some of the conjectures are very attractive. But it must be remembered that they are all, as Dr Sanday warns us, only conjectures as yet. It would be assuming too much to regard any of them as certainties. Even those which seem most likely may be in reality quite wide of the mark. The field is, therefore, still open to any one who has anything better to suggest.

Amongst the most striking things that have been written about the Logia are Professor Harnack's comments on what he calls the introduction to the third Saying. They raise visions of discoveries which may yet be before us. "In this introduction," he says, "there is as much to surprise us as there is little in the Saying proper. 'I placed myself (stepped, stood) in the midst of the world, and in the flesh I appeared to them,' &c. At the first glance one is inclined to think (as the editors recognise) of some speech of Jesus which He delivered to His disciples after His Resurrection. Of so-called Gospels, in which Jesus speaks when returned to life, we know quite enough. But on closer examination we are compelled to abandon this suggestion. The transition to the present *πανεῖ*, in other words, the declaration that His soul (now, still) labours (suffers) for mankind, is incomprehensible if it is to be the risen Jesus who is speaking. It shows that in these words we must recognise a backward glance upon His work on the part of the still living not the risen Christ. The thought with which it introduced answers to the belief of Paul, of John, and of 1 Timothy iii. 16. Everyone will be reminded of this passage: *ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ὡφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ*, and of John i. 10, 11, 14. But that this confession of faith should be put into the mouth of Jesus, and at the same time in a strongly rhetorical form (*ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου*), goes considerably beyond the old Gospels. John, at any rate, did not venture to put into the mouth of Jesus, so definitely as this, that which he prefixed to his Gospel in the Prologue. In the Gospel Jesus speaks of his pre-existence in allusions. Here, however, Jesus speaks as a Divine Being. The Gospel out of which this saying is taken must really have been a Logos-Gospel, whether the word Logos appeared in it or not. That is to say, it must have been a Gospel to which the characteristic type of John's Gospel must



have been related as the immediately preceding stage. . . We learn by a single saying the existence of a Gospel which teaches us that the line, which leads from the Synoptics to John, was carried still further."

But, while this is so, Professor Harnack continues, the Sayings show that they proceed from a source which in form and contents stands much closer to the Synoptics than the Fourth Gospel does.

"Thus we have not to assume a direct succession—Synoptics, John, our Gospel—but a dual development. The Johannine Gospel has emancipated itself from the old tradition far more than the Gospel from which our Sayings are derived. But inasmuch as it does not present Christ describing Himself directly as a Divine Being who has appeared in the flesh, it remains historically more accurate in regard to the decisive and chief question."

If these speculations are correct, Professor Harnack may well add: "How much of the history of theology, how much whose issues are still far from cleared up, lies in this single Logion! In the same breath Jesus all but describes Himself as the supra-mundane Being manifested in the flesh, and yet speaks, as He does in the Synoptics, of the *πνεῖν*, the weary labour of His soul."

In the second part of his essay, Professor Harnack gives further reason for thinking that the Sayings are extracted from a Gospel, and concludes that the Gospel from which they are taken is the Gospel of the Egyptians.

But Harnack's reasons for believing that the Sayings are taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians are not convincing. The first proof that the Sayings come from a Gospel is derived, as we have seen, from the use of the word *πνεῖν*, which would not have been in place, Professor Harnack thinks, after the Resurrection, and therefore must have been taken from a narrative of the earthly life of Christ. But is this certain? Professor Lock does not think so. He maintains that the present *πνεῖ* is quite conceivable for the post-resurrection life, comparing Acts ix. 5, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." Compare also Ephes. iv. 30 and Heb. vi. 6. Sanday is of the same opinion, adding that "the most natural interpretation of the aorists *ἔστην*, *ᾤφθην*, *εὔρον*, is that they are spoken from the point of view of the period after the Resurrection."

Professor Harnack's second reason for thinking that the Sayings are extracted directly from a Gospel, is contained in the fourth Saying,<sup>1</sup> which, he says, "shows clearly that it is taken from a

<sup>1</sup> "Jesus saith, Wherever there are \* \* \* and there is one \* \* \* alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I." ([λέγει [Ἰησοῦς, ὅπου ἔαν ὦσιν[\*\*\*\*]ε[\*\*\*]\*\* θεοὶ καὶ [\*\*]ἡρᾳ[\*\*]ἔστιν μόνος[\*\*] τῷ ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ]. ἐγγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον καὶ εὐρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰμι.)

larger context; for we have to supply the fact that the Lord is here speaking of His disciples" (December *Expositor*, p. 403). That is to say, he assumes that the reading *οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι* is the undoubted reading of the MS., and that the nominative to *εἰσὶν* must be supplied from the preceding context, and he founds his argument on the assumption thus made. But as yet the reading is only conjectural. The conjecture is, no doubt, an obvious and likely one, but at this stage it cannot possibly be accepted as certain, or made the basis of an argument as to the origin of the fragment. It is not the reading preferred by the Oxford professors, who have provisionally adopted another reading, namely, the conjecture of Blass, *ᾧπου ἐὰν ᾧσιν β*, &c.

Harnack's theory that the Sayings are taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians seems to be open to another very obvious objection. All the Sayings, as far as we can judge of them, appear to have a well marked parallel structure like the parallelism of Hebrew poetry. The only possible exceptions are the first and last Sayings, both of which are incomplete. Now there is no trace of this parallel construction in any of the eight Sayings of Jesus which Professor Harnack produces as undoubted extracts from the Gospel of the Egyptians. This does not look as if the Sayings in the newly-discovered fragments were part of the same composition which contained the other eight, unless we are to suppose that the form of the Sayings was altered when they were extracted from the Gospel. But this supposition would, of course, be fatal to the argument derived from the missing nominative to *εἰσὶν*. If the form of the Saying was changed in transferring it from the Gospel, it is not likely that the verb would have been left without a subject when the Saying was reconstructed.

But, whether the Sayings are taken from a Gospel or not, Harnack's remarks on their theological character retain their value. The theology of the Sayings is Logos theology, though it may not have been embodied in a Logos Gospel. Here we may quote Professor Sanday, who "cannot think, in spite of all that has been said in various quarters, that the opening words, *ἔσται ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὥφθην αὐτοῖς*, could ever have come from our Lord. 'To come' or 'appear,' or 'be manifested in the flesh,' is a phrase which belongs to the later Apostolic age—to the Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistles of St John." Dr Lock, however, "inclines rather more than Dr Sanday does to the possibility that some at least of the new Sayings may be genuine, and to the theory which would see in the document a copy of some pre-canonical collection of our Lord's discourses." Sanday, again, holds that, though none of the new matter represents, as it stands, a genuine saying of our Lord, the author starts, as a rule, from

genuine sayings, but works them up in a sense of his own, much as he supposes the writer of the Fourth Gospel to have done, but with this difference, that the material of the Logia editor did not rest on the same basis of personal experience.

Of the remarkable words, "Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood and I am there," Dr Lock offers us the choice of no less than five, really six, different interpretations. But both he and Dr Sanday produce strong reasons for giving the preference to that which first suggests itself, and which appears the simplest and most natural, namely, to take the text "as referring to the presence of Christ as the Logos in inanimate nature as well as with the Church, even in its smallest fractions." This meaning, Professor Sanday adds, is peculiar, but not necessarily heterodox. Not necessarily so. But the cautious words of Dr Lock ought to be added: "It does not deny Christ's personality or merge Him in nature, though it must be admitted that it finds its closest analogies in the Gnostic writers whom we have quoted, and whose teaching tended to that issue."

There is another point, too, upon which it looks as if first thoughts were likely to prove best. How to interpret the words 'Jesus says,' Professor Lock considers one of the most difficult points. But he declares his preference for the view that "the present has a *mystical* force; the past Saying of the Lord still speaks, and speaks with an authoritative tone, somewhat akin to Cowper's line, 'Jesus speaks and speaks to thee.'"

On the whole we may perhaps sum up our conclusions so far in the following propositions:—

1. That the contents of the fragment formed part of a collection of Sayings attributed to Jesus.
2. That the Sayings are not all taken from the Canonical Gospels, or founded on them.
3. That some of them are apparently founded on sayings which appear in a simpler form in the Synoptic Gospels.
4. That they appear to belong to a stream of tradition different from the traditions of the Canonical Gospels, different but related.
5. That there is no evidence to show whether they were culled from a Gospel or Gospels, or from any other written composition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the remarks which I ventured to make above on Harnack's opinion that the Logia were taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians, I was only dealing with the reasons which he gives for thinking that the Sayings were extracted from the Gospel. I did not attempt to discuss the reasons given by him or by Dr Armitage Robinson for thinking that there may have been a close relation between the Gospel and the Logia. "Whatever we may think," writes Dr Sanday, "about the view that the Sayings are extracted from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, they may well have had their birth in proximity to it."

6. That they have a common literary character, which may have been due to the compiler or editor.

7. That in the present form the Sayings were not spoken by Jesus, and do not belong to the earliest age.

8. That the theology of (some of) the Sayings is like the theology of the Fourth Gospel, while the form and contents generally are more like the Synoptics.

9. That the passage about raising the stone and cleaving the wood is capable of an orthodox interpretation, but that it may also have been written or understood in a pantheistic sense.

JOHN A. CROSS.

### **The Mysteries Pagan and Christian.**

*Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1896-97. By S. Cheetham, D.D., F.S.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester, Hon. Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Fellow and Emeritus Professor of King's College, London. London: Macmillan & Co. 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 150. Price, 5s.*

ARCHDEACON CHEETHAM has selected for his Hulsean Lectures a subject far wider than that of mere antiquarian research. Rightly regarded, and from a modern point of view, the Mysteries seem a strange survival of the old Pagan type of thought passing on into and mingling with the new current of thought brought in by Christianity. There are two errors on the subject in opposite extremes against which the Hulsean lecturer sets his face resolutely. The one type of thought, of which the school of Warburton may be named as the representative, laid the greatest stress on these 'Mysteries,' and pressed them into the service as a kind of left-handed argument for the Divine Legation of Moses. The other school, of which we may name John Locke as the representative, fell into the opposite extreme, and annulled and extinguished all significance of the Mysteries. "What had the Gospel scheme," it asked, "in common with these mystery men?" "There is nothing secret, it is said, which shall not be revealed," and they rejected with scorn the thought of a religion which contained anything covered or concealed. "We use great plainness of speech," was the boast of this Christianity of common sense.

It is not too late for Archdeacon Cheetham to step in between these opposite extremes and to lay down a theory of the Mysteries which may be described as a mediation theory. Put concisely and in a few sentences, the position taken up by Archdeacon Cheetham is this—

"Whatever may have been their influence, the ancient Mysteries are gone. They made their attempt, not probably and wholly a vain attempt, to gild the life of man by the gleam of hope of a life to come—better, purer, and brighter than that which we now had. But they were essentially a part of the old Paganism, and as the unique culture died away, the rites and customs, which it brought forth, faded and vanished also. In the third and fourth centuries after Christ, we see it in its death throes. Paganism is smitten with a senile decay, while youthful Christianity is strong with a God-given strength. Before the day-spring from on high, the heretics of the mystic rite pale their ineffectual fire. The darkness is passing away, and the true light already shineth; earth-born clouds still hang round the Sun of Righteousness; clouds even in our own land where Christ has been preached for many generations; clouds darker still in the lands where Christ is unknown; yet we know that the dawn has begun, we know that the day-spring from on high has visited us, and we doubt not that it will shine more and more unto the perfect day."

In this there is much which connects the Mysteries with the Christian Church. The older view of the Pagan Mysteries was that in them was taught an esoteric doctrine, better and nobler than that of the popular religion which had been handed down through a constant succession of priests or hierophants, and imparted from age to age to select votaries who kept the secret of their knowledge. It is this view, the traditional one of the Mysteries, which Archdeacon Cheetham sets aside without much compunction. There was little that was critical in these theories. They were generally based on the assumption of some hidden master of India or the East, and stranger still, some primitive revelation to all mankind in the patriarchal age. The Hulsean lecturer has little difficulty in brushing aside these conjectures of a precritical age, but when it comes to what he has to set up in their stead, we are met with the same difficulty as all the new German school, when they have to change front, and instead of sweeping off the board the old traditions, they have to set up some positive theory in its stead. It is easy to go with one half of the Niebuhr school, but not so easy to follow Mommsen and his into the constructive half of early Roman history. It is the same with Archdeacon Cheetham. He can demolish, without much trouble, Warburton and his "amazing theory," but when he takes up with Lobeck in attempting a constructive account of the Mysteries, we find ourselves in a wood. It is the case as with most German theorists; we fail to "see the trees for the wood." Lobeck, we are told, introduced order where all had been chaos, and distinguished where his predecessors had confused; Greek traits were cleared from Oriental, and private separated from public rites. The Orphic

Mysteries, for instance, which really belonged to a kind of secret society, were shown to be different in kind from the Eleusinian. "It must be confessed, however" (our author dryly adds), "that Lobeck treats his subject in too hard and unsympathetic a spirit, tending to ignore the aspirations after higher things than those of the common life, which were, after all, found in the Mysteries."

The result of the whole enquiry is that the new learning has not done much to replace the old on this well-worn subject. In all ages of faith there have been reformers before the Reformation, and they have generally, to escape persecution, gone masked under the veil of Mystery. They have set up a kind of sham priesthood to set at naught the vain pretensions of the current creed. It is singularly to the credit of the early Church how seldom and sparsely it fell under the reproach of the old mystery-mongers. It was with "open face," and "not as Moses," that apostles taught in the earliest age of all. This good tradition lingered long in the Church, and it was only, as the age of persecution passed away with Constantine's fatal donation and expedient conversion, that men began to set up a new *rapprochement* with the old Mysteries. In an age corrupt with false asceticism and seething with sacerdotalism, it was easy to cross the border and set up a strange correspondence between sacraments and mysteries, when the magical view of the ordinance replaced the moral, and Mystery, *per accidens*, passed into mystification, *per abusum*. The Church then grew into the "cloistered pale," and having forsaken her mission as the leaven, never ceasing till it had leavened the whole, she then became the world's antagonist, fighting the fight, however, with changed weapons, and only resulting in that type of sanctity best described as other-worldliness.

We part then with Archdeacon Cheetham, very favourably impressed with the range of his inquiries and his wide and accurate scholarship. Like most men of the new Cambridge school of light and leading, he is less penetrated with philosophical ideas than with a wide and exact knowledge of what others before him have said and thought on the subject. We should have liked to follow him had he led the way into these fascinating by-paths of scholarship in which the Sibylline books were seriously believed in, and sibyls were either much more historical than the witches and pyxies which replaced them in later times. These extra-canonical prophets and prophetesses, whose inspiration was never doubted till far down below Reformation times—all this opens up a fascinating line of research, in which much side-light might be thrown on the transition of Christianity from a primitive or Judaic type to a later or Hellenic type. It is singular, however, as corroborating all that has been said on the subject of the Mysteries, that they were almost

entirely of the Hellenic type. Roman ideas entered here scarcely, if at all. The Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries were Greek exclusively, the reaction of a chattering, superstitious age against the popular creed, which was too gross and realistic for the serious attention of a single serious mind. In a land where altars were raised to Piety, Fame, and Friendship, no such reaction could arise, for none such was needed. The Romans were not as much misled by priestcraft as the too credulous Greeks, hence the reaction of the Mysteries, which was only a petty under-current in Rome, rose in Greece to the height and force of a hurricane, and coloured the whole life of the people. Theology should take account of all these reactions. Preller's remarks on the subject are very much to the point. We quote them from Archdeacon Cheetham :—

“Christianity did not win its victory without receiving some wounds, of which it even now bears the scars : for careful and extensive research would certainly show that much of that which in the Catholic Church (whether Roman or Greek) is not derived from the Gospel, particularly as regards ritual, is to be referred to that contest, and to be regarded as spoils from the Pagan Mysteries, taken over into the enemy's camp.” Renan goes one step further, and bluntly asserts that “the primitive form of Christian worship was a Mystery ; all the internal discipline of the Church, the grades of initiation, the injunction of secrecy, and numerous peculiar ecclesiastical terms, have no other origin.” Much to the same effect was the late lamented Dr Hatch's conclusion, who said that all “the elements which are found in the later, and not in the earlier form of the sacraments, are elements which are found outside Christianity in the Mysteries and Thiasî.”

Here we must break off and conclude our survey of this fascinating subject. When polytheism was in the air, so to speak, and none thought otherwise, but a few of the Socratic school, we can understand the rise and spread of the Mysteries. To these the early Church turned as fellow confessors of the same truth, that God was one, and His name one. Instead of the sterile Monotheism of the Jew, they branched out into questions of the hereafter, and rewards and punishments, which left the Jew far behind in his old Mosaic pinfold. This was the grain of truth in the Warburton theory, which scarcely deserved to be waived aside as beneath notice in the critical age. We owe much to German scholarship, and University lecturers are only too ready to pay their debts in the shekel money of the sanctuary. But we wish it had been otherwise, for then we should have known how much we owe of our Christian origins to these unconscious imitations of the rite of the old Mysteries. Did baptism grow up, for instance, as an unconscious following of the rite of initiation into the Mysteries? If so,

does it not throw light on the strange neglect of infant baptism up to an age far beyond that of Augustine? It clearly was regarded not so much as a soul-saving rite as the act of initiation into the higher circle of the enlightened. All this shows us how much the early Church was indebted to the practices and traditions of still earlier times, before the name of Christ was known, and when gross idolatry lay dark and thick on mankind. The Church hailed these pre-Christian Reformers. They were to them the herald of a coming dawn, when the sun was not yet risen on the earth. Much of this Archdeacon Cheetham readily recognises, but the spell of modern German scholarship lies heavy on him, and many of these side issues he only glances at, and passes on without attempting much constructive argument. Lectures, in a word, are the least satisfactory method of discussing these subjects. Their method is acroamatic, and once glanced at, the lecturer has to pass on, driven on by the resistless sweep of his subject. There is no turning back—no winding in and out into conjectures and hair-breadth analogies. We are never asked what might have been had the Greek type prevailed over the Latin, as was, unfortunately, not the case in the West, at least. To the Latin mind, as we have seen, the subject of the Mysteries was of little interest, and was soon forgotten and left behind. More engrossing themes absorbed their attention, but, at least, the Archdeacon is to be thanked for turning us into one of the by-ways of history, and raising enquiries as to the action of an obscure line of thought on the evolution of Church history. Mysteries, in a word, are sacraments and symbols, and were we not pledged to a straitened sense of sacrament in its dual aspect, we should see its meaning afresh in the lines:—

“ When love interprets what the eye discerns,  
When mind discovers what is truly meant,  
When man from nature, nature's meaning learns,  
Each sight and sound becomes a sacrament.”

J. B. HEARD.

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### **The Celtic Church in Ireland.**

*By James Heron, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Assembly's College, Belfast. London: Service & Paton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price, 7s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR HERON presents an account of the making of the Church in Ireland in a short volume which will serve the general reader, and in a scientific form which will make it of great use to the student. The style is good, and the scientific treatment of docu-



ments has not made the writer tedious. Fortunately the historian does not often forget himself and pass into the preacher with words like—"How long will the Irish people groan under the oppressive yoke of a system," &c. Professor Heron has a scientific instinct which rejects, in the case of St Patrick, the later "Lives," and consequently the legends. Criticism gets rid of the miracles of the saints, because they did not happen. A sigh for the loss of legends is vain, yet history is unintelligible without them. St Patrick, as a simple or even successful missionary, is not the man who has wrought through Irish ecclesiastical history, so that when we get to the real Patrick we leave the maker of history. It is right, however, for scientific purposes, that Professor Heron should refuse to go beyond the acknowledged original writings of the Saint, as all other materials for a biography are to be suspected from their date. Referring to the first introduction of Christianity into Britain, he says: "It is now practically certain that Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain under Claudius (A.D. 43-47), was a Christian"; and he points to her as one of those through whom Christianity might have found its way to Britain. He quotes Bishop Lightfoot, who believed in her Christianity, and he might have pointed to Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, i. 22), who say that she "is assumed to have been both a Christian and a Briton." Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii. 32) says that Pomponia Graecina was charged with a foreign superstition, which is taken by many interpreters to mean Christianity; and De Rossi thought that he had proved that she was the Lucina who gave her name to a crypt in the Catacombs. The foreign superstition may have been Judaism or some form of Monotheism which led to a neglect of the worship of the gods of Rome. There is no certainty that the woman was a Christian. In any case Tacitus asserts: "*Longa huic Pomponiae aetas et continua tristitia fuit: nam post Juliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam per quadraginta annos non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi maesto egit.*" The death of this Julia took place in 43, and for forty years after that event Pomponia continued in mourning. Was this woman, who mourned for forty years, in Britain? Bellesheim says her forty years of mourning were after her own trial, which took place in 57; but Tacitus does not. Was her foreign superstition Christianity? If she was a Christian in 57, was she a Christian in 43-47 when her husband was in Britain? It is conjecture everywhere, and scientific history is not to be built on a series of conjectures.

Professor Heron, like other historians who accept only the *Confession* and the *Epistle to the Christian subjects of Coroticus*, with the *Hymn*, has left for himself but scanty material for a biography of St Patrick. Following Dr Whitley Stokes he takes

Coroticus to have been Coirthech, King of Ail; and assigns no reason for rejecting Dr Todd's suggestion (*St Patrick*, 352), taken by Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II. ii. 314), that he was Ceredig, Prince of Ceredigion or Cardigan.

Professor Heron is not always discriminating when he follows Dr Whitley Stokes. Without discussion he practically adopts his scheme of chronology for St Patrick's life, and rejects Dr Todd's, which is more or less arbitrary. Dr Stokes thinks it probable that the date of the birth was 373, a year later than that asserted by Archb. Usher. Probus, writing in the tenth or eleventh century, related the story of St Patrick's life, from which Dr Stokes gets "the kernel of fact" that Patrick went to Ireland as a priest, "say in A.D. 397," and that he afterwards went into Gaul, "say in A.D. 427." Professor Heron accepts for a scheme of chronology conjectures formed from a writing which he will not use for other biographical purposes. The truth is that the chronology of St Patrick's life must be mere conjecture.

In rejecting the stories of St Patrick's residence on the Continent and study under Germanus and Martin of Tours, Professor Heron lays stress on the fact that St Patrick in his old age blushed for his ignorance, and also on the fact that the style of the Latin writings is rude and ungrammatical. It cannot be argued from this Latin style that he was not on the Continent, even under Martin of Tours, for a term of years. He may have been absent from Ireland or Britain, and may have been generally among men who used a rude form of Latin; and his long residence in Ireland, after his stay on the Continent, would not improve his style. It is noteworthy that Professor Heron adduces all the arguments of Dr Whitley Stokes in favour of the authenticity of the *Confession* and the *Epistle*, save one which refers to the *Confession*, viz., "the agreement of the style with that of Gregory of Tours." Professor Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 28, note) says, in reference to Gregory's works, that "the Latin style is very similar to St Patrick's, rude and semi-barbarous in grammar and spelling"; and he points to M. Max-Bonnet, in the *Revue Critique*, as an authority for this statement. St Gregory lived after St Patrick, and no one has alleged that he learned his style from the Irish saint. It is not absurd to think that they both learned the Latin of the same district, and therefore that St Patrick did live on the Continent during some part of his life. It may well be argued that if he had studied under Germanus or Martin of Tours he would have narrated the fact in the *Confession*; but the corrupt Latin style is no proof that he did not learn Latin on the Continent. Professor Heron admits that the *Confession* has several terms and phrases not unlike terms and phrases of the Athanasian creed,

which, he further admits, is supposed by some good authorities to have originated in Gaul in the fifth century. Accepting his admissions, we may draw a possible inference that St Patrick was in Gaul; and there is another inference, not altogether absurd, that the particular form of monasticism found in Ireland, akin to that of Egypt, was familiar to St Patrick through his residence in Gaul. Professor Heron goes so far as to say that "Athanasius brought the knowledge of it to the West, and it is highly probable that St Martin of Tours was the medium through whom, indirectly perhaps, Patrick became familiar with it."

Professor Heron does not discuss this interesting question of the connection of the Irish Church with Egypt and the East. Le Blant has shown that there are genuine tokens that Egyptian and other Eastern influences affected Gaul during the period of St Patrick's alleged residence in that country. There is no incontestable proof that St Patrick was in Gaul, but his corrupt Latin style may be made to prove too much.

There can be no objection to Professor Heron rejecting all biographical incidents not recorded in St Patrick's own writings, but he is not altogether consistent in his rejections. He takes, for example, as "true in substance," the story of King Laoghaire's daughters, which is not in the *Confession* or the *Epistle*; and will not admit that the Saint had any connection with or liking for Rome. Dr Whitley Stokes asserts that "he had a reverent affection for the Church of Rome; and there is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees, that difficult questions arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the Apostolic See (*Tripartite Life*, i. 135). One of the decrees is given thus: "Si quæ questiones (difficiles?) in hac insula oriantur, ad sedem apostolicam referantur"; and there seems no strong reason for throwing it aside. A longer form of this decree, given in the Book of Armagh, implies an organised hierarchy, and cannot be genuine. In the West there was no jealousy of Roman supremacy at the time of St Patrick, as Skene points out, and the fact that ritual and custom in the Irish Church were not altogether Roman does not affect the question of referring difficulties to Rome. Professor Heron is right when he contends that we have no proof of a Roman commission to St Patrick; yet, as he does sometimes go beyond the facts of the authentic writings of the Saint, we are in a difficulty when he will have nothing to do with the education in Gaul and the "reverent affection for the Church of Rome" which commend themselves as facts to a scholar like Dr Whitley Stokes.

Professor Heron's book deals with the history of the Irish Church down to a much later period than that of St Patrick, and shows

throughout a sober criticism. The main difficulty in his treatment of St Patrick lies in the fact that while, for the most part, he is at one with Dr Todd, he is, on occasion, in opposition to Dr Whitley Stokes and to Professor E. T. Stokes; and in this opposition does not quite satisfy us regarding the Latin style, the Eastern characteristics of the Irish Church, and the traditions of study and a residence in Gaul. The Patrick of the *Confession* and the *Epistle* does not solve all the problems connected with the Saint.

JOHN HERKLESS.

### Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.

*Die Kleinen Propheten.* Von Dr W. Nowack. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. iv. 412. Price, M.8; bound, M.9.80.

### The Expositor's Bible.

*The Book of the Twelve Prophets.* Vol. II. By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 543. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE twelve Minor Prophets have not been well treated, either as regards their name, or as to their place in the Old Testament. Gathered into one book as they are, they seem to be a kind of supplement to the true prophetic succession—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and so on; whereas they really represent that succession, the greater prophets being only links which have fallen out of the chain. Stretching as these twelve books do over a space of four hundred years or more, they contain the main part of the prophetic revelation to Israel. In them, taken together with the greater prophets, every phase of the progressive movement which specially culminated in Jesus Christ is found; and it would have been a great service to sound exegesis if the exposition of the prophets in this brilliant series of commentaries had been taken in the order in which they appeared, or are supposed to have appeared, in the history of Israel. Had that been done, and had each commentator undertaken to deal only with the prophets of a definite period, the history of which he had mastered by original work, we might have hoped for thoroughly original exegesis in the case of each book. But when, owing to the irrational grouping of these twelve precious booklets, one man feels bound to deal with them all, he cannot but have to describe occurrences and to depict circumstances which he knows only imperfectly. Consequently, no one man can give us

such a commentary on the Minor Prophets as Professor Nowack and his band of fellow-workers might have given us.

Considering how impossible the task he has undertaken is, however, Professor Nowack has succeeded in it to a degree which will give his book a place alongside the very best expositions of these Prophets which have preceded his. He is learned and accurate; he has brought to bear upon his task all that archaeological knowledge which his previous writings have shown that he possesses; and he sympathises with the higher and religious aspects of the prophetic writings. Moreover, he is resolutely set to keep an open mind, and though, as we shall see, he follows his school in the main principles of his exegesis, he keeps a middle path in regard to some very important matters. He does not deny the supernatural in prophecy, for he says (p. 116): "It is not by any gift for political synthesis that Amos gets to his announcement of Israel's downfall, but by the certainty which rose within his heart under the influence of Yahweh." Nor does he deny, as so many do, that there is proof in Hosea of the existence of written law before his day, for he says (p. 55), "Beyond doubt, this passage (viii. 12) presupposes written Torōth; the only question is, what was their content?" Further, he finds in Hos. iii. 1 an expression of the sharp contrast between the Canaanite or semi-Canaanite worship of his contemporaries and that of ancient Israel, so that he admits the falling-away of Israel from an earlier and purer worship, and regards this depraved cultus and not the cultus *per se*, as the object of the Prophets' attacks. There are other questions upon which he takes up a similarly moderate and reasonable position, but these will be sufficient to show that he is no thick and thin supporter of the most advanced party. Plain facts really influence him, as they do not influence the thorough-going partisan.

The dates which Professor Nowack gives to the various books are suggestive and interesting, but the full significance of his arrangement has been obscured by his adherence, in the arrangement of his work, to the traditional order. *Amos* he places about 760 B.C.; *Hosea*, 750-735; *Micah*, i.-iii., time of Hezekiah (i.e. between 727-699); iv. and v., partly in Hezekiah's reign, partly in post-exile times; vii. and viii. in the time of Manasseh (698-643); *Nahum*, about 610; *Zephaniah*, except for interpolations, 620; *Habakkuk*, with same reservation, 590; *Haggai*, 520; *Zechariah*, i.-viii., 520-518; *Malachi*, about 475; *Obadiah*, 450; *Joel*, about 400; *Jonah*, after Joel; *Zechariah*, ix.-xi. 3, after conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great; xi. 4-xiv., in late post-exilic time. His argument for the late date of Joel is a very strong and impressive one, and will go far, we think, to settle the late origin of that exceedingly difficult book; but his reasons

for placing Obadiah so late as 450 do not seem to be at all conclusive. The view that book gives of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans is too vivid to represent a mere historic grief more than a century old. Moreover, the mention of "thieves" who were not wont to make permanent conquests, which suggests to Wellhausen that it was the desert thieves, the Nomadic tribes, who were to betray Edom, appears rather to indicate that the destroyers were to be a different and contrasted people. Finally, the removal of Zechariah, ix.-xiv. to the very end of the prophets brings Nowack back into the company of Keil and others, with whom he rarely has any temptation to agree.

One very valuable feature of this book is the series of paragraphs upon the theological significance of each prophecy. They are not exhaustive by any means, but they are very interesting contributions to our knowledge of the theological ideas of the prophets, and will repay careful study. Another good specimen of the author's powers will be found in his defence of the non-allegorical interpretation of Hos. i.-iii., which has never been better done we think. But besides his own work, he has given us the latest results of German labour upon the twelve prophets, sifted by his scholarly intelligence. Conjectural emendations are put forward with commendable reserve, and the grammatical notes are clear and careful. The result is that, until we get the ideal commentary sketched above, this book will be indispensable for the study of the twelve prophets, and we could wish to see it in the hands of all serious students.

As it has been pointed out that no one man can write an entirely adequate book upon all the minor prophets, it follows that no one man can adequately criticise such a book; but there are one or two features of Professor Nowack's work which seem to demand a word of deprecation at least. There would seem to have risen in Germany a kind of orthodoxy in criticism, which, like all orthodoxies, prevents the mind from playing with any freedom round certain fixed positions, though these to "them that are without" are by no means well established. Take, for example, the practice of the excision of passages from the text of the Scriptural books. The critico-orthodox assumption underlying this seems to be that the Masoretic text is so bad that almost any liberty may be taken with it. With some it would seem to have come to this, that whenever anything appears in a book of Scripture which a modern writer, with a vivid and rapid style, would not have said in that place or that manner; or whenever an utterance of an Old Testament writer makes things awkward for a theory which the commentator specially cherishes, the short and easy method of dealing with it is to thrust it out. We do not mean,

of course, that excisions are never justified. There are undeniable instances where marginal glosses have crept into the text; pieces have probably also been inserted which did not form part of the original authors' books, especially at the end of prophecies; and there would appear to be cases where poems have been written as prose and then filled up with glosses. But Nowack's harshness in excision suggests that we can hardly be too cautious in admitting such things. For (1) the judgment concerning them is rarely such that it can be justified to or tested by the reason. (2) The danger of removing by this process anomalies which, if preserved and pondered, would open up new and true points of view is very great. (Nowack appears to us to do this very thing in his note on תַּקְטִיר in Hos. ii. 15, instead of which he would write תַּקְטִיר, and also in his violent and unsuccessful effort to make Nahum an alphabetic poem). (3) The liberty to excise frees the mind from the necessity of giving strenuous attention to the text as it stands, and so favours bad exegesis. Professor Nowack charges Wellhausen with omitting words in Hos. ii. 17, because he did not properly understand the context, and we think he himself, in iii. 4, strikes out the words וְאֵין מֶלֶךְ וְאֵין שֵׁר, because he has quite fatally misunderstood the passage. (4) Lastly, we think no series of interpolations directed to one end should be admitted, until the purpose of the interpolator has been made rationally credible, and some reasonable conjecture as to his motives has been made. Puck as an interpolator will not do.

Now, Professor Nowack seems to us to have gone far beyond the allowable margin in conjecture of this sort, and the reasons he gives in many cases simply ignore all the considerations we have indicated. A few specimens taken mainly from Hosea will be sufficient to show this. Kuenen, in dealing with chapters i.-iii., thought only i. 7 ought to be excised. Wellhausen, again, the father of them that excise, in the Minor Prophets omits only five verses and a phrase. But Professor Nowack cuts out eighteen verses and three portions of verses from the thirty-nine verses of these chapters. It is needless to say that, for such wholesale slaughter, his reasons are singularly inadequate. Even i. 7, which all critics condemn on the ground that it refers to Sennacherib's defeat before Jerusalem, may be defended. It may be admitted that if there was such a reference in the verse, the prevailing character of Hebrew prophecy would be against its genuineness here. But probably there is no such reference intended. In Hosea's day Israel was still much the stronger of the two sections of the people. The prophet was busy foretelling the overthrow of the stronger Israel, and if he foretold deliverance for Judah, it

would be quite a natural thought for him, that such a deliverance from the might of Assyria, would not be by warlike strength, but by the Divine help alone.

But other passages in these chapters are rejected because they contain promises of restoration which are said to be out of place, as they anticipate the final statement of the promise in chap. xiv. But that is too prosaic to be valid. The prophets, if they are not poets, write poetical prose. Besides being men of the spirit, they are men of passion also. Such men find relief in a refrain, and the great assurance of the final triumph of divine love and patience which Hosea attained, naturally bursts forth in a joyous refrain at every mention of the doom he had been constrained to utter in his earlier days. A modern exegete, or a writer of leading articles, would not do such a thing? Granted; but then it is conceivable that a poet and a prophet might.

Another point concerning which a kind of critical orthodoxy seems to have affected Professor Nowack's view, is the striking out of all references to Judah from Hosea. Apparently the Well-hausian critics have come to the conclusion that the prophets who spoke before the destruction of Samaria dealt only with the N. kingdom. The fact that the mention of Judah interrupts that strict sequence of ideas which is expected in prose, can hardly be considered sufficient to justify the suggested mutilation of the work of a prose poet. But surely it would be strange if Hosea so resolutely ignored Judah that not one single mention of it is authentic. Even if he did not flee thither, as Ewald supposes, he knew and admired the work of Amos. Moreover, the people of Judah had always been recognised as an integral part of the Israelite nation. Consequently, when things began to go ill with the N. kingdom, the comparative stability of the Davidic house, and the comparative purity of the worship in Jerusalem, might well turn the eyes of a prophet like Hosea to the smaller but sounder kingdom. Corruptions may have befallen the text in places, and Judah may at times appear where it ought not to appear, but that it should never have been mentioned by Hosea at all seems to be most unlikely. Besides, it is very difficult to see why anyone should have put himself to the trouble of interpolating "Judah" so persistently. Long before the interpolations were made, later prophets had involved Judah in Israel's condemnation, and then the interpolation was superfluous.

The last thing to be mentioned in this connection is the belief that Hosea denounced kingship as such, and that the references to Gibeah in his book relate to the beginning of the kingship in the days of Saul, who lived at Gibeah. This Nowack states as if it were now beyond dispute, but we greatly



question if it be so. Hosea undoubtedly denounced the separatist kingship founded by Jeroboam, but the references to Gibeah can hardly have anything to do with Saul's election for he was not chosen at Gibeah, but at Ramah or Mizpah. Further, the hypothesis is that Hosea in denouncing kingship as a crime was doing an entirely new thing. No one before him had taken that view, consequently he could not take it for granted that people would know what he meant when he referred to Gibeah as the source of their sin. He must have connected his mention of Gibeah explicitly with the making of kings without Jahweh's sanction. But that is precisely what he does not do. He names Gibeah as a place at which a great sin, recognisable by everyone as such, had been committed. The only such sin we know of is the outrage on the Levite's concubine. Whether it is to that he refers we cannot be quite certain, owing to the bad state of the text in x. 9. Undeniedly, however, some such crime would seem to be referred to and not the choice of a king, who, though he lived at Gibeah, was chosen elsewhere.

Of course, if these were the only cases in which, as seems to us, untenable ideas have become almost articles of faith, it would be unfair to set them forth as indications of a fault which pervades the book. But they are not. Professor Nowack shows the same tendency elsewhere. Another example of it appears, *e.g.*, in the comment on Hos. iii. 4, where he says that all the things mentioned there—Ephod, Teraphim, Masseboh, and Sacrifice—are legitimate elements in Israelite worship. This is a commonplace with a certain school. But it is plain to all outside it that some of these things must be illegitimate as Hosea's wife's lovers are. That these fixed ideas have dominated Professor Nowack's mind is a heavy deduction from the debt we owe him for his exceedingly able book.

With this, the second volume of Professor George Adam Smith's *Exposition of the Twelve Prophets*, Dr Robertson Nicoll's great enterprise worthily comes to an end. The *Expositor's Bible* is now complete, and, taken as a whole, it is a series upon which any editor or publisher may look with pride. Certainly few expositions ranging over the whole compass of Scripture will be found more helpful to preachers.

Dr Smith's previous contributions to this series have raised high expectations regarding any work he does, and this delightful book will fully keep up his reputation. He had a much more difficult task to perform on this occasion than he had in regard to *Isaiah* or the three prophets of the twelve, whom he dealt with in his previous volume. For there he had something like adequate space at his disposal. Here he has been cabined and confined to such an

extent that the wonder is that he has managed to give us anything of the brilliant exposition for which his name is famous. But he does give it, and in such a fashion that some readers will question what has been said in the previous article, that no one man can adequately expound all these twelve prophets. We still adhere to that view, but we have enjoyed the historical introductions on the seventh century B.C., on the Persian period, on the time from the return to the building of the Temple, and on the Greek period so much, that we admit that Dr Smith comes nearer to doing justice to that portion of his task than anyone who has tried to cover so much ground. In contrast to Nowack, too, he has ordered his book on the chronological principle, and has gained immensely thereby. The translations, too, are very interesting, but he appears to us to have sacrificed the perfection of his English sometimes to the desire to reproduce the very turns of the Hebrew phrase, and to give an exact reflection of it. His reasons for lines like these—

“He has rays from each hand of Him,  
Therein is the ambush of His might,”

are appreciable only by those who have the Hebrew text before them. To the multitude of those who read this book they will seem even more doubtful than they are. This suggests another point on which the character of the series to which this book belongs has been departed from. The very numerous and interesting notes are, in many cases, of interest only to Hebrew specialists. That on חֲזַק, on p. 59, is one of a considerable number which might have been omitted in order to make room for more of these applications of the prophetic teaching to our own day which were so instructive, suggestive, and helpful to the working minister.

The order in which Dr Smith places the books is very much that of Nowack. In one point he certainly improves on the latter; he puts Obadiah not in the fifth but in the sixth century B.C., on the ground that the writer would appear to have been an eye-witness of the fall of Jerusalem. Indeed, Professor Smith's whole treatment of Obadiah is so fresh and sane, that we would place these chapters among the most successful in the book. Nowhere have the relations of Israel and Edom been dealt with with more insight. Nowhere has Professor Smith's power of throwing imaginative light upon a moral and spiritual situation been more signally exhibited. The treatment of Jonah is also in the highest degree successful, and with its relegation to post-exilic time everyone would be inclined to agree. But to make it the very last of the prophets, to suppose that it was written in the Greek period immediately before the prophetic canon was closed, seems to raise serious difficulties. The main end of the

book is to soothe away by "truth embodied in a tale" the bitter feeling towards the heathen which Israel was too apt to feel, but which broke out into special fury in captivity and exile. Now, if Jonah was written about or after 300, there seems no special reason for hatred against foreign people. On the contrary, Israel had lived peacefully under Persian dominion, and though now it suffered from the chances of war, there was nothing to bring the feeling against foreigners as such to a point when a protest like Jonah would be necessary. It is further difficult to believe that Jonah, had it been so late, would have got into the canon. The Pharisaic spirit was probably already stirring, and the Pharisaic party had much to do with the final fixing of the canon. A *new* book teaching tolerance would have had no chance. If, on the contrary, Jonah represents an effort to soften the mind of the exiled Israelites, and had been acknowledged in the Persian time, everything would be clear—except perhaps the character of the language. But is that alone decisive, seeing that this was more of a popular book than any other in the Scriptures?

But differences of opinion on such matters cannot obscure the power and attractiveness of this book. There appears to be only one serious deduction to be made. Professor Smith in this volume reiterates his rejection of the promise at the end of Amos, and implicitly reaffirms his former position that the prophecies of Amos are prophecies of despair. Now to many that implies a very serious failure to understand Hebrew Prophecy, and one very difficult to suppose in a writer like Professor Smith. For he himself calls attention to the fact that the Prophets felt that they stood in a succession, that they were divinely inspired to carry on the advance of the Kingdom of God; and yet he believes that the first of the great writing prophets thought the divine anger was about to destroy the very people for whom and through whom they were to work! In that case the popular belief in the certainty that they would be delivered, was truer than the prophet's view. Moreover, Amos knew J, which was a history written in the prophetic spirit. In it the call of Israel to be a witness to all nations is reiterated five several times, in the statement that in Abraham's seed all nations, all families, of the earth should be blessed, or should bless themselves. Up to the time of Amos that can hardly be said to have been the case. How then can Amos have thought that the national career was soon to end? We believe, therefore, that Amos did conclude his prophecy with a promise, and Professor Smith's verdict to the contrary is an indication that the highest and most spiritual element in Prophecy has not quite come to its rights even in his writings.

A. HARPER.

**Blass's *Euangelium secundum Lucam.***

*Euangelium secundum Lucam sive Lucae ad Theophilum Liber Prior. Secundum Formam quae videtur Romanam edidit Fridericus Blass. Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1897; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. lxxxiv. 120. Price, M.4.*

THIS work is the natural and necessary sequel to its author's well-known edition of *The Acts*, and is at least its equal in interest and importance. The publication of that volume called forth more than one adverse criticism, and Dr Blass here devotes several pages of his Preface to an examination and refutation of these opinions, giving most attention to Corssen, the most courteous of his foemen and the most worthy of his steel; whose view, however, that the Roman version of Acts must be ascribed to a Montanist author, is not thought capable of serious maintenance. In another section referring to Acts the Editor confirms Nestle's discovery of an Aramaic original of caps i.-xii. In these chapters the Aramaic periphrasis for the Imperf. and Fut., made by a participle and the verb *ἔσθω* (*ἔσθωμαι*), occurs no less than seventeen times. Vestiges of this usage crop out here and there in the remainder of the book, a significant instance being xxii. 19, in Paul's Aramaic speech. Other Aramaisms are the use of *ἐν τῷ* + Infin., instead of the Gen. Absol. or a temporal clause; *ἐν* instrumental; and *ἐναντίον*, *ἐνώπιον*, *ἀπὸ προσώπου*. This document came into Luke's hands when he was busy with his Gospel. He had it translated, and added to it at Rome his own record of Paul's life.

But the main interest of the work lies of course in the conclusions of its author respecting "the former treatise" of Luke, and his main argument is thus summed up: "Binis formis et Acta Lucae et euangelium tradita sunt, altera ut videtur Romana, altera fortasse Antiochena. *Antiquior est evangelii Antiochena, Actorum Romana.*" Following the "revised chronology," it was about 54 A.D. that Luke accompanied Paul to Judea and Jerusalem. In the interval that had elapsed since the Council of Jerusalem there had been great changes. Then, if not all the apostles, at least Peter and John had been in evidence; now all had departed, and James—not originally an apostle, nor "a witness" (Acts i. 8), ruled the Church. Written Aramaic accounts of the life of Jesus had succeeded the living voice of the apostles, and these were not only many copies of one work, but represented several authors (Luke i. 1). During the two years' stay at Caesarea Luke had ample opportunity of collecting and collating these narratives, and, wishing Theophilus and his friends to enjoy the same advantage as the Christians of

Judea enjoyed, he conceived the design of writing in Greek a worthier account of the facts than had yet been published. The archetype of this evangel has perished, but there were two recensions; the first, made immediately and sent to Theophilus; the second, made after a little time from the same archetype; and given to the Romans. The first was the more faithful to what was first written, the second was somewhat fuller.

The main objection to this very early date is, of course, "the greater definiteness of the prophecies respecting the destruction of Jerusalem as given by Luke, when compared with the records of them in Mark and Matthew." But we are reminded that if Savonarola in 1496 predicted the sack of Rome in 1527, and even foretold the transformation of the city temples into stables for the horses of the barbarous invaders, it was at least equally possible for Jesus to circumstantially predict the disasters which were to come upon Jerusalem. Luke was no theological corrector of the different statements of Matthew and Mark. They were Jews, and could not with open eyes gaze on what these dreadful predictions foretold; nor would it have been safe for them to speak openly even if they could. But Luke, the impartial historian, speaks more plainly.

Dr Blass does not think that our Greek Mark was among Luke's sources; the verbal agreements are so few and by no means free from doubt. And that Luke knew no Gospel by Matthew is evident from his exordium, for when he contrasts the apostles who had seen and spoken with those others who had written, he would certainly have mentioned a writing bearing an apostolic name if such were known to him.

One of the most interesting sections of the Preface is that which the Editor devotes to a detailed examination of the exordium of the Gospel. By giving ἀνατάξασθαι its correct force ("to compile from memory"), and refuting Harnack's opinion that οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται κ.τ.λ. implies the death of all these eye-witnesses, he shows how minutely the testimony of Luke agrees with that of Papias (concerning Mark, Eus. iii. 39), as to the origin of the written gospel. For the memories are not of things which the compilers had themselves seen, but of things which they had heard the apostles narrate. Perhaps the ἄνωθεν hints that others had not begun at the beginning (Mark, e.g.), and the καθεξῆς, that others had in Luke's opinion been lacking in this point. But καθεξῆς is hardly the same as the τάξει, which Papias says Mark did not write, for Luke's chronological order is even less than Mark's, and we miss also the art of arrangement exhibited by Luke in the Acts. καθεξῆς should be interpreted by its use in Acts xi. 4, i.e., as "omnia ex ordine, nulla re prætermissa."

The first two chapters of the Gospel seem due to some author who used the sacred Hebrew tongue. The Hebraistic colouring is here so abundant and so clear that we are at once reminded of the Septuagint, and Dr Blass suggests that its author may have been a priest, (1) because of Acts vi. 7 ; (2) because the narrative begins with Zacharias. But the evangelist introduces his own pen into the translation, so that the Hebrew colouring gets fainter in the second chapter, and one cannot say exactly where it ends.

A careful examination of the Marcionite readings, embalmed especially in Tertullian's *Contra Marcionem*, leads the Editor to the conclusion that this so-called heretic used the Roman form of the Lucan Gospel, though perhaps by this time it had been abridged in some places, and conformed to the other and older version. Following, with one or two slight changes, the Ferrarian cursives, the well-known *pericopa de adultera* is inserted after xxi. 38. Marcion does not seem to know of this passage, but he could hardly have approved of a section which seemed to decline to judge adultery, and so it should, in Blass's opinion, be referred to the Roman form of the third Gospel.

It is impossible, in the space at our disposal, to follow the Editor through his sketch of the state in which the other three Gospels have been handed down to us (Matthew has the honour of having reached us in the simplest form, though even it is not quite exempt from interpolation), and the various witnesses to the Roman form of Luke—uncial, cursive, patristic, Syriac. One or two points in the text may, however, be glanced at. In xi. 2 we read, "(When ye pray) use not vain repetitions as *the others*, for they think that they will be heard for their much speaking." Both Resch and Nestle deny that this is an interpolation from Matthew, and so Blass accepts it. Who are "the others"? According to the context, they must be the Pharisees and the disciples of John the Baptist, the severity of which view is rendered less startling by a comparison of v. 33 *sq.* But why is this prohibition not found in the Antiochene form? Because Luke, writing in Palestine, would not wish to offend John's disciples ; but at Rome he was under less constraint. Similarly, to avoid offending Jews, the Antiochene form omits vi. 5b ("On the same day, observing a man working on the Sabbath, he said to him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou ; but if thou dost not know, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law'"), while the Roman form inserts it. The Lord's Prayer itself runs thus : "Father, hallowed be Thy Name, Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" (Greg. Nys., cod. 700—a trace of which is seen, perhaps, in the "Thy kingdom come *upon us*," of D.). "Give us day by day . . . and lead us not into temptation." In iii. 22

he adopts the reading, *υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, and criticises Resch's view that this is an obvious Jewish interpolation, perhaps by Ariston of Pella.

The whole work is full of suggestion and interest, and Dr Blass candidly invites the fullest criticism of his positions. Among those who have already examined his views is Graefe, to whose article in *Studien und Kritiken* attention has been drawn in the *Expository Times* for December 1897.

A. J. GRIEVE.

### Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome.

By H.M. & M.A.R.T. Part I.: *The Christian Monuments of Rome.*  
*London: Adam & Charles Black, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. xi.*  
*547. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THE present volume is the first instalment of a guidebook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome. The second volume will treat of the Liturgy in Rome (it has just appeared), the third of Monasticism in Rome and Ecclesiastical Rome. We believe there is room for such a work. Murray's Rome and Baedeker's Rome contain, it is true, packed within their pages, a wondrous amount of accurate and well-arranged information on Early Christian Rome. But they are guidebooks to Rome—Pagan as well as Christian—and the excision of much interesting Early Christian lore must be performed in such works in the interest of the paramount necessity of portability. So that he who has sought an answer to the many inquiries on matters historical, doctrinal, liturgical, ecclesiological, ecclesiastical, that were suggested to him by what he saw and heard of the diversified life, ceremonial, and activities of Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome, must have often felt the want of some concise and 'pocketable' cyclopaedia of reference devoted to Christian Rome exclusively. Of such a desirable *vade-mecum* we have the promise, in this the first instalment of it.

The *prima facie* presumption that the authors are members of the Roman communion seems raised to a certainty by such statements as the following:—

Page 38: "The penny catechism says: 'We do not pray to relics or images, for they can neither see, nor hear, nor help us.'"

Page 52 (*re* excavations at the Vatican cemetery): "In a sepulchral chamber at a still lower level (than the sarcophagus of Linus) the sarcophagus of Peter (the Apostle) with the gold cross of Constantine upon it was seen by Cardinals Bellarmine . . . but was again walled up for fear of profanation." [Who is there who

reads this and does not think of the covetings—or misgivings—of Museumism !!]

Page 68: "The cost of building St Peters amounted to £10,000,000, "and it was to meet this enormous expense that Julius II. and Leo "X. resorted to the sale of indulgences which, through the evil zeal "of Tetzels, produced so immense a scandal in Germany, and became "one of the causes of the religious movements of that century."

The authors then, we take it, are members of the Roman communion, and thus have for their work the initial advantages of sympathy and circumstance:—of sympathy: whatever is, in the history, or creed, or practice of their Church at its visible centre on the banks of the Tiber, is to them truth, and is worth the pains of knowing accurately:—of circumstance: as owning the Latin obedience, they breathe the learned atmosphere of Christian Rome, and they have enjoyed especial opportunities for attaining to exact knowledge of that whereof they speak. Does their book, then, on the Monuments of Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome show the scholarship which we expect as the outcome of such advantages for the work as H.M. and M.A.R.T. enjoy? We regret to say that we think not.

Of the merits of the book we shall speak afterwards: we proceed at present to note some of the errors of scholarship which occur in the volume. P. 39: The inscription which should read  $\text{XANΘΙΠΠΗ ΑΡΙΜΝΗΣΤΕ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΕΙ}$  is rendered 'Xantippe always watches.' Surely it is an acclamation, and to be rendered; 'Xanthippe, ever-remembered, watch.' P. 51, we read: "for so Caius, the contemporary of Eusebius, talks of it in his dispute with the Montanists at the beginning of the third century." But this Caius was a priest in Rome in the Episcopate of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome [202-220], Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 25, and therefore could not be a contemporary of Eusebius, who died in 340 A.D., and whose floruit must thus be dated from the *end* of the third century. This Caius the priest is evidently confused with Caius or Gaius, the Bishop of Rome [283-296], who was thus a contemporary of Eusebius. P. 117: "an exact copy of the thirteenth century Mosaic, which was destroyed by the fire, is placed on the arch" (i.e., of the tribune in the Church of San Paolo fuori le Mura). But there is here a confusion between the tribune *apse* mosaic, which is of thirteenth century, and the tribune *arch* mosaic, which was erected by Leo the Great in middle of fifth century. P. 379 (*a propos* of literature on the catacombs), we read: "and in our own day Padre "Marchi's most celebrated pupil, John Baptist de Rossi, has completed the work the former had hoped to accomplish, and in three "great volumes, leaving material for a fourth, has given us the complete collection of all the Christian inscriptions yet found, these "amounting to 11,000, up to the end of the sixth century." There



is here an extraordinary confusion between De Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea* in three folio volumes, with the material for the fourth (of which, by the courtesy of one of the editors, we saw recently in Rome, the plates), and his *Inscriptiones Christianæ*, which, in two folio volumes (with material for a third, upon which Prof. Gatti of Rome is engaged), contains all the *dated* Roman Christian inscriptions. P. 409, we read: "in the symbol A $\omega$ , K is sometimes substituted for the "A, but whether from negligence or with some special significance we "do not know." This is a mistake: we have found this error to arise from strange misreading of the inscription, which is given again at p. 532: CRESCENTIAN | VIXSE ANNVS II | ET MESIS IIII | DEPOSITVS |  $\omega$  \* K. What the inscription says is: DEPOSITVS | VI \* K, i.e., 'buried the 6th day before the kalends' of a month which, strange to say, is not specified, as is remarked by Prof. Marucchi (*Cimitero e Basilica di San Valentino*, p. 72), from which volume they have obtained this inscription, since they reproduce his other comments upon it. P. 416: 'Sabbati dulcis anima' is not 'the sweet soul of Sabbatus,' but 'O Sabbatius, sweet soul.' There are several such mistranslations of the vocatives of proper names in—ius. P. 445, we read: "Eutychius the Pope [283] was also buried here and the *carmen* of Damasus has been recovered." This is a confusion between Pope Eutychianus, who is buried in the Camera Papale in the Callixtus Catacomb, and Eutychius, who was never Pope, but is known only as a martyr, and to this martyr the Damatine inscription is dedicated. P. 447: *a propos* of the representation of the ox and the ass in sculptures of the Nativity, it is stated that "a sarcophagus "in the Lateran Museum with the consular date A.D. 342 [this should "be 343] has a similar representation." This is not so: unfortunately this precious fragment [not 'a sarcophagus'], with PLACIDO ET ROMULO COSS incised on it, has long been lost. The writer searched in vain for it on his last visit to Rome. It never was in the Lateran, as (after fruitless search in the Museum) we found in De Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianæ*, Anno. A.D. 343, where it is cited from 'Cod. Barb.,' etc. Pp. 492-493: Acilius Glabrio is given variously as 'Ac. Glabrianus'! and 'Acilius Glabrianus'! In a footnote we read: "Magnus Acilius Glabrianus was Consul with Trajan, A.D. 95." This should read: 'Manius Acilius Glabrio was Consul with Trajan in 91 A.D.'

Other errors we have noted which come under a different category in this respect that they are errors which have been reproduced from Armellini's *Antichi Cimiteri Cristiani di Roma e d'Italia* (one of the main sources of the present volume). Thus at p. 50 the woodcut, which, as our cast from the original shows, gives quite an inaccurate picture of the beautiful Early Christian sarcophagus, (formerly in the Campana collection, now in the Louvre), is

from Armellini's *Cimiteri*, p. 531. P. 304: The inscription reproduced below [see on p. 498] is given here and in Armellini (*Chiese di Roma*, p. 592) as of year 337 A.D. It should be 377. The reference, likewise, is given wrongly in Armellini and in the present vol., *Inscr. Christ.* I. 831. It should be, I. No. 262, p. 124. P. 440: The Greek cross at the foot of the inscription ΡΟΥΦΙΝΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ is not floriated, as the authors give it after Armellini, but a plain cross, as the writer has verified from a cast of the same, and as may be seen in De Rossi. To make it a floriated cross is to misdate by centuries the inscription, which is one of the earliest. P. 453, we find: "The loculus is intact." This is not so. The inscription was long since removed from the loculus and placed in the Lateran Museum, Compartment xix. No. 10, as we find from a cast of it here. This error arises from a misinterpretation of Armellini (*Cimiteri*, p. 400). P. 498: Armellini's errors, in transcription, and in transposition of lines 1 and 2, are reproduced in the following inscription, of which we give a correct copy from our cast of it.

CINNAMIUS OPAS LECTOR TITVLI FASCIOLE AMICVS PAVPERVM  
QUI VIXIT ANN . XLVI . MENS . VII . D VIII DEPOSIT IN PACE . X . KAL MART .  
GRATIANO IIII ET MEROBAVDE CONSS.

We would not expect of the authors to go to the Monastery at San Paolo fuori le Murà, upstairs in the corridor, and verify their transcript of the inscription from the original 'incastrated' in the wall there, but we *would* expect of them to consult De Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianae* for this dated inscription. And one would think from the footnote at page 304 that they had done so. There they refer to this inscription: De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* I. No. 831. But the reference is taken from Armellini (*Chiese*, p. 592), as it is a wrong reference. If they had consulted De Rossi at the proper place, they would have been rewarded by finding an accurate transcript to reproduce, not a transcript with the lines arranged topsy-turvy, and two errors in transcription, all of which they reproduce, with an additional error of their own, here;—also, at p. 304 (*vide supra*) two additional errors, reproduced from Armellini. P. 504, we find: (perhaps the Temple of Jovis (*sic*) Capitolinus). At p. 510 we find a significant error. In following Armellini they fall with him into a mistake which, pardonable in an Italian, (who, indeed, will invariably pronounce the name in question just as it is here mis-spelt), is quite otherwise in English Roman Catholics. Armellini, *Cim. di Roma*, p. 438: "Ivi trovò anche il loculo reso celebrato dal Weismann in cui si legge l'umile epitaffio di una donna di nome Pollecla della quale si dice che vendeva l'orzo sulla via nuova" [epitaph follows]. This is reproduced by H.M. and M.A.R.T. thus:—"He also found the

loculus rendered celebrated by Weismann, &c." One would have thought that H.M. and M.A.R.T., feeling the responsibility of publicly professing to be experts on this subject, would have been anxious to know who this 'Weismann' was, who, they tell the reader, had 'rendered celebrated' this humble woman, and where he had done so. Is it the German Weismann who writes on 'Heredity,' or who is it? They are not aware that the reference is to the well-known Early Christian historical romance *Fabiola* (*Part ii. Chap. i.*) by their own Cardinal Wiseman !!! There is unfortunately a good deal of such falsetto scholarship in this volume. What one is at first disposed to accept, in text and footnotes, as evidence of personal research is really taken mainly from two volumes, Armellini's *Cimiteri di Roma* (pp. v. 780) and his *Chiese di Roma* (pp. xi. 998). The writers are always quoting De Rossi—either his *Roma Sott.*, or his *Inscr. Christianæ*, or his *Bullettino*, but almost invariably the same reference is found in the same context in Armellini. Indeed, there is proof to show that in many cases they merely quote Armellini's quotation of these authorities: see e.g. on p. 498 above. Consultation of these authorities would have saved the writers from most of the errors already noted and from many more which we cannot spare the space to enumerate.

Further, at the pages denoted we find the following footnotes:—

P. 115: Acta Visit. Sub. Urb. viii. P. 215: This church was consecrated on May 26, 1128, as we learn from Psalter 175 in the Vat. archives. P. 224: A copy exists in the library of the Collegio Romano and another in the Vatican: Cod. Vat. 7847. P. 243: Vat. Arch. De Eccl. Urbis Julii Rosei de Horte. P. 255: Vat. Arch.: Stato temp. delle Chiese, ii. p. 254. These learned footnotes naturally impress one, and suggest profound research among Vatican archives; but they are one and all taken from Armellini, though it is in no case said so.

Again, p. 191, there are five footnotes, which we transcribe:—

\* Cod. Sess., cclxii, p. 19. Teuzo Abb. ven. monasterii S. Mariæ Dei Genitricis Virg. in Capitolio.

† Petrus Mallius *Abbazie Romane*.

‡ Gregorovius suggests "auro coelo" as the origin of the name; Niebuhr and Becker that it is derived from "in arce."

§ *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 12.

|| *Chronicon Palatinum nello Spicil. Rom.*, ix. 118.

These are all likewise taken tacitly from the corresponding context in Armellini (*Chiese di Roma*, pp. 540, 541). Again at p. 265 we have four footnotes of which the same is to be said (Arm., *Chiese*, pp. 459-461); p. 47, four footnotes out of five transferred from Marucchi's *Memorie dei Santi Apostoli*, pp. 29, 30, 31; p. 52, four

out of five from the same work, at pp. 37, 38 : the fifth from Armellini's *Chiese*, p. 696. Elsewhere throughout the work we have noted similar learned references from Armellini, though the *provenance* of these references is not stated. We venture to hold that such wholesale conveyance to their pages, of references to such recondite lore, from an Italian source not indicated, is disingenuous. The writing of a learned page, and the credit of doing it, are not to be achieved so cheaply, as here. The above references cannot be considered as *loci communes*, as common literary property, and to be used as such. They are notes which were laboriously extricated from the strata of lore in MS. and in print, in the Vatican and elsewhere, by a scholar whose recent premature death was, we testify, much regretted in Early Christian circles in Rome. Surely the ethics of authorship required that H.M. and M.A.R.T. should have said somewhere and somehow, in respect of such learned references, 'where they got them.' Not only the footnotes but also the text follows Armellini too closely. Thus in the introduction to *The Catacombs*, pp. 366-386, nine-tenths of the text is simply a paraphrase of passages in the valuable introduction to Armellini's *Cimiteri*. Compare, *e.g.*, the following :—at p. 376 of the vol. under review we read : "But the city and its suburbs were by this time "reduced to squalor, the faith was lukewarm in the Roman "Christians, a barbarian population was superimposed on the ancient, "these things, the sacking of the Campagna and the invasions of "Rome, together with the new uses and customs, all lent their aid "to forgetfulness of the catacombs, and finally to their total abandonment." The counterpart in Armellini, *Cim.*, p. 135, is :—"ma "le invasioni, i saccheggi della campagna, lo squallore a cui era "ridotta la città e il suburbio, la fede scossa degli abitanti di Roma "a cui era sovrapposta una popolazione barbarica, i nuovi usi e tante "altre cagioni aveano ormai fatto dimenticare ai romani i loro "antichi cimiteri ove andava cessando ogni culto ove per effetto "dell' abbandono diuturno tutto accennava a ruina, ove le tombe "dei martiri giaceano negletta in quei luoghi ormai deserti."

In fact Armellini's two volumes are the backbone of the book.

Thus with respect to the Churches, all that is "less generally known," which the authors say in the preface, they "have elected to tell," is derived from Armellini. We had made out a list of such items of recondite lore, but we must abridge. And so with the *Catacombs*. If the authors had only "elected to tell," not only *sparsim* and sparingly in the text, as noted immediately, but in the preface, where they had found ready to their hand "what is less generally known," one would have been more satisfied. H.M. and M.A.R.T. indeed acknowledge these two volumes by naming them in their *List of Books Consulted*. Also in the text, 'Armellini's

*Chiese* is named at pp. 95, 214, 275, 280, 335; his *Cimiteri* at pp. 168, 373, 375, 376, 412, 457, 499. But we venture to think that they should have brought out into the due prominence, on the Title-page, or, at least, in the Preface, their acknowledgment of the invaluable help which they have derived from these volumes—volumes which have been constantly at their elbow and in great part simply shifted into the present work.

As to misprints, we have no space to enumerate those which met the eye. Note however: p. 129 (footnote) 'moulds' should be 'models.' P. 140: The eminence, which, until the time of Benedict XIV. lay between the Lateran and Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme and on which were cultivated the garlic and the onions (*cipolle*), which, in mediæval times, formed a characteristic feature of the Festival of St John, was called Monte Cipollaro, not 'Cipolanno,' as at p. 140; nor 'Cipollano' as in the *Corrigenda* on p. xii. P. 442, we have as a word occurring in an inscription: "NEOΘΩTIMOC 'recently illuminated, i.e. baptized.'" This is a misprint for NEOΘΩTIMOC as given in Armellini, *Cim.*, p. 394: after De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* [But there is no such Greek word as NEOΘΩTIMOC, so far as we are aware, and meaning 'recently illuminated or baptized'; so it is perplexing to find De Rossi flinging his ægis over such a miscreated vocable. Our cast of that inscription reads, we think, NEOΘΩTIC. This is not for NEOΘΩTICTOC (= newly illuminated), as an examination of the cast shows that the stone is not broken off at that point: it must be a misspelling of NEOΦΥTOC, neophyte. If we pronounce these words with the accent, this explanation of the itacism suggests itself.]

Of the merits of the book we have much pleasure in speaking. It is brought well up to date: it is abreast of the latest excavations in church or catacomb, e.g., in Church of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, Sta. Sabina on the Aventine, in the cemeteries of S. Domitilla, S. Priscilla, and elsewhere. We find a desideratum supplied in the *resumé* (which follows the description of each church) of the lore—legendary, historic, emblematico-artistic—which attaches to its titular saint: Apostle, Doctor of the Church, Virgin, or Martyr. All of this kind in the book is good, but we may specify the account given of St Agnes at p. 165; of the Apostles, 187-190; of St Cecilia, 210-213; of St Gregory the Great, 248-251. Pages 1-45 show consultation of authorities other than those referred to above.

The book has nineteen illustrations; of these the plans are the best. The others should be omitted, because of no importance and from bad originals—especially, the smudges (representing coarse Early Christian seals) on p. 407, and the woodcuts on pp. 50, 153, 405. These disfigure the book, and to seek their insertion is to do an injustice to the eminent firm who have got up the book so attractively.

A. PATERSON.

**Studies of the Mind in Christ.**

By Rev. Thomas Adamson, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 300. Price, 4s. 6d.

THIS book deals with a subject of supreme importance and immediate urgency. The dominant theological tendency of the present day has been fitly described as the Return to Christ. As the literary and historical criticism of the Holy Scriptures has challenged their infallible authority, the final appeal has been carried to the infallible Christ. But on the other hand this appeal has been used against criticism. Christ's use of Deuteronomy in His temptation, His employment of the story of Jonah in illustration of His own experience, His reference in controversy to David's authorship of the 110th Psalm, all these have been brought forward as instances of Christ's contradiction of the conclusions of criticism. This argument must be admitted valid, unless it can be shown that all such questions were beyond the range of Christ's absolute knowledge, and His answers are therefore not covered by His infallible authority. It is a practical question of the first importance, whether the infallible authority of Christ must be accepted without any modification by the limitation of His knowledge, or may be recognised with such a modification. But it is evident the admission of such a limitation in Christ's knowledge raises the larger problem of the mode of the Incarnation; and the solution of the problem in turn must affect very seriously the view taken of His work. In dealing then with the question of the character and the extent of Christ's knowledge this book takes up a subject which "must ever take rank as of first value" (p. vii.).

It is a genuine pleasure to be able to testify that it deals with the subject worthily. The scholarship is competent; the thought is conspicuously able; the arrangement is orderly; the style is clear and interesting, distinguished frequently by striking felicities of expression; the spirit is courageous as well as reverent, candid as well as sympathetic. The method of treatment adopted is the only one that can possibly yield valuable results, which can claim both certainty and permanence. It is an inductive treatment of all the facts about the *mind in Christ* which the records of the Gospels offer for our acceptance, without any assumptions or prejudices. Besides fulfilling its immediate purpose, this examination of the story of Jesus yields many an interesting suggestion regarding the meaning and the worth of Jesus' words and works. An account of the contents of the book will justify this commendation, and will prepare for such criticism of it as seems necessary and warranted. The first chapter deals with *Christ's Ignorance*,

examining very thoroughly and carefully all the evidence that the Gospels afford for the conclusion, "that, as a rule at least, Christ's knowledge, like that of other men, was limited by His faculties, and that practically what knowledge He possessed He gained in the ordinary way" (p. 23). His confession of ignorance "regarding that day or that hour," His asking questions for information, His surprise, disappointment, and other recorded similar emotions, His use of His senses to gain knowledge of what was going on around Him, His dependence on the intimations of others regarding things done in His absence—these are the evidences produced. The second chapter discusses the instances of *Christ's Supernatural Knowledge*. According to the writer, "these cases are—(1) Christ's first meeting with Peter; (2) His finding Philip; (3) His first interview with Nathanael; (4) His statement to the woman of Samaria; (5) His directions as to the draught of fishes, ere he called His disciples to follow Him; (6) the knowledge of Lazarus's death and resurrection; (7) obtaining the ass's colt, and (8) the upper room for the last passover; (9) His prediction of Peter's denial, and (10) of martyrdom; and (11) His prediction of the fate of Jerusalem" (p. 25). Accepting the records as equally trustworthy, it seems to me that the writer proves in regard to all his cases, except the seventh and eighth, which I am still inclined to hold "can be explained on purely natural principles," that Christ had "more than the knowledge an unaided man could have obtained" (p. 24). In the third chapter, under the heading of *Christ's apparent Supernatural Knowledge*, a number of instances of Christ's insight into the moral and spiritual condition of others are discussed in order to show that these need not be described as supernatural knowledge, but "may all be disposed of more or less easily in another way, a way that is more natural, and, I think, also more wonderful—by the marvellous perfection of Christ's spiritual faculties" (p. 50)—"the knowledge which Christ had of human motives, and the skill which He had in analysing them" (p. 53). Among the persons in regard to whom Jesus is mentioned as having displayed this insight, are Zacchæus, His Pharisee host Simon, Judas Iscariot, and on various occasions His disciples and His opponents. In the two instances first noted here, I am still uncertain whether we must not assume a supernatural knowledge. Christ's responsibility for "the effect of certain acts," the destruction of the swine of Gadara, and the suicide of Judas is next discussed in the light of the view reached of the limitation of His knowledge. The Apostles' assumption of His omniscience is then accounted for and their general attitude defined. In the fourth chapter, *Christ's Divine Knowledge* is described as "His knowledge of Himself and His work as

Saviour" (p. 76). The *epourania* or heavenly truths of which Jesus claims knowledge, "primary and not imparted" (p. 79), are said to "represent the mind of Heaven (1) according as that is embodied in Christ; (2) as it can be traced back to the Father; and (3) as it points on to judgment" (p. 80). Then follows the usual proof of Jesus' consciousness of His divinity, and of His possession of those truths about Himself, God's love, and the world's judgment, which necessarily accompany such consciousness. In the fifth chapter, *Christ's Spiritual Knowledge*, the application of this knowledge of the *epourania* to His knowledge and His action generally is traced. A development of this divine knowledge is recognised (p. 98) as accompanying His growth, but it is said "from the moment of His baptism" to have been "perfectly clear and definite" (p. 99); yet "His authority in spiritual matters rested in fact, not on His being God, but on the ripe experience He had as perfect man ever filled with the Spirit" (p. 101). He deduced earthly truths from the heavenly (p. 102); but in this deduction was guided by "His *own* experience and His intercourse with men" (p. 107). "His ethical views were formed by great principles on spiritual lines" (p. 112). In dealing in the sixth chapter with *Christ's Knowledge of the Old Testament* the facts emphasised are His "minute and extensive acquaintance with it" (p. 113), His study of it to procure "spiritual principles" (p. 115), His recognition of "the unity of the Book" (p. 117), His "clear conception of the advance of history" (p. 118), His discovery of "a definite purpose present from the first" (p. 121), His conscious application of its predictions to Himself, and His voluntary fulfilment of them (p. 123), the aptness of His quotations (p. 126), yet the freedom of His treatment of its teaching and His judgment on its imperfections (p. 129). His statements about literary questions are admitted to represent the current opinion, and not to be invested with His distinctive authority (p. 137-8). The title of the seventh chapter, *The Roundedness of Christ's Knowledge*, which the writer admits he has used "for want of a better" (p. 140), gives no adequate indications of its contents or purpose. Here he seeks to show that the knowledge of Jesus "was fused into an organic whole by connection with His personality" (p. 140). The course of this learned and able argument cannot be here traced, but its conclusion must be briefly stated. Christ had a knowledge of Himself as divine, not by any inference drawn from His sinlessness or His love for God and man, nor as a result of any outward circumstances, but in virtue of His nature, as soon as His human development admitted such a consciousness (p. 159). As this knowledge was not "a mere reminiscence of the past," but "a direct consciousness of the present" (p. 163), it admitted alike "the possibility of temptation



and the possibility of victory" (p. 166). The unity of His consciousness was constituted by faith, "the supremacy of conscience, or of God's will" (p. 168). Although one would gladly linger on this interesting study, yet the limits of space forbid, and one must be content with merely indicating the contents of the remaining four chapters. In dealing in the eighth chapter with *Christ's Knowledge of the Future*, the human natural character of much of it is asserted (p. 180), and the prophetic contents of His teaching are deduced from the general principles, moral and spiritual, which He held (p. 184). An intelligible explanation of His references to the fall of Jerusalem, the second coming, and the final judgment is given (p. 196 ff), and the treatment of the subject here compares favourably with that found in Schwartzkopff's *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ*. The ninth chapter deals in a very suggestive way with *Christ's self-guidance*, the means of which He availed Himself throughout His ministry for ascertaining His Father's will (p. 208); and the tenth chapter unfolds *Christ's plan*, insisting very strongly, and altogether fitly, on the voluntariness of His death (p. 237), and His intention to die from the very beginning of His ministry (p. 255). The eleventh chapter deals with "some of the mental characteristics of Christ as a miracle worker," and notes His dependence on the Spirit for His power (p. 258), His practice of prayer and His exercise of faith (p. 264), His sympathy with suffering (p. 265), and His sacrifice for its removal (p. 280), His requirement of faith in the recipients (p. 275), and His submissiveness to God's will (p. 278). The last chapter seeks to prove "the mental identity of Christ after Resurrection."

It would be absurd to expect that the interpretation of each saying, and the explanation of each action of Jesus, given in a work covering so much ground as this does, should equally command assent; it would, however, be unprofitable to indicate the instances in which one is compelled to differ from the writer. Let it suffice to add a few brief comments on general features. First of all, it is to be regretted that the writer does not more distinctly state his position on the nature of the Incarnation. While chapter seventh aims at proving the organic unity of Jesus' knowledge, yet there are found here and there throughout the book passages which at least leave the door ajar for the slipping in of such a view as that put forward in Powell's *The Principle of the Incarnation*, that the dual nature implied a double consciousness, human ignorance, and divine omniscience. At page 4 the writer does not decisively reject Athanasius' explanation "that Christ was ignorant as man, though not as God." At the top of page 73 he appears to accept a theory of Kenosis; but at the foot of page 145 a double consciousness is asserted. A fuller treatment of the general problem would

doubtless have adequately explained these apparent inconsistencies. In the second place, it would have been decidedly an advantage if the practical aspects of the question had received a more explicit treatment. At page 136 the writer does express himself very frankly on the bearing of Christ's authority on critical questions; and chapter eight puts us in a thoroughly satisfactory position for dealing with Christ's eschatological teaching; but one could have desired that such a question as demoniac possession had been fully dealt with in order to show whether it lay within or without the range of Christ's absolute knowledge, and so infallible authority. In the third place, there is an absence in this work of what may be called the comparative criticism of the evangelical records, such as adds so much to the interest and value of the works of Dr A. B. Bruce. In his preface the writer tells us that "the aim is not to criticise *the Gospels*" (viii.); but, unless he holds views of their inspiration and infallibility which his liberal theological position as indicated by this book does not lead one to expect, he is scarcely justified in dealing with John's Gospel just as he deals with the Synoptists, in appealing to statements by one of the Synoptists, in which he differs from the others, as though the authority of the Synoptic tradition were behind them, and in treating inferences by the evangelists as of equal authority with their reports. In chapter two, of the eleven cases of Christ's supernatural knowledge noted (p. 25), if we set aside for the reason already given the seventh and eighth cases, six cases are found in John's Gospel alone; one case is found in Luke alone, who here differs from Mark and Matthew, and shows resemblance to John (No. 5); one other case in the definiteness of its language has no parallel in Mark or Matthew, but stands alone in Luke (No. 11); and only one case (No. 9) the prediction of Peter's denial has the full Synoptic authority. Again, he admits the tendency of the disciples to ascribe omniscience to Christ (p. 72), but does not avail himself of that admission in dealing with several passages in John's Gospel, where we have inferences of the evangelists and not historical statements (ii. 23-25, p. 51; vi. 6, p. 8; vi. 70, 71, p. 250). This omission of all critical results must, even for those who hold a very moderate critical position, lessen the apologetic value of the work. In the fourth place, the attitude taken up by the writer of absolute opposition to all attempts to explain Christ's consciousness of divinity by a psychological process, will not generally commend itself. One may agree with him that to Christ "this knowledge came by the internal constitution of His person" (p. 159), and yet hold that it may have been mediated by a psychological process, even as our consciousness of personality, freedom, responsibility comes to us in an individual development, in which many factors

co-operate. Lastly, one seems warranted in offering a verbal criticism. The writer's use of the words *epourania* and *epigeia* is not to be commended or imitated; the A. V. *heavenly things* and *earthly things* would be preferable. While one is compelled to offer these critical comments on this work, yet one gladly closes with words of the heartiest commendation. It is a good book on a great subject.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

### **The Secret of Hegel: Being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form and Matter.**

*By James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D. New Edition, carefully revised. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1897. Pp. lxviii. 751. Price, 16s.*

THIRTY-TWO years after its first publication, the *Secret of Hegel* has passed into a second edition. And everyone interested in the progress of philosophy in this country will join in congratulating the veteran author on the circumstance that he has himself had the opportunity of re-editing and reissuing the book which has done more than any other single work to stimulate the higher metaphysical thinking of the last generation.

The alterations in the new edition are pretty frequent, but nowhere (so far as I have observed) of fundamental importance. Explanatory clauses and phrases have been added to the translation; there are a few new footnotes; some vigorous criticisms of Hamilton have been pruned away; and an occasional periphrasis has been substituted for the "plain word" of the first edition. One little bit of autobiography may be quoted from the preface to the new edition:

"As for Hegel, it was somewhat strange that seeing the name—while still at home and even without a dream of Germany—with surprise, for the first time, in a Review, I was somehow very peculiarly impressed by it. But the special magic lay for me in this,—that, supping with two students of German before I was in German as deep as they, I heard this Hegel talked of with awe, as, by universal repute, the deepest of all philosophers, but as equally, also, the darkest. The one had been asked to translate bits of him for the press; and the other had come to the belief that there was something beyond usual remarkable in him: it was understood that he had not only completed philosophy, but, above all, reconciled to philosophy Christianity itself. *That struck!*"

This passage brings out—what was indeed sufficiently obvious all along—that it was Dr Stirling's strong interest in the problems

of the spiritual life that first attracted him to Hegel, and that has dominated his whole philosophical activity. God, Freedom, Immortality are for him realities which Hegel has enabled him to grasp—not merely conceptions with different degrees of validity for thought. And his strong insistence on this positive attitude gives a permanent interest to his interpretation of Hegel.

His speculative point of view leads him also, in various ways and at various places, to pass current modes of reflection under review. And these criticisms are always full of interest, although they may not always show the same unerring insight. As an example, reference may be made to the economic disquisitions in the Conclusion. If they are no longer so necessary as they were a generation ago, that is because their substantial truth is now commonly recognised. On the other hand, lapse of time, and the reflection which has come with it, have not modified the author's unsympathetic attitude towards Darwin and all his works.

On these, as on other matters, there is no important change between the original and the present edition; and it is surely well to have the *Secret* preserved essentially as it appeared in 1865. Much, it is true, has been done in the interval to facilitate the study of Hegel. His historical antecedents have been carefully explained; his characteristic notions have been elucidated by application to familiar material; he has been approached from every possible point of view; and the student has been supplied with a set of formulæ whose use is perhaps only too easy and not a little deceptive. All that has been done by others in this direction Dr Stirling ignores. The student who stands on the threshold of Hegelian study cannot afford to do so; but, if he is wise, it will not be long before he turns to the *Secret*. For it is no disparagement of the labours of others to say that Dr Stirling's is the one book of the English Hegelian series which bears the unmistakable stamp of genius. Irregular in its plan, rugged in style, and often as dark as the "Secret" it professes to disclose, it is always genuine, virile, profound—the work of a man struggling with a great theme. The rugged directness of the style, with its bold coinage of phrases to suit the thought as it arises, its bursts of eloquence when a point of vantage is gained, its Titanic laughter when a favourite obstacle is rolled—or kicked—from the path: this gives a vividness and individuality to the performance, which can only be described as *Stirlingese*. And *Stirlingese*—if one analyses it—is the thought of Hegel in the style of Carlyle.

Only a strong man can use such a style. And it must be confessed that, strong man as Dr Stirling is, he has the defects of his qualities: that his harshness is often accentuated unnecessarily, and that his individuality sometimes sinks into egotism. But these are

only occasional blemishes. The author has laid firm hands on the thinking men of his time ; and, whatever changes of philosophical attitude the near future may bring, it will be long before the *Secret of Hegel* is allowed to pass into oblivion.

W. R. SORLEY.

### Theologische Studien.

*Herrn Professor D. Bernhard Weiss zu seinem 70. Geburtstage dargebracht von C. R. Gregory, Ad. Harnack, M. W. Jacobus, G. Koffmane, E. Köhl, A. Resch, O. Ritschl, Fr. Sieffert, A. Titius, J. Weiss, Fr. Zimmer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1897. 8vo, pp. 358. Price, M.11.*

SOME disadvantages attend the modern method of celebrating the birthday of a Professor of Theology by the publication of a volume of Essays written by his colleagues and admirers. As the contents of such collections cannot be indicated by their titles, articles of permanent interest may easily be overlooked, whilst their cost is considerably increased by the less important contributions which are printed with them. But the custom is becoming general, and Dr Otto Zöckler suggests that a special heading should be provided in Bibliographies for literature of this class. Many of the essays written in honour of Weizsäcker and Cremer are well-known to students, and there are some of equal value amongst the eleven articles contained in the volume recently published in celebration of the seventieth birthday of Dr Bernhard Weiss.

I. Dr Adolf Harnack contributes a short appreciation of "A Recently-discovered Narrative of the Resurrection," which was described by Carl Schmidt in the *Berliner Akademie-Berichten*, 1895. The document is in the Coptic language, and was found at Akhmim ; it is dated by Harnack 150-180, and contains an account of conversations which Jesus had with his disciples after the Resurrection, the Apostles speaking throughout in the first person plural. The unbelief of the disciples is strongly emphasised, and the narratives of the canonical Gospels are strangely interwoven with some remarkable variations ; for example, "Peter, lay thy finger in the nail-prints on my hands ; Thomas, lay thy finger in the spear-wound in my side ; Andrew, touch my feet." Harnack, who certainly does not under-estimate this document, nevertheless confesses that it furnishes little help towards the solution of the problem of the Resurrection-narratives ; in his view it is secondary, of anti-Gnostic origin, a literary composition in which the various features of the later tradition are skilfully blended.

II. Professor Jacobus, of Hartford, Conn., U.S.A., discusses critically "The citation, Ephesians v. 14, as affecting the Paulinity of the Epistle," but the worth of his argument depends upon the acceptance of his theory of the source of the quotation in the verse, "Wherefore *he* saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." The only objections urged against the view that the words are quoted from an early Christian hymn are that the theory is a purely speculative one, and that the poetic character of the fragment has never been proved. The Old Testament passages, which are usually regarded as the sources of the quotation are rejected, because they have no connection with the "principle of the reproof of evil," which is the leading thought in the verses which precede the citation. "Utterly foreign" to the thought of the Epistle is Isaiah lx. 1, which "is supposed to be the most probable source," whilst "the other passages which have been suggested have almost nothing to commend them." Professor Jacobus holds that Jonah i. 6, in the original Hebrew, is the true source, and shows that the idea of reproof of sin which the Apostle needed to illustrate his argument underlies the story. The citation is then shown to be distinctively Pauline in cast, as appears from "the spiritualisation of the Old Testament narrative, and the close reference of its spiritualised thought to the context in which it stands." The passage in Jonah has not, however, been completely overlooked hitherto; in the *Expositor's Bible*, Professor Findlay refers to the verses in the Old Testament, of which this snatch of an early Christian song is a free paraphrase, and adds, "perhaps there are echoes even of Jonah i. 6."

III. The authorship of a work which is ascribed to Luther in Walch's edition of the Reformer's writings is assigned to John Agricola by G. Koffmane. The inquiry has one element of general interest, for the author of the work in dispute comments upon 1 John v. 7, and the inference has been drawn that Luther had before him a Greek MS. containing the verse which mentions the Three Heavenly Witnesses.

IV. "The Pauline Theodicy" (Rom. ix.-xi.) is the title of an article in which Ernst Kühl carefully analyses the argument of St Paul with special reference to the views of Beyschlag and Karl Müller. Surprise is expressed that Beyschlag, in the second edition of a treatise originally published in 1868, has expressed no change of opinion, and has left unnoticed the work of theologians who have written on this theme during the last three decades. Kühl's polemic is mainly directed against Beyschlag's theory, according to which the key to the difficulties of Rom. ix.-xii. is found in the application of the Apostle's words not to any pre-

temporal acts of God, but to the Divine working in history, the freedom of the human will being assumed. In Kühl's view the central thought of the Epistle is expressed in ch. iii. 21-27, and with great force he urges that there the solution of problems furnished by later chapters must be sought. Stated briefly, his contention is that St Paul first shows how the hope of the Christian ultimately rests on the assurance of being one of those whom God in His free grace has chosen to lead to salvation, then in chapters ix.-xi. the apostle points out the bearing upon the Jewish nation of the great principle that in the work of salvation no man may glory in God's presence.

V. Of great interest and value to all students of the origin of the Gospels is the essay by Dr Alfred Resch, the well-known writer on the "Agrapha." It is entitled, "*Tà Λόγια Ἰησοῦ* = דְּבָרֵי יֵשׁוּעַ; a contribution to the study of the Synoptic Gospels."

A high tribute is paid to Dr Bernhard Weiss, to whom the volume is dedicated, and whose distinctive merit it is "to have further developed the 'Two-Sources' theory." The strict Two-Sources hypothesis assumed for the two main sources—the Ur-Evangelium and the Ur-Marcus—an equal originality, and accounted for the differences in the synoptic parallels of Matt. and Luke, by the different treatment of these two sources by the first and third Evangelists. Weiss fixed limits to the originality of Mark by showing his dependence on the Ur-Evangelium, the Apostolic Source, as he calls it; but, at the same time, he made fully manifest the profound influence exerted by the gospel of Mark on both its synoptic successors."

In the latter half of his essay Dr Resch gives an instructive *resumé* of his own extensive contributions to the criticism of the Gospels, describing his previous publications on the "Agrapha" and "Extra-canonical parallels to the Gospels" as only preparatory to the work which will shortly appear in which the "Logia" of Jesus will be published in Hebrew as well as in Greek. Resch re-affirms his conviction that the Ur-Evangelium was written in Hebrew and not in Aramaic, and protests against the confusing of the question "In what language did Jesus speak?" with the question "In what language was the Gospel first committed to writing?" As the title of this essay indicates, Resch holds that when *Tà Λόγια Ἰησοῦ* is translated into דְּבָרֵי יֵשׁוּעַ the meaning of the phrase is unmistakable; the Hebrew words recall the titles of books which were the "sources" of the Old Testament history, e.g., 1 Chr. xxix. 29, "The History (דְּבָרֵי) of Samuel the Seer." Hence whatever ambiguity there may be as to the meaning of *Tà Λόγια*, there can be no doubt that the significance of

הִיסְטוֹרִיָּה is "histories" and not "sayings"; the Ur-Evangelium must therefore be a narrative of the deeds as well as a collection of the words of Jesus.

VI. Professor Otto Ritschl of Bonn writes on "Schleiermacher's Theory of Piety," his object being to show that according to Schleiermacher true piety consists of two factors. On the one hand, the changeful element of sensuous feeling which is the connecting link between the life of man and the world; and on the other hand, the constant element—the feeling of absolute dependence upon God, which alone can transmute the life of sensuous feeling into the life of piety.

VII. The longest essay in the volume is contributed by Professor Joh. Weiss of Marburg, the son of Dr B. Weiss, and is entitled "Materials for the Study of Pauline Rhetoric." In a few lines it is impossible to summarise an article of more than eighty pages, which deserves the attention of every student of St Paul's Epistles. Exegetes as well as textual critics, we are told, should "read with the ear"; for although St Paul's prose lacks the artistic quality which characterises the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is "in his more carefully written Epistles a certain rhetorical movement which arrests the attention and frequently produces an artistic effect." Professor Weiss is of opinion that in many places it is impossible to determine whether the Apostle was influenced by the forms of Hebrew-poetry, or by the devices of Greek rhetoricians. Examples of parallelism—synonymous, synthetic, and antithetic—are given, and this most suggestive article concludes with a detailed analysis of the Epistle to the Romans.

VIII. Professor F. Zimmer pleads for a more thorough study of the shorter Epistles of St Paul. In his judgment the Epistles to the Thessalonians deserve greater attention than they have received from exegetes; each verse should be explained and each word investigated. As an example of such study 1 Thess. ii. 3-5 is commented upon in detail. Zimmer thinks that St Paul was acquainted with and made use of the "Grundschrift" which underlies the Synoptic Gospels.

IX. The department of textual criticism is represented by Dr Caspar R. Gregory's article on "The cursive Manuscripts of the New Testament." A more comprehensive and systematic study of these later MSS. is necessary, if the older Uncials are to be more thoroughly understood and to be appreciated at their true value. The Academies of Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna should enlist bands of younger scholars to carry on—under carefully prepared regulations—the work of comparing the MSS., collating the texts, registering the various readings, &c.

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X. "The relation of the words of the Lord in Mark's Gospel to the 'Logia' of Matthew" is discussed by Professor A. Titius of Kiel. After a detailed examination of the subject—in which, however, it is assumed that the "Two Sources" theory is now universally accepted—the result arrived at is that the writer of our Second Gospel knew and made use of the "Logia" of Matthew, but not Matthew's Gospel.

XI. The last essay on "The line of development in St Paul's teaching about the Law in his four principal Epistles" is by Professor F. Sieffert, of Bonn. It is a clear and forceful argument in reply to Carl Clemen, who, in his "Chronology of the Pauline Epistles," maintains that not only in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, but also in the Epistles to the Corinthians the Apostle's attitude towards the law is that of a Jewish-Christian; that his polemic against the law begins in the Epistle to the Romans, and is most fully developed in the Epistle to the Galatians. Sieffert shows that this view is untenable, that in essentials St Paul's position in regard to the law is the same in his four chief Epistles, and that on external grounds it is impossible to place the Epistle to the Galatians so near in time to the Epistles of the Captivity.

J. G. TASKER.

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### **A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology.**

*Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., and, chiefly in the Revision of the Proofs, of A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Volume I., A—Feasts. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 4to, pp. xv. 863. Price, 28s.*

THE publication of this book is perhaps the most notable event in the record of theological literature for the quarter. It is important both for the compass and the quality of its contents, and for the opportunity which it provides for measuring the distance travelled by theological science since the last great Dictionary of the Bible was issued. It has been looked for with curious expectancy for some time. Now that it has appeared it will be found, we think, to answer the anticipations which have been formed of it, and will soon be seen to be a timely, trusty, and most valuable guide. Nor has there been any undue delay in its preparation or awkward change in its plan, as has unfortunately been the case with some

other ventures of the kind. One of the most remarkable things about it is the steady progress of the work and the very reasonable space of time within which the first volume has been completed. It is a large undertaking both for publishers and for editor. Both have done their part well. Type, form, and binding are of the best, and the editorial work has been efficiently performed. Dr Hastings has already given ample proof of his gifts for such work. He has been generally successful in his choice of writers, and has had the instinct to discover some who have been little known hitherto, but are now seen to have peculiar fitness for the kind of work in view. He has been wise enough to look with the utmost care to the control of manuscript and proof, and has had the good fortune to secure for the revision of the latter three of our very best and most reliable scholars. He has been happy, too, in the selection of his assistant editor. Mr Selbie's keen eye, exact scholarship, and conscience for work make him the very person for an editor to have always at hand. A dictionary is of little use, whatever showy qualities it may possess, if it is deficient in accuracy. The utmost pains have been taken to make this one trustworthy in its smallest details.

The new dictionary has a well-defined character. It has also some qualities in which it surpasses its predecessors. It represents the best type of scholarship—the scholarship that is liberal, critical, and, in the best sense, scientific, but that is also unpretentious, restrained, far removed from anything flighty, precipitate, or ostentatious. It follows the traditions of the old, sober, solid, massive English scholarship, informing it with the modern spirit and applying to it the modern methods. Its articles on all important subjects are of a well considered size, neither so lengthy and circumstantial as to weary and confuse one, nor so limited as to become inadequate. Its plan is large enough to take in almost everything that can reasonably be looked for as an aid to the student of the Bible and the Apocrypha, in the original languages, in the Authorised Version, and in the Revised. The editor claims for it that it more nearly meets one's expectations in the matter of comprehensiveness “than any dictionary that has been hitherto published.” That is the case. If it is open to any criticism in this respect it is not to that of meagreness, but to that of excess of fulness. For it deals with some things, such as the explanation and history of the obsolete and archaic words in the English Versions, which may not seem to all to be quite in place here. Granting, however, the expediency of including matters of this kind, it must be said of them that they are interesting in themselves and instructively handled. There are other subjects, too, which are either novel or more adequately represented than has hitherto been the case. The most important of

these belong to the department of Biblical Theology. No English dictionary of the Bible, even of the first magnitude, can compare with the new one in this matter. It is perhaps in the place which it gives to questions of Biblical Theology that its most distinctive note of superiority will be found. The articles devoted to these are among the ablest, freshest, and most interesting in the volume.

But to come to particulars, we may notice in the first place a series of articles which show at a glance how things have changed since the last great dictionaries, Kitto's, the Imperial, Dr William Smith's, M'Clintock and Strong's, &c., were planned. These are the articles on such personal names as *Adam*, *Eve*, and the like. How different the brevity and restraint of these from the fanciful biographies and wordy disquisitions which used to be attempted. The *Imperial Bible-Dictionary*, for instance, was in its time an important addition to the student's facilities. It was edited by one of the best-read and most judicious theologians of his day, the late Principal Patrick Fairbairn, of Glasgow, and it enjoyed the assistance of many of the ablest scholars that we had then to show. It is not without its use yet. Many of its articles, those by the late Professor Weir on certain books of the Old Testament, for example, and those by the late Dr James Hamilton of London, on Botanical terms, retain their value still. But when we turn to the word *Adam* we find a story that occupies over a dozen long columns. Contrast with that the three modest columns with which the subject is dismissed here. How different, too, the entire method of treatment—the criticism of the narratives, the investigation of sources, the comparison with other ancient records!

Another class of subject in which a marked advance appears is that of the history of ideas. The literature of Judaism in its various relations to the subject-matter and the criticism of the books of Scripture is laid under systematic contribution. That literature, especially in its pseudepigraphic sections, is a much larger thing than it was even twenty years ago. Its importance is much better understood, and its contents have been studied as they never were before. The new dictionary recognises the case, and gives a large place to this comparatively new and most fruitful field. It furnishes admirable articles on such writings as the Book of Abraham, the Books of Adam, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Book of Baruch, the First and Second Books of Esdras. It gives all that is known, up to the most recent date, of the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, and of the most recent addition made to the Enochic literature—the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. But it does more than this. It pays sedulous regard to the opinions, beliefs, and terminology of the Jewish non-canonical literature, and their bearing upon biblical questions, in the articles which treat of the thought of the

different books of Scripture. One of the best examples of this is the very scholarly and instructive contribution by Mr Charles, of Oxford, an acknowledged expert in these matters, on the Eschatology of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature.

In the whole treatment of the *ideas and teaching* of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures this dictionary excels its predecessors. It is not only that more space is assigned to these. They get a more distinctive place, and are handled with greater scientific precision, with more regard to their sources, with more reference to their analogues elsewhere, with a better sense, too, of their growth, their modification, and the influences which went to shape them. This may be seen at once if one compares what he gets here under such terms as *Angel, Anger, Covenant, Demon, Devil, Election*, with what is found in the older dictionaries. By the careful application of the historical method and the use of the best exegeses these subjects are made more fruitful, more reasonable, and more consistent than before. Dr A. B. Davidson's papers on *'Angels and Covenant'* are, as we might expect, models of scientific method and cautious construction. Of articles which also belong substantially to Biblical Theology, although they are made to extend into other lines, and which are very well done, we have an excellent example in the one on *Conscience*. This paper, which is by Mr Kilpatrick, and the longer article on *Ethics*, by Mr T. B. Strong, give a remarkably complete summary of the ethical teaching of the Bible, in its distinctive character and its historical movement.

Another respect in which this dictionary is likely to take high rank is the excellence of its minor articles. In making acquaintance for the first time with a book of this magnitude, one is naturally led to look to the more elaborate articles and is apt to undervalue the smaller contributions. The latter, however, in reality deserve the more careful consideration. The character of a dictionary turns very much upon the quality of these articles. They form a very large part of the whole, and they give information on a multitude of things which have their most proper place in a dictionary, and are not to be found very readily elsewhere. In the new dictionary the number of such articles is very large; many reliable hands have been at work on them; and a vast amount of labour of a kind that has little opportunity of attracting notice, has been expended on them. They are among the best things in the book. Those dealing with obscure and archaic words are mainly by the hand of the editor himself, and are well and interestingly done. Others, which have to do with persons, places, incidents, customs, instruments, measures, plants, stones, and a mass of things of minor moment and rare mention, are by writers that have spared no pains to make the most of their subjects. They represent a great amount of work, for

which in many cases there are only a few lines of print to show, and they give one just what he wants.

This dictionary has also the acceptable note of general fairness and freedom from bias. It has to deal with a considerable number of subjects on which opinion is sharply divided, and on which the mind is apt to be swayed by doctrinal leanings and ecclesiastical preferences. The words *Baptism*, *Bishop*, *Church* suggest much, and one turns with some curiosity, if not anxiety, to the articles which grapple with such perilous terms. It will be generally confessed, however, that they are done with remarkable impartiality, that the controversial element has not been permitted to obtrude itself, and that the writers have succeeded in keeping by an objective treatment of these questions. Nothing could be better than the short paper on the word *Bishop* by Professor Gwatkin, of Cambridge, (a model of precision, sobriety, and impartiality), the longer paper on the word *Church*, by Mr S. C. Gaysford, and another by Professor Gwatkin on *Church Government*. It may be noticed that the general equivalence of the offices of bishops and elders in the Apostolic age is admitted, while it is added that we are not to assume that every bishop was an elder, or *vice versa*, or that "there never were any minor differences between them." Professor Gwatkin refers to Harnack's theory that the duties of elders and bishops differed in so far as the care of public worship and of the poor belonged to the bishops (with the deacons), while the elders looked to government and discipline. He acknowledges that it explains some things, and that there may be a germ of truth in it. But he is not prepared to accept it without important reservations, considering it unlikely that there should have been so distinct a separation of duties. "If the elders," he says, "began with discipline and general oversight, they would be likely soon to take up more spiritual duties, as the seven did. Those who had gifts to minister the word and teaching would rather be honoured than hindered; so that many of them might easily be doing pastoral work (especially if they were bishops also) before the end of the Apostolic age."

The larger articles are a tempting field, which one can do little more than glance at, however, in present circumstances. Most of them are, in a high degree, satisfactory. Some of them are of conspicuous merit. Those on *Assyria* and *Babylonia* are worthy of the reputation of their author, Professor Hommel. There is a particularly full, informing and attractive paper on *Egypt*, by one of our best Coptic scholars, Mr W. E. Crum. The subjects *Architecture*, *Bible*, *Cosmogony*, *Ethiopia* are well handled. The paper on the *Chronology* of the Bible, by Professor Curtis and Mr C. H. Turner, is of an extremely elaborate order. It amounts almost to a

treatise, and is of marked ability. The papers on geographical words, *Argob*, *Bashan*, *Carmel*, *Corinth*, *Damascus*, *Dead Sea*, *Ephesus*, &c., by the hands of scholars like Professors Driver, Ramsay, G. A. Smith, Mr W. A. Ewing, and others, are full of interest. The Route of the *Exodus*, by Professor Rendel Harris and Mr A. T. Chapman; the *Apocalyptic Literature*, by Mr R. H. Charles; and the *Apocrypha*, by Professor F. C. Porter, are also pieces of excellent workmanship.

But we must not omit to refer to the articles which deal with subjects belonging to the department of Introduction. Of the Old Testament, the books of Amos, Chronicles, Daniel, Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Exodus, Ezekiel, and Ezra come within the limits of this volume; of the New Testament books, Acts, Colossians, Corinthians, and Ephesians. These present some of the greatest difficulties in criticism. There could be no better test of one's capacity or of one's judgment than is furnished by some of these. They will be examined with special interest. We cannot say that they are each of them all that could be desired. They differ in quality. But they all give one more or less what he looks for in a dictionary. Some of them have a dash of originality, and make a distinct contribution to their subject. *Ezekiel* is done by a scholar who has already written ably on that book, and is a very satisfactory performance. *Exodus* is treated with great fulness of knowledge, and with evident command of the criticism of the subject, by one whose hand is new to us in this line of things—Mr G. Harford-Battersby. Professor Ryle, of Cambridge, gives us seven pages of compact statement and clear analysis on *Deuteronomy*, and contrives within these modest limits to carry us over questions on which volumes have been written. Professor Francis Brown, of Union Seminary, New York, is the author of an article on the books of *Chronicles*, which represents a vast amount of work of a minute and detailed kind. An elaborate analysis of the style is given, with all the different classes of peculiarities—lexical and syntactical. The question of date is examined with exhaustive care, the conclusion reached being that *Chronicles* was not written before B.C. 300, and may have been as late as B.C. 250. The questions of the sources, the character of the Chronicler, and the value of his chronicles, are also handled very fully and with marked ability. The Chronicler is shown to be a man of "great sincerity and moral earnestness," incapable of falsification, although in writing of David and Solomon he presented "strongly and without qualification those sides of their character which appealed to him," and depicted "the religion of their time according to what seemed to him the necessary conditions of righteousness." As to the history, the whole conception

of it, it is added, "was not that of a mere individual, but that of an age, from which the individual could not separate himself." And as to the *value* of the books, though "it is not mainly that of an accurate record of past events," it is real and great—the value, however, "more of a sermon than of a history." *Chronicles* is a particularly difficult subject to deal with. Professor Brown has performed his task in an eminently thorough and judicious way, keeping in the main by a critical position similar to that of Professor Robertson Smith.

Of the New Testament writings, the Book of Acts is dealt with at greatest length. Mr Headlam's article goes into all the great questions of text, transmission, literary history, sources, relations of the book to Josephus, and historical value. It gives also a very full bibliography, and is altogether an important contribution. The statement of the case for and against the early date is put with great care. The arguments against placing it soon after the close of the narrative are pronounced to be not very strong. But the final view is rather the other way. "Perhaps, on the whole," says the writer, "the amount of perspective contained in the book is hardly compatible with the earlier date, just as the relation of the third Gospel to the other two suggests the later date, and a period shortly after 70 is the more probable." *Colossians* by Mr J. O. F. Murray, and *Ephesians* by Dr Walter Lock are also able performances. The article on the latter is of special interest for the view it gives of the structure of the Epistle. What is lacking in it is a completer statement of the great doctrinal ideas. Some of the largest and most characteristic of these are barely noticed. All else in this scholarly article is dealt with at length and with great precision.

Publishers and editor are to be congratulated on what they have accomplished. They have laid us under great obligations. Their enterprise deserves the best return.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

### **Die theologische Schule Albrecht Ritschl's und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart.**

*Von Gustav Ecke, Pastor am evang. Diakonissenhause in Bremen.*  
1 Band. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 316.  
Price, M.5.

THE above volume opens a new line in the criticism of Ritschl's teaching. Hitherto, that criticism has been mainly hostile. Herr Ecke, while criticising as an earnest evangelical believer all that

he holds unevangelical, is much more anxious to discover points of agreement or, at least, of approximate agreement. This he does with ample knowledge of his subject. Much of his information as to the present views of members of the Ritschlian school is gathered from the pages of scattered periodicals and pamphlets, which are difficult of access to those at a distance. He writes, too, in a clear, flowing style. While possibly it may be open to debate whether his eirenical spirit has not sometimes coloured his judgments, there can be no doubt that he has succeeded in removing or modifying some serious misconceptions, and in showing that the views of the school have undergone very considerable development. Our author says, truly enough, that some misconceptions have been due in great measure to Ritschl himself, to his obscure modes of expression, and to strong idiosyncrasies of temperament. Ritschl is pictured as predominantly intellectual and ethical, with little or no feeling for the spiritual or mystical side of religion. Everything is brought to the test of practice. What does not submit itself to experience is condemned. The stress laid on value-judgments (Werthurtheile) is evidence of this, although we are surprised to find that little is made of this element in the present volume. Such judgments are virtually discarded as of little importance in Ritschl's system, as they have been discarded by noted Ritschlians. Another surprising feature is what is said respecting R.'s theory of knowledge. With his intensely utilitarian spirit, it always seemed strange that so much emphasis should be laid on a philosophy of knowledge. We are now assured that this is no essential part of the system. Noted disciples, like Professor Herrmann, disclaim it altogether. How, then, is the importance attached to the question by Professor Kaftan, in his *Truth of the Christian Religion*, to be explained?

As an example of misconception due to obscurity of expression, we may instance R.'s views of the nature of sin, which was described as springing from ignorance. The inadequacy of such an account is evident at a glance. It is now said that all that R. intended was to distinguish sin that is forgivable from the impenitence that has no forgiveness. Writers who use such circuitous phraseology invite misunderstanding.

The striking feature in the book is the account of the modifications that have taken place in the views of the Ritschlian school. These amount to little less than a transformation. Nothing is clearer than that the rift between the right and left wings is ever becoming more pronounced, the former apparently having the predominance. The left wing is represented by Professors Harnack, Gottschick, and Wendt. Even here there is serious modification in a negative sense. Our author well points out that, while



Ritschl himself held to apostolic teaching as interpreting Christ's, Harnack and his school give apostolic teaching an inferior position, making Christ's teaching our sole authority. On the whole, however, these writers adhere most closely to Ritschl's main lines.

The right wing, represented by Häring, Kattenbusch, Herrmann, Loofs, Drews, Lobstein, has made quite remarkable approaches to the evangelical position on such fundamental doctrines as Christ's Godhead, the Atonement, and individual fellowship with God. The two last questions are decisive examples of the change in progress. It is well known how emphatic Ritschl was in his opposition to the ideas of propitiation and of personal fellowship with God in every shape and form. Our author gives a long list of quotations, showing beyond question that both ideas are accepted and earnestly advocated by prominent Ritschlians. On the question of fellowship, Herrmann's pronounced subjectivism is remarkable. How it could have escaped the heavy lash that fell on Pietism, it is difficult to see. Evangelical believers can only rejoice at the development and its promise of future co-operation. It would seem as if the only difference will soon be simply modes of expression, and Protestants need not quarrel about these.

What binds members of the school together is the acceptance of Ritschl's three canons of method or procedure. These are—(1) The confession of the first Christian Church is the source and norm of Dogmatics; (2) The Person of Christ is the measure for grouping the matter of Scripture; (3) Theological knowledge in its innermost essence has salvation for its end (p. 175). This seems to be all that is accepted as distinctive of R.'s teaching; all detail is optional. It may well be said that it is no longer possible to speak of "a homogeneous Ritschlian school." The differences between master and followers are more numerous than the points of agreement. Of course it will be said that the unity is in the essential principle or method, the divergence in details. "This development, as delightful as it is surprising, within the Ritschlian school has been made possible by the fact that the formal arrangement of the Ritschlian system admits a richer employment of the Biblical matter than was found in Ritschl himself, so that R.'s principles of method, when they are logically carried out in the sense of the deeper motives at work in them, must of necessity lead to a transformation of the contents of his entire system" (p. 311).

J. S. BANKS.

**Christian Institutions.**

*By the Rev. Alexander V. G. Allen, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Theological College, Cambridge, Mass. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 577. Price, 12s.*

A THOROUGHLY good book on *Christian Institutions* is very much wanted—a book which will trace from generation to generation the growth and changes in the organisation of the Church of Christ in all its branches, which will give us the history of the gradual development of the worship and creeds of the Church of Christ, and at the same time will connect all these changes with the needs, ever changing yet always the same, of the spiritual life of the Christian people. There is not merely room for such a book; there is also ample material lying to hand though scattered through a thousand histories, monographs and essays. There is no occasion why it should be of inordinate length, still less that it should be a mere summary of archæological details; it ought to show not merely the forms in which the life has clothed itself but the life itself also.

The *Christian Institutions* of Dr Allen attempts, not altogether unsuccessfully, to supply the lack. Dr Allen does not seem to lack the requisite knowledge, though one could wish him to be a little more accurate. His sympathies are generous and wide; he sees that *institutions* are of value only in so far as they reveal the life which they are meant at once to manifest and to protect. Yet the book is not all one could wish it to be. It is good, but one feels it might have been better.

By the word *institution* Dr Allen means “the outward form or embodiment which the spirit of Christianity assumes corresponding to some inward mode of apprehending the Christian faith.” These outward forms take shape in the organisation of the Christian community, in the articles of the Christian Creed, and in the divers aspects of the Christian cultus.

Dr Allen finds that two epochs of the Christian Church have stamped themselves upon its external features;—the one begins with the second century and the other is the period of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The former had for its task to translate Christianity “into terms which should be intelligible in the Roman Empire”; at the second the work was to effect such change in the “institutions” as would better reflect and express the “human spirit set free from an arbitrary external authority.”

With these statements we agree, but in expounding them we fear that Dr Allen falls into inaccuracies either of expression or of

information. For example, "Rome," he says, "did nothing for theology." Rome is here used to include Latin as opposed to Greek Christianity. It has been common to make this assertion, duly limited to the doctrine of the Person of Christ, for surely no one will say that the doctrines of sin and of grace are exclusively of Eastern framing; but it is not correct. Even Harnack, unjust as he continually is to Western theology, has been compelled by the researches of Reuter to admit that there was a real and independent type of Western doctrine on the subject of the Person of Christ which derived nothing from Greek thought, and that so far from it being the case that Rome accepted Greek dogma at Nicaea, the real fact is that the West imposed its type of doctrine on the East both at Nicaea and at Chalcedon. Or to take another instance. Instead of saying that the Protestants might have claimed the title Catholic, why not say, what is the fact, that they not only did claim it but took elaborate pains to prove their right to it;—Luther in his famous preface to his edition of the three creeds and Calvin by designedly making his *Institutes* an exposition of the "Apostles' Creed" the symbol of the earliest Latin Christianity. These are only examples of small irritating mistakes or inaccuracies which occur throughout the book, and which a little more care might have avoided.

Dr Allen's book is divided into three parts; the first treats of Institutions in the form of organisation of the Christian community, the second of creeds, and the third of worship.

The first division, which is much the longest, after an historic survey, which is perhaps the least valuable chapter in the book, discusses the organisation of the Apostolic Church under the two heads of "Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers," and "Presbyters, Bishops, Deacons." It proceeds to describe the age of transition or the third generation of Christianity, where the documents are the Epistle of Clement, the Didaché, the Pastor of Hermas, and the Ignatian Epistles. Then follow chapters on the Ignatian Episcopate, on Theories regarding the origin of the Episcopate, and on the Christian ministry of the second century. The other chapters discuss the Age of Cyprian, Monasticism in its relation to the Episcopate and to the Catholic Church, Nationality and the Episcopate with special reference to the Greek Church, the Episcopate and the Greek Church, and the organisation of the Churches in the age of the Reformation.

A study of the organisation of the Christian Church during the first three centuries not unnaturally occupies by far the largest space, and here Dr Allen's guides are mainly Harnack and Hatch. He decides that the investigations of these scholars have overthrown the late Dr Lightfoot's conclusions about the origin of the Christian

ministry, and more especially the theory that the "episcopate was formed out of the presbyterate by elevation," and that presbyter and episcopos were originally synonymous terms. We have no concern to defend all Dr Lightfoot's statements, and it is more than probable that with the present sources of information before him the late Bishop of Durham, the most learned and cautious student of the first three centuries of our era that this century has seen, might have been inclined to modify some of his conclusions; but we venture to think that it would not have been in the direction indicated by Dr Allen. Dr Lightfoot had already suggested lines of research which he did not follow up, but which point to the possibility that the real difference between Dr Hatch and himself was that the former looked at all that old church life as if it were one uniform organisation; while Dr Lightfoot, always free from the fault of simply finding corroboration for preconceived ideas in his historical investigations, recognised the possibility of differences in organisation arising from differences in the social conditions of the ordinary civil life. To our mind it can be shown that there were at least five types of primitive organisation in the New Testament Church, not one type as both Hatch and Harnack seem to insist that there *must* have been. Hatch has proved that there were officers called bishops from the beginning in certain Gentile Churches, and he has very plausibly explained where the idea of such office came from. But that does not hinder that there were presbyters occupying a similar position in churches of Jewish origin, which is what Lightfoot contends for, nor does it prevent the Churches of Rome and Thessalonica being organised under a government not unlike that of patron and client. It is not asserted that there was one bishop in every church from the beginning, and therefore Lightfoot's contention that the bishop, in the sense of a chairman of a council of administrative office-bearers, did rise out of the position of member of council, whether that member was called bishop, as in Churches of Gentile origin, or presbyter, as in Churches of Jewish origin, remains undisturbed by Hatch's researches.

But the peculiarity of Dr Allen's position is that he apparently seeks to class the presbyters with the prophets and teachers who were exhorters and not administrative officers at all; and so wedded is he to this idea that it haunts him all throughout his book. For his master thought is that there is to be seen in the history of the institutions of the Church, whether of organisation or creed or cultus, the play of two forces—the one the individual and hortatory, which represents the divine right of insurrection against the powers that be, should these powers cease to fulfil their functions, and the other the thought of orderly life and strict organisation. His peculiar theory of the presbyterate of the Church of the first two

centuries makes him call the former the "presbyterate," while the latter is the "episcopate." His principle is so sound, and its working is so well illustrated, that it is a pity that he has beclouded his real meaning by such a fanciful nomenclature. It is somewhat striking also that in his account of the organisation of the Church as seen in the Pastor of Hermas, he should have missed the most important passage which bears on organisation, that which states the duties of Clement as the office-bearer who had charge of correspondence with other Churches. In short, the great fact of the constant intercommunication between the different Christian communities, a fact which even the heathen, such as Lucian, noticed and which had such a large amount of influence on the earliest organisation of the Christian Church, has been altogether overlooked by Dr Allen.

Dr Allen's chapter on Cyprian is one of the best in the book. It is quite refreshing to find that he has noticed the real sympathy which the great bishop had with many Montanist ideas; but he has not done the whole justice to the curious contradictions to be found in the champion for episcopal rights. He says "the question of *ordination* now assumes the foremost rank." Of course on Cyprian's theory it ought; but it does not. Cyprian scarcely alludes to ordination, and when he does he seems to consider it simply the being set apart to perform fixed duties in the Church (cf. Ep. lxxv. 1; xxxii. 2; lxxvii. 6). At all events he does not base the extraordinary powers which he claims for bishops on their ordination or consecration. He does not seem to think that when a bishop is set apart for his official duties he receives an official inspiration. The inspiration which he undoubtedly possesses is rather given him in momentary acts by God. The right performance of the Lord's Supper depends upon *deo inspirante et mandante* (Ep. lxii. 1); the decision of the North African bishops assembled in council to deliberate about the "lapsed" was suggested, he says, by the Holy Spirit, "God advising them by many and manifest visions" (Ep. liii. 6). He declares continually that no one can judge a bishop but God; but when two Spanish bishops had "lapsed," he calls upon their people to abandon them upon pain of being as bad as their pastors if they refuse. In short, he was a strong man and did not seek to be logical.

Dr Allen's chapter on "Monasticism in its relations to the Episcopate and to the Catholic Church" is also very full of interest and suggestiveness. He has apparently caught Harnack's theory that Monasticism, in its early forms at least, was the provision within the Church for those special characteristics of Christian life which had been cast out when Montanism had been overthrown. It expressed the craving for individuality; for a personal

devotion as much needed for the spiritual life as obedience to ecclesiastical superiors; it meant the revival of spontaneous prophetic utterance. There was therefore always within Monasticism an inner note of antagonism to the episcopate. Dr Allen states this and its consequences with very great clearness and wealth of illustration. Unfortunately he cannot get clear of the idea that the presbyters represented the New Testament prophets, and the thought that presbyters stand for individuality while bishops stand for organisation mars the whole chapter.

Still it is a most interesting and suggestive chapter. Here is Dr Allen's thesis: "Monasticism never lost its inner mood of antagonism to the episcopate; its history is a record of conflicts with the bishops, of rivalries and jealousies, of defeats and victories, till it finally issued in the age of the Reformation, in organised Churches which had no bishops, where prophecy or the preaching of the Word was placed above the gift of administration." He shows with a large measure of success that Montanism, Novatianism, Donatism, and Monasticism constitute a line of succession; that all of them, and Monasticism inheriting the possessions of what went before it, stood for the principle of individualism while the Catholic Church stood for solidarity. He shows how the Catholic Church was too strong to be overcome by Monasticism, while Monasticism was too strong to be utterly subdued by the Church or the Episcopate. In the compromise which resulted the Eastern Church succeeded in taking its bishops from the monasteries but failed in bringing the monasteries under episcopal control; while in the West the monasteries, nominally under episcopal visitation, succeeded by supporting the papacy to secure a real independence of the Episcopate.

The most interesting part of Dr Allen's conception of the effect of Monasticism on Christian Institutions is his idea of the way in which Monasticism affected the Church at the time of the Reformation. The Reformation was, he believes, largely the effect of an individualist revolt against the solidarity of an organisation which had sacrificed too much to externality. Hence, according to his ideas of the part played by Monasticism in resisting this solidarity all throughout its history, it was bound to come to the front in the Reformation struggle. Of course the author of a book like this cannot afford time or space to deal with things in detail, and is quite justified in omitting the secondary causes while he describes the more important, but it is to be feared that Dr Allen has been too much carried away by his affection for an idea to be altogether trusted in his account of the connection between the Reformation and the Monastic orders. Granted that Monasticism was to begin with a revolt against a too strictly organised Church, a protest in

favour of the value of the personal religious life; granted also that in the darkest days of the early Mediæval Church it was the monasteries which led the way in reforms, and that almost every outburst of inventiveness in matters of religion, even in the later Middle Ages, came either from the Monastic orders or from associations which resembled them in most important aspects—granted all that, Dr Allen still makes too much of the relation of the Monastic orders to the Reformation movement. It is true that the Augustinians went almost in a body on the side of reform, and that Franciscans were among the boldest of the Reformation preachers; but it is scarcely true that any other of the Monastic orders showed a special tendency to accept and forward the Reformation. The reasons for the peculiar position of the Augustinians and of the Franciscans must therefore be sought elsewhere than in the fact that they were monks. Nor is the reason far to seek. The Augustinians regarded themselves as the special guardians of the doctrines of grace which the great Augustine had taught, and which became specially prominent in all reformation preaching and theology; while the Franciscans had always kept in touch with the common people and were specially interested in the social and economic changes which the Reformation movement on its social side might be capable of producing. Still we have to thank Dr Allen for clearly pointing out how the principle of individuality was kept alive in the Monastic orders and how that principle did awaken to new life at the time of the Reformation. It is a pity that Dr Allen should have run his genuinely correct idea to death and not contented himself with stating it in a less exclusive fashion. Even his general principle should have been put with a little more accuracy, and the accuracy required did not need a great amount of details to be stated. The sacred principle of individuality does not find much illustration among the orders of monks proper after the twelfth century. It was then taken up and exhibited by the friars, Dominican and Franciscan, whose aims and organisation were quite distinct from those of the monks, and for more than a century they were its exponents. But in the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the sacred fire had died down among the friars, and was rekindled by associations some of which were, and some of which were not, monastic in the ordinary sense of that word. The two and a half centuries before the Reformation flooded Western Europe with pious associations and some impious. The "Friends of God," the Lollards, the Fratricelli, the Brethren of the Common Lot, and the Brethren of the Common Life, were all pious associations of this kind; while the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit displayed the dangerous and irreligious side of the wide spreading individualist revolt against the ecclesiastical or-

ganisation of the Church—a revolt which was to take deeper and more resolute shape at the time of the great Reformation.

We have left ourselves little space to notice the portions of Dr Allen's book which treat of Creeds and of Worship. They are by no means the least interesting parts. His chapter on "The Life of the Spirit, the doctrine of the Atonement, the relation of the Divine to the Human," for example, is full of suggestive thought.

Dr Allen's book is both suggestive and valuable; it contains a good many inaccuracies which a second edition may efface; the author is too prone to come to a rounded general conclusion on a very slender induction of fact; but the book is fresh, interesting, and above all suggestive. With the great general principles which it sets forth we are in complete accord, although we cannot accept many of the illustrations which are given; and we do certainly wish that Dr Allen had let the "presbyterate" alone.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

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### **Scientific Aspects of Christian Evidences.**

*By G. Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S.A., Professor of the Harmony of Science and Revelation, Oberlin College. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898. Pp. 362. Price, \$1.50.*

THE Lowell Institute Lectures could not have been entrusted to better hands than to Professor Wright. He occupies chief place among those who in America have investigated the claims of science and revelation. Professor Wright's knowledge is, however, not restricted to this field, but in the work before us moves easily over territories directly biblical, critical, and philosophical. The book consists of ten chapters, and has for one of its main drifts to counteract the one-sidedness of scientific specialism as that tendency evidences itself in a demand for experimental or demonstrative proof in unreasonable forms. There can be no doubt of the need—on both sides of the Atlantic—for doing this, and just as little doubt of the vigour and skill with which it is here done. The difficulties of faith are for our author such as are not peculiar to religious belief, but are shared by the whole family of the inductive sciences. "It is unreasonable to set up such a standard of proof as will prevent the formation of practical judgments and paralyze human activities" (p. 185). "The larger part not only of the beliefs which are properly permitted to regulate our daily life, but the larger part of the beliefs of the inductive sciences, rest upon probable, or, as it is often called, moral evidence" (p. 191). Professor



Wright engages in the good warfare against a mechanical view of the Universe; he fears the fatalism of the philosophers more than the materialism of scientists. The limits of scientific thought, or the limitations of the experimental method of proof, are clearly realised by Professor Wright, who does not—as have so many—overestimate what science can do for our enlightenment. He adopts a theistic evolution, embraces a dualistic theory of the universe, maintains human freedom, finds place for design, and makes room for miracle. His discussion of these subjects is enlivened and enhanced by the introduction of much interesting scientific material. The historic discoveries also come within his survey. Thus we have the *Apology* of Aristides, Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the recently found Syriac version of the Gospels, the fragment of the Gospel of Peter, and the *Logia* of Grenfell and Hunt, all adduced in favour of the author's contention that "they have uniformly confirmed the traditional belief in the early acknowledgment of the Gospels." The internal evidences of the early date of the four Gospels are next dealt with, after which the book closes with a summary of results of the cumulative evidence. The book will prove no less interesting to the general reader than to the special student of the Christian Evidences. Its eminently readable character should help to ensure for it the wide circulation which its careful and comprehensive treatment deserves. There is a good subject and author index, and some valuable and helpful scientific illustrations.

JAMES LINDSAY.

### **A Manual of Ethics.**

*By John S. Mackenzie, M.A., Professor of Logic and Philosophy in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire: formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Third Edition, Revised, Enlarged, and partly Rewritten. London: W. B. Clive, 1897. Pp. xix. and 456 (First Edition, pp. xxvi. and 339). Price, 6s.*

THROUGH this new and considerably enlarged edition of Professor Mackenzie's *Manual* the editors of the *University Tutorial Series* offer a welcome proof to the readers of the First Edition (1892) that the book is in a fair way to occupy the position it deserves. That position is certainly in the first rank of educational treatises on a great subject. The writer, it will be remembered, made generous acknowledgment of his predecessors and contemporaries in the

authorship of Ethical Handbooks, and this feature is continued and enlarged in the new edition ; but few books of the same compass, whether English or German, have covered the ground with the same thoroughness and wealth of illustration. 456 pages make what it is difficult to call a small book ; but no one who follows Professor Mackenzie from page to page will wish that his book were shorter, and his own modest reason for omitting the chapter on the relation of Art to Ethics (chap. xvi. of the First Edition), that "the treatment of such a subject in a handbook is necessarily too slight to be of any value" (p. 420, note 2), might readily, were it not for such books as this one, apply to all philosophical handbooks. It is a great achievement to have written in less than 500 small pages a handbook covering the whole ground of Ethics, treated from the idealistic standpoint, of which the thing least possible to say is that it is "too slight to be of any value." The foot and appendix notes are abundant, but not oppressive. They are spots of light, never spots of dulness. They are always instructive, often packed with vigorous criticism, and sometimes amusing (*e.g.*, that on the private life of Kant, p. 159). We cannot within the limits of a second notice attempt anything of the nature of serious criticism, and must, for account of the book, be content to indicate the main points of difference between the present edition and the first. It may be permitted, however, to say that most of the theological readers of the *Critical Review* will find themselves at one with Professor Mackenzie in speculative standpoint ; and though they will probably find his references to Jesus Christ<sup>1</sup> as little satisfactory as we do, they will be grateful for his genuine appreciation of Christian Ethics. In Ethics Professor Mackenzie is as sound a Puritan as

<sup>1</sup> Professor Mackenzie's view, it must be confessed, is *naturalistic* in the theological, if not in the philosophical sense. Jesus Christ is, as a matter of course, on the same footing with Confucius, Buddha, and other religious reformers. It does not come in Professor Mackenzie's way to suggest the questionableness of this in view of history or the New Testament. He refers in connection with a quotation from the Epistle to the Romans to "the writer of the Pauline Epistles" (p. 97), and leaves the reader with the impression that the words "his service is perfect freedom" occur in the New Testament (p. 98). Perhaps it is this naïve ignorance of things Biblical that enables Professor Mackenzie to do such justice to Christian Ethics. He does not doubt that if Jesus Christ and the Apostle Paul were alive they would acknowledge it to have been the principal aim of their lives to enforce such doctrine as is formulated in such a handbook as this under the heading *Christian Ethics*. Possibly, if Professor Mackenzie had allowed himself to be more aware of the gulf between his point of view in this reference and that of the New Testament writers, he might have done less justice to their ethical teaching. As it is, orthodox Christians may be thankful for Professor Mackenzie's help in casting out the demon of a materialistic or merely empirical view of life, even though he "followeth not with" them.

Dr Martineau. The differences between the first and the present edition relate, as the Preface explains, chiefly to the method of arranging the material. Instead of the division into two *Parts* ("The Theory of Morals" and "The Moral Life") we have now a division into three *Books*: Book I. (pp. 1-146), "Prolegomena chiefly Psychological"; Book II. (pp. 147-272) "Theories of the Moral Standard," in which, with great critical ability and much genial appreciation of elements of value in Hedonistic and Utilitarian schemes, the author vindicates his own idealistic standpoint. Book III., "The Moral Life" (pp. 273-438), with a valuable little *Appendix* (pp. 439-442) intended to guide the student's reading on Ethics, and an admirable *Index* (pp. 443-456). A slight defect in editing appears in the fact that, while the author speaks in the Preface of a cross-division into five *Parts*, the *Parts* do not appear in the table of *Contents*. The author's general view is that Ethics occupies a position midway between Psychology and Metaphysics. This view dominates his method of arrangement and accounts in particular for the culmination of the book in the insistence upon the need of a metaphysical basis on which to rest the presuppositions of Ethics. In the interest of this need the author has largely curtailed the references of the previous edition to Art in order to make those to Metaphysics "a good deal more definite" (Preface, p. x.). Hence also the addition of the "Concluding Chapter" on "Ethics and Metaphysics." As if in counterpoise to this insistence upon Metaphysics the author has added a chapter at the end of Book II. on "The Bearing of Theory on Practice," "in order to remove the impression that appears to have been created in some minds that I thought it to be the business of ethical science to construct the moral life *in vacuo*" (Preface, *ibid.*). The author's view throughout is that the moral life has to be lived, whether or not we can come to intellectual terms with the "chief end," which it presupposes, and the closing sentence of the book expresses a disposition to acquiesce in the dictum of Kant that "Metaphysics is undoubtedly the most difficult of sciences; but it is a science that has not yet come into existence." We regret that the space allowed for this notice is in such poor proportion to the merits of this extremely able, instructive, and readable book.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

### The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines :

*Being a facsimile of the First Edition, which was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 25th November 1647. With Historical Account and Bibliography by William Carruthers, F.R.S. (lately Keeper of Botany, British Museum). London: Publication Office of the Presbyterian Church of England, 14 Paternoster Square, 1897. 4to, pp. 78. Price, 3s. 6d.*

THIS is a publication of present interest and of permanent value. Its issue in 1897 was seasonable, as there then fell to be celebrated the 250th anniversary of the completion of what Richard Baxter declared to be the best Catechism he had ever seen, the best book next to his Bible in his study. But what was thus timely in publication has a value of its own over and above mere opportuneness of issue. A work which has exercised such a moulding influence upon the theology and piety of Saxon and Celtic Presbyterians for two centuries and a half is surely as worthy of reproduction in facsimile as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism of 1551, a black-letter reprint of which appeared in Edinburgh some fifteen years ago. The reproducing has in this case been admirably done. Mr Carruthers has proved himself a most competent editor. He has a wide and, at the same time, minute knowledge of the field in all its departments—doctrinal, historical, and bibliographical; he is an enthusiastic admirer of the Jerusalem Chamber symbolical books; and he displays, both in his edition of the *Confession of Faith* and in this of the *Shorter Catechism*, a love of verbal correctness which entitles him to the gratitude of all lovers of accuracy.

Then the publishers have spared no pains to make their part of the work worthy of such admirable editing. One of the six hundred copies to which the London printer of 1647 was restricted "at his peril," is in the Library of the British Museum; and this has been reproduced by a photographic process in absolute facsimile, printed on paper of seventeenth century style and colour, and bound in buckram—all in such a fashion as cannot fail to satisfy even the most fastidious of bibliopoles.

In his "historical account" Mr Carruthers has pointed out several deviations from the authoritative text in current editions of the *Catechism*. Some of these are clearly corruptions of modern printing, as, for example, "*the* pain of death" for "*pain* of death," and "*such set times*" for "*such set time*"; while others are pro-

bably blunders of the press in 1647, as, for example, the omission of "and" before "Sanctification" in the answer to question 52. The need of a careful supervision of the press in the case of such a frequently printed work as *The Grounds and Principles of Religion contained in a Shorter Catechism*—the title sanctioned by the English Parliament—can be gathered from the fact that the text of 1647 was tampered with in the following year, the clause in the answer to question 82, "doth daily break them" being changed into "daily breaks them" in the edition of 1648.

Did space permit an extended reference might be made to the Scottish Catechisms of the Westminster period, and specially to that of Rutherford, which was prepared just before the Assembly divines entered on this part of their labours, and which Professor Mitchell is of opinion was drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the committee in the hope that it might meet their approval. With all our admiration for the intense spirituality, the rich imagery and pithy sayings of the writer of the immortal *Letters*, we cannot but feel thankful that the hopes of the Scottish Commissioners were in this matter disappointed. Rutherford's *Soume of Christian Religion* is a most racy production, abounding in felicitous phrasing, poetical imagery, and subtle distinctions, but it is too racy of the soil and speech of Scotland to be of any use in England. What could an English reader make of such expressions as these: "our life is *empaunded* in Christ's hands," "God hes *marrowed* man and woman togidder," "faith grippeth promises and maketh us to go out of ourselves to Christ, as being *homelie* with Christ," "we are to come [to our Father] as bairnes to their father's knee and to speak to him in a bairnes tongue quho hes maid us bairnes in Christ"? When one comes across such words and phrases as these, which even some Scotsmen of the present day may have a difficulty in understanding, one feels thankful that while the Commissioners from North Britain cordially aided in the elaboration of them, "the documents which are to-day," as Mr Carruthers aptly puts it, "the authoritative standards of the English-speaking Presbyterian Churches of the world were prepared by an assembly of English divines, men who were episcopally ordained clergymen of the Church of England." For the result of that has been that the teaching of the Shorter Catechism has been expressed in language which is spoken and written alike in Great and Greater Britain to this day, a language not one vocable of which has become obsolete in the course of two hundred and fifty years.

C. G. M'CRIE.

**Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und  
verwandter Schriften.<sup>1</sup>**

Von Dr Ferdinand Weber. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig,  
1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr.  
8vo, pp. xl. 427. Price, 7 marks.

THIS work is one of such interest and value that, had it been better known, it would long ago have passed into a second edition. It is hard to understand why some enterprising publisher has not issued this treatise in England. It is to be hoped that this second edition will soon be put into English for the benefit of interested persons who are unacquainted with German.

Weber's book does for early though post-biblical Jewish Theology what Oehler and Schultz have done for the Old Testament. Others have attempted to bring together statements regarding the beliefs and practices of the Jews; e.g., Saadia Gaon ("Emunot W'Edot"), Maimonides ("More Nebuchim"), Juda Hallevi ("Kusari"), and, coming to moderns, Wagenseil ("Tele Igneæ Satanae") and Eisenmenger ("Entdecktes Judenthum"). The first three are Jews, and aim at explaining and defending Judaism. The last two are Christians, and endeavour to indicate the absurdities of Judaism with the view of discrediting both it and its followers. Eisenmenger's work is very full and scholarly; it is much larger than Weber's, and contains a good deal that the latter of necessity omits. But it lacks in arrangement, and the author is as antisemitic as any modern Russian or German. Even M'Caul's *Old Path* has points of interest unnoticed by our author. Weber had the advantage of having before him the works of Oehler, Schultz, Smend, Weiss, and others, who have written on the theology of the Old or New Testament.

Admirable as the work is, there are monographs on parts of the subject which are fuller and more satisfactory, as was to be expected. Such are the works of Drummond and Stanton on the Jewish Messiah, and also Fürst's Old Testament Canon according to Talmudic and Midraschic tradition. But for comprehensiveness of treatment, logical arrangement and conciseness, this work of Weber's is far and away the best we have, or are likely to have, for a good while to come.

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of this work was published in 1880 under the title, *System der Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, and was edited after the author's death by Professors Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann. This new edition has been corrected and added to by the second editor, aided by Mr J. J. Kahan.

This second edition contains many improvements upon the first. For one thing, at the top of each page the number of the section is given, as well as the subject of it. The convenience of this to anyone looking out for a particular section is obvious.

The reader is considerably helped in this new edition by having the substance of each section put in larger and thicker type at the beginning of the section. This has often necessitated an addition to the text, but it affords the reader an admirable clue as to the course of thought.

The literary references in the new edition are fuller and more up to date, though there is still room for improvement in this respect. At page 360 there is a whole paragraph given to literature on *Jewish Christology*, which in the first edition is wanting. It is singular to find no mention made of the English works by Drummond and Stanton already referred to. Bertholet's *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* was published but a few months prior to the second edition of Weber, and could not perhaps be mentioned. But no bibliography of Jewish theology can be considered complete which does not take note of it.

Dr Schnedermann has been aided by Mr J. J. Kahan, a scholar resident in Leipzig, in correcting the references and quotations. Those who know Mr Kahan, to whom this task was committed, will have confidence in the care, knowledge and skill with which this undertaking has been accomplished. For hints—hints only—of other obligations which scholars are under to Mr Kahan see the preface to the *Gesenius-Buhl Lexicon*, and to Dalman's *Aramäische Grammatik*; but far more has been done by him in helping others than is known, as his friend the late Professor Franz Delitzsch could say were he still alive.

Weber's *Jewish Theology*, though our best treatment on the whole subject, is not perfect. The work has yet to be written; but whoever takes in hand this gigantic task will be helped in no small measure by the present work.

Weber is too prone to look upon Rabbinical works as systematic treatises, teaching the same thing in every part; but this is far from being the true state of the case. In the Talmud, as well as in other Jewish writings, we have the *obiter dicta* of separate teachers, and no attempt is made to co-ordinate or reconcile them. This is why continental antisemites find it so easy to adduce passages from Jewish literature that, if representative, would be so damaging, but which are often the statements of a single man.

In § 17 quotations are given showing how completely the Gentiles are shut out from the mercy of God. But, on the contrary, the very "Yalqut" which he cites (p. 66) teaches in another place the very reverse in the following words:—"Whoever doeth

good, whether Israelite or Heathen, man or woman, he-slave or she-slave, gets the reward" ("Yalqut" on Genesis, § 76). How much these words are like those of the converted Jew! "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male nor female: for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28).

On p. 49 the author brings forward two passages (Berak 17<sup>b</sup>, Sifre 12), to show that, according to Jewish teaching, a man can claim as a right the rewards of obedience to every precept: he does not need to appear before Him whose word he has kept as unworthy. But it ought in all fairness to be pointed out that the direct contrary is taught in *Debarim Rabba*, ch. 2, where we read: "No man (creature) has any availing claim upon his Creator. Even Moses, the head (master) of the prophets, could approach God only as a suppliant." This is doctrine with which the writer of "Romans" could have no quarrel, and it is to be found in other Rabbinical writings. These examples suffice to warn the reader to be on his guard in reading this book.

There are some errors of translation, though in regard to them opinions will differ. At p. 132, line 23, *הַמִּוֹרָה הַלְכָה* should probably be rendered "to make" or "decide a halaka," not to merely say or recite one (Levy, under *יָרָה*, renders by *lehren*, teach).

A better translation than "mit ihrem Wissen" would be—keeping to the German—"in Besitze ihrer Erkenntniss."

Weber holds with the bulk of modern Jews that Phylacteries, Mezuzas, and Tsitzith originated in the endeavour to keep in mind the commandments of God (see p. 27 f.). But this conception is a later one, due to a rationalising process. See "*Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and related peoples*," 1898, by the present writer. Originally these were all used as charms to keep away evil spirits.

Many points of fundamental interest and importance to the Christian theologian are dealt with in this volume. There are both questions—Did the Jews of the period included expect a Messiah that would suffer and die for the people? Did they believe in the everlasting punishment of the wicked? To the former our author answers in the negative. As to the latter, he gives passages implying the extinction of the impenitent, and others teaching the everlasting punishment of certain classes. Tempted as one is to name other vital questions raised, and to discuss them too, the limits of space make this impossible.

J. WITTON DAVIES.



### 1. Das Deuteronomium.

*Das prophetische Staatsgesetz des theokratischen Königthums, mit seinen Eingangs- und Schlussworten, aus der prophetischen Geschichte und Theologie, erläutert von O. Naumann, Pastor in Treuen. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 252. Price, M.2.*

### 2. Alttestamentliche Studien.

*Von G. Stosch, Pfarrer am St Elisabeth-Diakonissenhause zu Berlin. II. Teil: Mose und die Dokumente des Auszugs. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 167. Price, M.2.*

1. PASTOR NAUMANN finds in Deuteronomy a movement of the legislative activity of the prophets and their effort all along to give a theocratic constitution, in the spirit of Mosaism, to the people of God. From the Decalogue, the Mosaic *magna charta* of the theocracy, down to the Priests' Code he discovers a legislative continuity in which there are no abrupt transitions or violent breaks with the past. The careful examination of Deuteronomy itself he considers affords ample evidence of the truth of his contentions. The Sinaitic Book of the Covenant is the first illustration (perhaps about the time of Samuel) of the prophetic application of Mosaic principles after the occupation of the land. To an early date belongs also the code of laws which, according to Deuteronomy, was promulgated in the plains of Moab. This included such points as the proclaiming of the ban against the native populations of Canaan, the destruction of their images and altars, the prohibition of intermarriages with them, and directions about partitioning the Holy Land by lot. Our author distinguishes, with Kautzsch and most modern critics, between a primitive Deuteronomy (UD), including chaps. xii.-xxvi. and the introduction and conclusion of the book. The latter constituents, contributed by four different prophetic hands, he designates E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, E<sub>3</sub>, E<sub>4</sub>. UD (as a whole) and E<sub>1</sub> date from about the close of the period of prosperity under Solomon, E<sub>2</sub> and E<sub>3</sub> from the first and second stages of the Syrian wars, E<sub>4</sub> from the time of Josiah-Jeremiah. Modern criticism errs when it attributes the first publication of D to the reign of Josiah, and its composition to a date a little before this time. It is wrong also when it supposes that the Decalogue is not essentially older than D.

Naumann's work is most careful, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The tone is unexceptionable. Rarely have we met with more courtesy and candour

towards opponents. His book deserves careful study, although we cannot profess to believe that it will exercise much influence on adherents of Wellhausen or even of more conservative critics. Traditionalists will find that it goes too far for their tastes. By the way, is it not extremely improbable that Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix. is the work of Isaiah? Yet an argument is built upon the authorship of these chapters. Is not 1 Sam. x. 25 also a very doubtful witness? Finally, to argue that the compiler of the books of Kings, who judges history from the Deuteronomic standpoint, is guilty of *pia fraus*, if at least UD was not known to the actors in that history, seems far from conclusive.

2. Those who have any wish to transport themselves in imagination back for a little to the ideas of an age that has gone never to return, might do worse than read Stosch's *Alttest. Studien*. The book is not dull reading, far from it. People who prefer facts to fancies and scientific investigations to *a priori* theories will be apt to turn away, however, from a book which accepts of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a first principle, and calmly sets aside all distinction of J, E, or P as worse than trifling. If we may believe Pfarrer Stosch, those who accept of such distinctions are guided to their decision not by linguistic, historical, or archaeological considerations, but by such laudable motives as an instinct for destruction, a craving after novelty, or an impatience of the supernatural. Such scholars as Driver, Cheyne, and Davidson will, doubtless, take to heart the remark that even when their hypotheses put on the sheep's clothing of piously-sounding phrases, they yet retain the wolf's nature. Not that our author himself can be charged with failing to offer us novelties, such as the probable (*sic*) theory that Moses in writing Genesis used up the notes of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or the grotesque explanation of Zipporah's circumcision of her son. As for the supernatural he simply revels in it. Where for him are any difficulties connected with the marshalling of the people for the Exodus? And woe to those who seek by naturalistic explanations to facilitate the passage of the Red Sea!

Professors Budde and Cheyne will note that it is extremely probable that the first sketch of the Book of Job came from the hand of Moses, and no one need waste any more speculation on the origin of the name Jahweh after the "crystal-clear" explanation of Stosch (p. 34). We fear, however, that the general verdict will be that, however interesting the book may be as exhibiting a survival of beliefs that are generally dead, its value for living needs is *nil*.

J. A. SELBIE.

### **Beiträge zur Israelitischen und Jüdischen Religionsgeschichte.**

*Von Lic. Dr Ernst Sellin, Privatdozent der Theologie in Erlangen. Heft I. Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 237. Price, M.4.*

### **Des Rätsels Lösung, oder Beiträge zur richtigen Lösung des Pentateuchrätsels für den christlichen Glauben und die Wissenschaft.**

*Erste Abteilung: Die Lösung für den Christenglauben, oder das Zeugniß Jesu Christ und der Apostel. Von Eduard Rupprecht. Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 278. Price, M.3.60.*

### **Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.**

*Beurtheilung der Schrift von J. Wellhausen, 1894. Von Dr theol. Adolph Zahn. Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 154. Price, 2s.*

DR SELLIN makes a careful and scholarly contribution to the discussion of some of the theological problems of the old Testament. On matters literary and critical he uncompromisingly accepts the conclusions of the advanced critical school. "We cannot," he says, "disown the fruits of decades of strenuous and conscientious labour. There is a great sum of firmly established critical results, received by almost all thoughtful enquirers, however widely they may otherwise differ, and still greater unanimity may be expected in the future" (8). But with regard to the leading theological problems no such harmony reigns. The points which Dr Sellin sets himself to investigate in the first part of his work, are these: Was the relation between Jahweh and ancient Israel established by an act of divine grace? Was it from the first morally conditioned? Was it dissoluble in time? The naturalistic theologians, as is well known, answer all these questions in the negative; Dr Sellin answers them in the affirmative. While his opponents think they can point to a period of several centuries after Moses, in which Israel, like the other Semitic races, regarded their God as the natural father and king of the people, he replies that this can be done "only by the most complete and violent ignoring of the specific peculiarities of the relation between Israel and their God, and that this people, throughout the whole course of its existence, bears the

motto, 'by grace,' not 'by nature'" (60). Starting from the usual naturalistic statement that the religion of Israel is the "creation" of the prophets, Dr Sellin declines to believe in what he characterises as a "creatio ex nihilo"; shows that the prophets always take their stand upon ancient principles; that they are never accused of being innovators; that their appeal to history is not disallowed; and from these facts he infers that there was no wide gulf fixed between the prophetic and the popular religion of the 8th century, the people of the time being no such "mass of perdition" as his opponents appear to suppose. After a pretty extensive survey of the oldest traditions, Dr Sellin finds that "the twofold consciousness, (1) that the relation between Jahweh and Israel was not simply given by nature, but founded in a historical act of divine grace, and (2) that the disturbances of the relation were not brought about by the arbitrary will of Jahweh, but caused by the religious and moral faults of the people, is the red line which runs through the whole history and literature of Israel" (75). The idea of the *covenant* no doubt "had its own history in Israel," but the kernel of the matter is already contained in the great event of which the vivid recollection remained among the people, and upon which the whole religious consciousness rested. What was that event? Dr Sellin holds that Ex. xix., &c., is to be regarded as historical "at least thus far: that the tribes of Israel received at Sinai, amid miraculous events and through the mediation of Moses, the impression and assurance that Jahweh was drawing near to them and choosing them for his people" (70). From the first these new impressions and impulses were embodied in the Ten Words. "From the hour of its birth the religion of Israel was exalted above the religions of the nations, and bore in itself the germ which was to become the religion of the world." The writer strengthens his argument in the second part of his book by an able discussion of the question of the relation of Jahweh to the individual. He finds that "from of old" Jahweh rewarded and punished individuals on moral grounds, not from such arbitrary motives as envy, &c., as the naturalistic critics contend. "Jahweh is from the first the enemy of sin, the holy avenger of everything wicked in the people, and in the individual. . . . He is not only the greatest and wisest, but the ethically holy" (237). Readers will not fail to be impressed by the earnest and candid spirit of the author. He knows that he will be regarded as unscientific, and accused of dogmatic prejudice; but he is driven by the facts to the conclusion which he here sets forth (234). His work is a real contribution to the solution of these pressing problems.

Rupprecht's one aim in life is to prove that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. His former treatises on the subject have been, he

admits, "thoroughly polemical." But returning from the rout of the critics, he announces his intention to take the trowel in his right hand for a while. *Doch das Schwert in der Linken!* In the present work he undertakes to prove the Mosaic authorship from the New Testament. It is unnecessary to state his arguments, which are pretty old and worn. How much the writer vexes himself in vain may be seen if we quote two of his sentences. "The credibility of the Old Testament," he says, "depends upon the inspiration of the authors, by which it is guaranteed that the contents are not the word of this or that profane author, but much rather the word, the writing of God Himself to His Church. The inspired character of the Pentateuch is inconceivable if it does not come from the time of Moses and from Moses himself." In other words, if a writer was so modest and self-oblivious as to leave his work anonymous, his work is to be regarded as profane and unauthoritative. This is imposing strange limitations on the Holy Spirit. Perhaps the most readable part of this book is the long preface, in which the author replies to the criticisms which have been showered upon his earlier works. In this country we are unaccustomed to the amenities with which a theological debate is sometimes conducted in Germany. Two things stick in this writer's throat: one professor has dared to accuse him of a want of "Christian mildness," another has called him a "theological clown." But what of that, when he knows that his books "are read in Norway, America, and even in Rome?"

But Rupprecht has, doubtless to his great surprise, discovered a comrade in Dr Adolph Zahn. This writer introduces himself somewhat mysteriously. "There are," he says, "but two grave-diggers in Germany, my humble self and Rupprecht, who have the difficult task of burying the many slain of the army of Gog, whom the word of God has slain, in the 'valley of the wanderers,' so that they who pass through may not be hindered. And we call to each other the while, 'Here is still a bone and there,' and set up a sign by it. Since no one else has been found in all the land to bury the slain, we have undertaken the comfortless but necessary work. For the land must yet be cleansed." This is a most singular instance of the fulfilment of prophecy. There has hitherto been much doubt as to the identity of the weird people whom Ezekiel saw in his vision of the last things. But the mystery is solved by Dr Zahn: Gog and Magog are German critics. In this little volume Dr Zahn attempts to deal with the works of Wellhausen, Wildeboer, Nowack, and others. He is evidently a devout man, but his whole mode of reasoning is unconvincing. One example of his judgment and taste may suffice. "Our Lord," he says, "gave no academic lectures, nor did he express himself about the authorship of the

prophets, but he gave a religious judgment upon Isaiah, and in a religious book that judgment is the first and weightiest. If an academic person comes to another conclusion than the Lord—if in his opinion the book of Isaiah is not Isaianic, he may say everything good or bad of a scientific kind about the book, but he will be repudiated by Christians" (p. 6). One cannot, then, divide the book of Isaiah and remain a Christian. O grave-digger!

J. STRACHAN.

### **(1.) Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus.**

Von Lic. Dr. Theodor Simon. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate; 1897. 8vo, pp. 118. Price, M.2.80.

### **(2.) Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus.**

Von Lic. Theolog. Paul Wernle. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Akadem. Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr; 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, M.2.50.

### **(3.) Beiträge zum Verständnis der Soteriologischen Erfahrungen und Spekulationen des Apostels Paulus.**

Eine Theologische Studie von Wilhelm Karl. Strasburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 116. Price, M.3.

THE above are the most recent contributions that have come to us from Germany to the understanding of Paulinism. Each of these works is characterised by that thoroughness that we expect to find in German work, and which has yielded already important results in this special field. Whatever may be thought of Paul's theology in this country at the present moment, it is certain that abroad there is no department of theological thought that has more enthusiastic students.

1. Simon's book on the *Psychology of the Apostle Paul* is a valuable little manual, and is both thorough and popular in style. Indeed I do not know any book in which this somewhat difficult and complicated subject is treated with so much simplicity and clearness. Illustration is here and there used that casts a real light on the matter in hand. The author has the advantage of being well acquainted with modern psychology. He is alive to the importance of recognising the close connection between body and

soul on which psychologists insist ; and in mapping out the different faculties or potencies of the soul, he avoids the error into which the untrained student sometimes falls of speaking of these as separate substances or entities. A sentence or two will show the point of view of the author. "In Paul," he says, "we have the psychology of the Bible in its most developed form. If John may be called the Metaphysician among the Apostles, Paul is the Psychologist. In all that he writes there is a fine psychological vision with which he traces and penetrates into the meaning of the events of the inner life of the soul. For the most part he looks at the facts of salvation from the view point of their psychological working, their influence on the psychic life of man, on his thought, feeling and action. If it is rightly demanded of psychology that it rests on the observation of facts, on experience, the Pauline psychology fulfils this demand. Only, the experience of Paul is of a higher sort. Ordinary psychology seeks to investigate psychic events that allay themselves to all sorts of outward conditions of greater or less importance. . . . Paul, however, observes the attitude of the human soul under the influence of infinitely more important conditions. He knows and teaches how sin and grace, life and death operate on men, and determine the psychic life even to its inmost depths. His doctrines are not woven out of pre-conceived principles, but they rest on experience ; a rich material of experience pours in upon him from the entire life of man, and especially from the experience of his own inner heart." His arrangement of this material is simple and comprehensive. (1) He deals with the outward and bodily nature of man as the foundation of the inner nature ; (2) with this inner nature of man, which has its seat, to use Biblical language, in the "heart," and is determined, on the one hand, by the *ψυχή* or life, by which it is related to the material body ; and, on the other hand, by the *πνεῦμα* or spirit to which belongs freedom and independence of the body, and by which it is related to God and the spiritual world ; (3) in the third division of his subject he deals with the special states that are due to sin and grace. In the discussion of these subjects there is a great deal that is fresh and suggestive as well as important for the understanding of the structure of the Apostle's thought. A translation of this little volume would form a valuable addition to theological literature.

2. The work of Wernle on *The Christian and Sin according to Paul* is a singularly interesting production, and although extreme in some of its positions cannot fail to be read with profit. It contains a discussion of an aspect of Paulinism which, the author complains, has been overlooked by writers on New Testament theology

with the single exception of Ritschl, who at least has stated the problem. "It is of the highest interest," Wernle says, "to know how the classic period of our religion, in particular the Apostle Paul, answers the questions, 'Does the Christian still sin? Does Grace put an end to sin? Does the Christian obtain the grace of God after he sins? How does he become free from sin? How is the Church related to the sinner? Does it in spite of sin continue to be the Church of the saints? How does it deal with the Christian who sins?'" (p. 4). The first part of the book is devoted to the question of Paul's own personal relation to sin in so far as it can be answered from his epistles. He concludes his examination of passages thus: "If Paul, after he became a Christian, felt himself constantly to be a sinner or prayed daily for forgiveness, he has certainly repressed every trace of this feeling in his epistles. He nowhere writes of a personal continued striving with sin, he nowhere expresses the need of comfort or of renewed forgiveness. Sin is the thing that belongs to a past with which he has now no more to do" (p. 15). "If he had thought otherwise he would not have brought the new life of Christians into line with the life of the risen Christ (Rom. vi.). Sinlessness is for him an attribute that should belong to the regenerate as well as to Jesus" (p. 16). How did Paul come to take this view? the author's answer is that he was an "enthusiast." He had the most vivid faith in the near approach of the *παρουσία* of Christ. Already possessed by the Spirit he had the pledge therein of the glory shortly to dawn on the world. "This enthusiastic realisation of the end and the accompanying fulness of his spiritual life lifted him above the feeling of want. Not that he boasted of his sinlessness though there is no confession of sin. He recognised that his experience was what it was because Jesus lived in him.

He goes on to show from the evidence of the Epistles that Paul simply transferred this remarkable experience of his own to Christians, and expected them to be such as he himself was. His intercourse with the Corinthian and other churches indeed opened his eyes to the fact that the Real did not correspond with the Ideal and that Christians sinned. But his optimism, based on his conviction of the near coming of Christ when all would go well, hindered him being seriously disturbed by the facts; he enjoins upon believers the moral standard of Christianity, reminding them that he had the means of realising it, but the problem, what of the sins we have committed since we have believed, is never faced by him, he does not go back to preach again repentance and forgiveness. "Such lapses from their state as dead with Christ and alive unto God were brief transient disturbances that did not radically affect the perfection of the believer or the Church." "Paul explains



the Ideal as the one legitimate reality ; as such he had experience of it, as such it must prove to be, in all believers Christians are people who by the Spirit have obtained definite victory, whom sin and the law no longer affect. This is the first and last with him " (p. 90). In this doctrinaire treatment the problem of sin in the Christian life does not exist for him, he does not see it, the enthusiasm of the new life must carry the believer victoriously over the short interval that intervened before Christ came.

W. argues that Paul's was essentially a "missionary theology": he preached justification or salvation by the free gift of God ; and this, followed by the enthusiasm of the spirit, the immediate harbinger of the *παρουσία* of Christ was all sufficient. "In the brief time before that event sin can have no place in the Christian, for God will help them to the goal" (p. 29).

The belief in the sinlessness of Christians, then, according to the author, was engendered in the peculiar religious atmosphere which Paul breathed, by the extraordinary vividness of his eschatological expectations. It could not survive a change of atmosphere when the Church no longer cherished the expectation of the end. Accordingly, at the Reformation, when the "enthusiasm" was wanting, and when the theoretical conception of the Christian life had been corrected by the actual facts of history, the Reformers denied the possibility of perfection in this life. They laid the stress on the fact that the Christian, in spite of remaining sin, may be a child of God ; while Paul held that he is already taken out of sin, and has already entered upon the life of the future. With the Reformers, faith held the place that Paul assigns to the Spirit. "The piety of Paul is mainly this, Walking in the *Spirit*, hence unrest, enthusiasm, the blending of future and present. The piety of Luther is faith, the steadfast trust of the heart in God in joy and sorrow, in life and death" (p. 25).

Towards the conclusion, W. compares the doctrine of Paul with that of Jesus on this point. "Paul," he says, "paints human nature in its unregenerate state in darker colours than Jesus did, while he represents Christians as much better than they appeared to the eye of the latter." No such statement as that of our Lord, no one is good but God only, is ever applied by Paul to Christians ; one seeks in vain in him for any trace of the Lord's Prayer, the distance between the pneumatic man and God is represented as much less than it is by Jesus. . . . He had not anything like that feeling for the real that Jesus had, and that distinguished the great prophets. This is the reason why he, the profoundest and the most spiritual theologian of the Christian religion, has exercised an influence upon the course of the Church that is only partially a beneficent one" (p. 127-8). It is impos-

sible, without entering upon detail, to criticise these views. But one feels that throughout the "enthusiasm" of Paul is commended at the expense of his discernment of human nature and his sanity of judgment. Wernle has not said the last word on these matters, but he has given us a book that affords abundant food for meditation. One interesting point he has drawn attention to, the influence upon the religious thinking of the Apostle, and as a regulative principle of the Christian life in apostolic times, of the realization of the Parousia of Christ.

3. Karl's *Beiträge* covers more ground than either of the preceding, as will be seen from the titles of the chapters:—(1) The Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ, (2) the moral consequences of this Indwelling, (3) its religious consequences, (4) the religious Anthropology of the Apostle Paul, (5) the meaning of the Death of Christ, (6) the Mysticism of the Apostle. The work is full of original thinking. Its conclusions are not in most cases the generally accepted ones, but the writer is earnest in his purpose, and will be found suggestive even where one differs from him. "The Pauline Christology," he states at the outset, "is not arbitrary speculation, but experience; it consists of judgments of experience which certainly have been expressed in the forms of the speculations of that day. These forms are not binding upon us; we do not share them. But the experience that lies at the basis of them becomes also our experience" (p. 12). This distinction is observed throughout. The fundamental fact of the Christian life is the personal Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ. This Indwelling is conceived of by Paul as that of the real personality of Christ (after the analogy of the New Testament possession by Demons). He who thus dwells in us renews his own moral life, imparting to us a "sort of moral impeccability." He dwells in his entirety, and the constant moral renewal is complete from the first; development in the Christian life is not a Pauline thought. The "ekstasy" accompanying the Spirit's indwelling is discussed, and K. points out (as Gunkel has done) that it is Paul's great merit to have distinguished between the ecstatic and moral effects of the Spirit, and attached a value for salvation only to the latter. As regards the *religious* effects of the Indwelling, he maintains it to be Paul's doctrine that we are justified on the ground of the Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ and the consequent moral renewal. God declares us to be righteous because the reception of the Spirit has made us right. If it is objected that this is contrary to the Apostle's teaching that we are justified by faith, the author replies, No, for faith itself is one of the effects of the Indwelling of Christ, and is used to describe the whole Christian life that flows from it. "One must regard faith

as simply another term for the indwelling of Christ in us (for so has Paul understood it), and in particular as expressing moral renewal; the mere recognition of Christ as Crucified and Risen has no value for salvation, but what lies below it, the new pneumatic ethical life, the new creature. He argues that it is renewal that brings us forgiveness, only as renewed do we feel that past sin is forgiven." Only he can receive forgiveness of sin who is in a position to feel his forgiveness. Only he feels it who knows his sin. Only he knows it who is in grace. Therefore it will not do to say, "first forgiveness then renewal, for there is no forgiveness without renewal" (p. 53).

In summing up under this head, the author offers a criticism of Paul's doctrine of the Indwelling of Christ in us. We cannot conceive of it, he says, as he did, for he regarded it as the Indwelling of Christ as an entire person in complete personal activity. On this view, all progress or development in the Christian life was an impossibility—Christ dwelt either entirely or not at all. We can be renewed, indeed, only through Christ's Indwelling; but to understand this aright, theological science must take into account the laws of the religious life, and the conditions on which the growth of the divine life depends. Much remains to be done in this direction. The author attaches a high value to the work of the late Professor Drummond in this connection.

In his chapter on the religious anthropology of Paul, our author maintains that the apostle exaggerates the sinfulness of human nature. "It looks as if speculation drove him to this: 'because through Christ all is perfect, without Christ all is absolutely bad.' But speculation demands as the background of redemption not the absolute, but only the actual sinfulness of human nature" (p. 59). He thinks that Paul held that the flesh is in itself sinful, but here again he sees the influence of speculation. Paul perceived that the indwelling of Christ does not prevent the death of the body; and viewing sin and death as causally connected, he inferred that the flesh was, *per se*, sinful, and doomed to perish.

Coming to the chapter on the significance of the death of Christ, our author says that this must be learned from the effects of Christ's death in our experience. These effects we have seen are moral and religious, and are wrought out by the Indwelling of the Pneuma-Christ. Christ died then that we might receive the Spirit and that Christ might live in us. These, indeed, are fruits of the risen Christ; Christ therefore died that He might rise again and effect our renewal by His Indwelling. Again, the forgiveness of sins, the religious effect of Christ's death is inseparable from our renewal. Christ's death is therefore the condition of the forgiveness of sin, inasmuch as it is the indispensable condition of the resurrection, of

Christ's becoming Spirit, of his indwelling and our renewal. He denies that Paul taught the doctrine that the substitutionary bearing of men's sin was necessary to satisfy the divine righteousness. "The idea that God's grace required this before forgiveness could follow would be a limitation of His absoluteness, as well as a degradation of his ethical nature, such as I cannot attribute to the great apostle, apart from the fact that he does not recognise the separation between forgiveness and renewal, but sees forgiveness accomplished in renewal" (p. 74). Righteousness with Paul is not a forensic attribute but a gracious one. Sacrificial terms are used by the apostle, but only as figures of speech. In summing up on this point he says: "It is impossible to understand our Lord's death otherwise or to express it more beautifully than Paul has done. We also confess, without this fearful death none of the consequences would have come to us that make us so blessed. We must grant that the pneumatic activity of Christ was possible only through His death. He must die that He might live. And by Life Paul means Working. Hence His death is in any case the condition of our renewal, therefore of the forgiveness of our sins; in short, the necessary condition of our salvation. And if we, looking more narrowly into it, compare the death of Christ with the consequences that have followed, we will not hesitate to apply to His death the old image of a sacrifice, whether of the sin offering or the covenant offering. We join in the praise of Christ with those in the ancient and modern times who have applied to Him these images" (p. 85).

I must pass over the chapter on the mysticism of the apostle, which contains much that is interesting and much that will be disputed.

I have mentioned only some of the salient points of this little book, but these will suffice to show its divergence in important particulars from the usual reading of Paulinism. One great merit it has, it emphasises the supreme place in Paul's thought and in his apprehension of the Christian life of the Indwelling of Christ in believers.

D. SOMERVILLE.

## Italian Christian Literature.

STORIA DEI VALDESI. *By E. Comba, D.D. Firenze: Libreria Claudiana, 1893; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.*

CLAUDIO DI TORINO. *By the same, 1895.*

I NOSTRI PROTESTANTI. *By the same. Parte Prima, 1896; Parte Seconda, 1897. Price, L.It.3.50 and 5.*

THE great need of Italy, as her own patriots admit, is a moral backbone. "Il primo bisogno di Italia," says the Marquis d'Azeglio, in the Preface to his *Ricordi*, "è che si formino Italiani dotati d'albi e forti caratteri." Much has been done since the country attained its political unity by various native and foreign Christian agencies to give it the Gospel, which alone can make new creatures either of nations or individuals. These agencies, however, are necessarily addressed to—or at least seem mainly to reach—the humbler and less influential class of the community. Dr Comba, who is Professor of Church History in the Waldensian College of Florence, has been for some years making a worthy attempt to reach the more cultured and intellectual of his countrymen. He first published in French, in 1887, his *Histoire des Vaudois*, of which an English translation was reproduced by True-love & Shirley, London, two years later. In 1889 appeared his *Henri Arnaud, Sa Vie et ses Lettres*, a quarto pamphlet of 80 pp. In 1893 the former was issued in condensed form in Italian; and next year we understand he contemplates publishing a greatly revised edition of this work in a volume of at least 500 pp. In 1895 he produced *Claudio di Torino*, pp. 155, which he describes as "the first attempt at a reconstruction of the biography of that great witness to the Gospel against idolatry." And at present he is busily occupied with his *magnum opus*, *I Nostri Protestanti*, which will run into five or perhaps seven volumes, of which the first two have already seen the light. His object is to show that Italy can boast of a bright array of Protestants or Protesters against the dominant apostasy, dating from long before the Reformation. "L'Italia ebbe nell' evo antico di fronte al papato nascente, nell' evo medio di fronte al papato gigante, nell' evo moderno di fronte al papato degenero. E li ha tuttavia." Vol. I. treats of (1) The Origin of the Church of Rome and that of the Papacy; and (2) it gives a summary of the life and doctrines of "Erma, Ippolito, Novaziano, Gioviniano, Claudio, Arnaldo, Valdo, Gioacchino, Dolcino, Dante, Marsilio, and Savonarola." Vol. II. treats in a similar way the Reformers during the Reformation period in the provinces of Venice

and Istria—sixteen in all. The subsequent volumes will carry on the series down till recent times. Dr Comba wields a graphic pen, and it is needless to say that he brings both competent learning and southern enthusiasm to his self-imposed task. He has personally examined the archives of the Inquisition, and his second volume (pp. 700) is largely extracted from those of Venice, which contain upwards of 1000 processes for heresy. It has been the work of years, and has entailed upon the author no small amount of fatigue in travelling and of expenditure of money. The published result has been highly praised by Italian and German reviewers; and we should rejoice if more encouragement were given to such meritorious labours among ourselves. J. GIBSON.

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**Anz, Wilhelm.** *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus, ein religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch.*

*Texte und Untersuchungen.* Bd. XV. Heft 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. P. 112. Price, M.3.50.

THE phenomena of Gnosticism well deserve all the attention which has been bestowed upon them, especially in the last four or five years. Its forms have long ago perished, and their husks are dry and forbidding enough to daunt all but the most zealous of students. But what if beneath these forms we are to discover a well-differentiated spirit older than Christianity, continuing even after the disappearance of Gnosticism, so called, to animate one of the two main currents of heretical thought, which have flowed parallel with the Church down to our own day. Paulicians, Bogomiles, Catharists, Albigenses, all down to certain sporadic sects and well-defined tendencies in the nineteenth century, serve themselves heir to the spirit of Gnosticism, expressing itself intellectually in an inherent dualism and ethically in an equal propensity to asceticism and libertinism.

Former writers on Church history have obscured or denied this filiation, as well as obliterated the human interest of the subject, by fixing attention mainly or exclusively on the external machinery of the systems. In their hands Gnosticism became a kind of inverted Chinese puzzle of endless intricacy, a dry and wearisome mechanism of aeons and emanations, the purpose of which was to build a bridge by a series of infinitesimal gradations between Spirit and Matter. At best a speculative theosophy, at worst an incredible mythogony, the Gnostic system so treated not only

presents a hopeless confusion to the mind of the student, but leaves unexplained the problem how such a system could ever threaten Christianity with a dangerous rival, or inspire communities analogous to the Church.

Closer and more sympathetic study of late years has established three points which, though not absolutely new, are new in the emphasis laid upon them, and in the attachments which they lay bare between Gnosticism and human needs and between Gnosticism and human history. These points are the strong Oriental element which combined with Hellenic and Judaic factors in developed Gnosticism, the strong *practical* tendency of the system as a whole, and the development of thought both within particular systems and in the advance from one to another.

The contribution of Dr Anz is based upon the recognition of these three points, and directed to the discovery of the ultimate source of Gnosticism. This source has been already sought in every possible direction;—in a direct continuation of Pauline Gnosis (Hilgenfeld), in a development of Jewish (heretical) speculation, in Christianised Greek mysteries ("Gnosticismus ein Christlicher Orphismus": Wobbermin), in Syro-samaritan eclecticism, and in Babylonian combinations of religion and magic. For Harnack Gnosticism is the acute form of that Hellenisation of Christianity of which early Catholicism is the more moderate result.

The very multiplicity of these suggestions shows the inherent eclecticism of the movement. But Gnosticism differs from many other eclectic movements in the absence of any central point round which its diverse elements might be said to crystallise. No commanding personality appears to speak the compelling word. No sudden crisis in human affairs seems to have precipitated the network of thought out of the fluid dreams of the age. It is easy to say that Gnosticism was "in the air," and to observe that all its elements were actually present in the minds of various men or races. And if there was no point round which they concentrated, was there perhaps a thread running through and connecting all the manifestations of the Gnostic spirit; and if we find such a thread, and follow it backwards, whither does it lead us?

It is from considerations and questions such as these that Dr Anz's investigation starts. He proposes to ascertain the "central idea," which may be said to dominate at least the earlier forms, and subordinate to itself the other elements. He is not to be discouraged, though this central idea seems to recede from its position in process of later development, or even if it disappear in the latest forms. He respects a remonstrance of Harnack in drawing his evidence more from the Gnostic documents themselves than from the patristic impugnors of the system, and finds a clue to the

central idea in the emphasis which they agree in laying on the practical, moral, or redemptive fruits of the system. The first half of his book, therefore, is devoted to the proof of his theory that the central idea of early Gnosticism was this: How the thirst of the soul for redemption from the dominion of matter could be met by the provision of means for such redemption. The ascent of the soul into the seventh heaven of spiritual being, what hindered it, and how could it be achieved? "The primary object of this Gnosis is not to provide answers to the inquiries of a thirst for knowledge pressing forward beyond the limits of rational comprehension, but to point the way and means for the deliverance of the soul" (p. 24).

We have to realise, therefore, a curious reversal of direction. Instead of an ever-increasing number of steps, down which the divine Spirit descends to come into contact with matter, and be manifested in Jesus, we are to see a succession of stages (likewise increasing in number) through which the soul ascends. At each stage the way is barred by a closed portal, a "fiery gateway," or by a "power," the Archon of that stage. The escape of the soul depends on its being able to overcome each Archon in turn, and the means to this is provided by the Gnosis and the Mysteries. In fact, life here is "just a chance of the prize of learning" the watch-words, the mystic and meaningless formulas by which each gateway might be passed in turn. The knowledge of these and of the Archons' names forms the important element in Gnosis, while the mysteries (in Christian Gnosticism the Sacraments) are the seals, the *σφραγίδες* which the Archon is bound to recognise as "signa regni ineffabilis" (*cf.*, *Pistis Sophia*, p. 338).

The redemptive function of Jesus, therefore, consisted in the delivery of these sacramental seals and the communication of this knowledge. This is most clearly set forth in the Hymn of the Naassenes, which, though belonging to a later stage, reflects here the earliest form of Gnosticism. In this Hymn Jesus is made to describe the purpose of His coming thus:—

σφραγίδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι  
αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδεύσω  
μυστήρια πάντα διανοίξω  
μορφᾶς δὲ θεῶν ἐπιδείξω  
καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῆς ἀγίας ὁδοῦ  
γνώσιν καλέσας παραδώσω

Dr Anz traces this idea and its connections as they appear with greater or less distinctness in connection with the various Gnostic schools and in various authorities. It appears most plainly in



Origen's account of the Ophites, in which are given the names of the seven Archons and the formulas for passing them. So in the widely circulated Gnostic "Gospel of Philip" we find this declaration: "The Lord revealed to me what the soul must say when it ascends into heaven, and how it is to answer each one of the higher powers." The communication of this knowledge to disciples of the Gnostic sects was the result of various stages of initiation, each of them connected with a particular "mystery." It is the later documents, such as *Pistis Sophia* and the Books of Jeu, which throw most light upon the character and significance of the Gnostic mysteries. They were effective *ex opere operato*. They bestowed on a man the indelible sign of his membership of the spiritual kingdom. It was possible even to secure the deliverance and ascent of a dead man's soul, even of an unbeliever by pronouncing certain mystic formulas over his head. In fact it was never too late for a dead man's believing relatives to obtain his release from this Gnostic Purgatory, by performing a mystery (p. 29).

There can be little doubt that in the Archons in the original group of seven, we have a reference to the seven planets. This is confirmed by the names and the attributes ascribed to some of them. And though others of the names appear hopelessly unmeaning and unrelated, future comparison and investigation might yield good results. The character of these names and the importance assigned to them, as well as the whole system of mystic spells will be found well illustrated in a Coptic spell of the second century, published and translated in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Antiquity for June. The grounds on which Mr Legge excludes Gnostic authorship seem hardly convincing.

Such a system would obviously be an easy prey to fantasy and self-interested priestcraft. The number of spheres, barriers, and corresponding Archons and mysteries multiplied with amazing rapidity. In the period and school represented by *Pistis Sophia* (i.e., the third century) we find the number risen to 365. In this direction Gnosticism degenerated into fantastic superstition and the *hocus-pocus* of magic.

Parallel with this development of Gnosticism, which may very well have been accelerated at least by contact and rivalry with the Greek mysteries, there seems to have been development along another line conditioned by Greek speculation. In the school of Valentinus the idea of Gnosis took a predominantly intellectual direction. The bond was snapped which had hitherto united so closely together Gnosis and Mysteries, and since its disciples continued to see in Gnosis the all-important redemptive element the question soon arose, what was the value of the mysteries. But even in the Valentinian system in which Gnosis became a theosophy,

a purely speculative system, there remain survivals of earlier ideas which justify Irenæus in deriving the Valentinians from the Ophites, and testify to the persistence of the central idea. A striking illustration of this lies in the fact that though the Valentinians held the existence of only one Demiurge they gave to him the name 'Εβδομῆς and Achamoth is 'Ογδοῆς. For the Valentinian baptism opens an unimpeded way into the Pleroma.

In this way Dr Anz both establishes his "central idea" and accounts for its gradual retrocession. As a redemptive religion with its pessimistic judgment of earthly life and its yearning after a higher, the Gnostic conception found sympathy everywhere in the world of that time. But when it came to spread itself abroad over the Hellenic Christian world it necessarily lost its original character. In the circle of Christianity nothing was known of the dominion of planets and constellations. Among the Greeks, if the idea was not unknown, it was not felt as a distressing problem. And so the Greek questions with which these races were really struggling, the antithesis between Spirit and Matter, the antithesis between Grace and Law, insinuated themselves almost unperceived beneath the form of Gnosticism. Jewish-Christian and Greek philosophical influence alike combine to reduce the seven world-powers to one Demiurge, and so destroy the original doctrine of the ascent of the soul through the seven heavens. In a word, the historical process would be, not the corruption of Christianity into Gnosticism, but the partial conversion of Gnosticism by contact with Christianity.

The theory is an attractive one, and it is worked out with much skill and copious illustration from Gnostic literature. Nevertheless, the doubt remains whether this idea which Dr Anz has isolated can really be described as the central doctrine of Gnosticism in any of its Christian forms. It may have been central to some of its pre-Christian forms, and we think Dr Anz has shown that it was. But after all did it do more than provide a *nidus* for the leaven of Christian conceptions? Is not the difference which is involved in the dominant position assigned to Christ in the subsequent forms, too profound to admit of our assuming a continuous development?

In the second half of his book Dr Anz proceeds to seek for the home of this central and, as he thinks, original idea in Gnosticism. He has not much difficulty in finding it, by a process of exclusion, in Babylon. A doctrine which is so intimately related to magic and astrology may very well find its source in a land in whose own religion astrology and magic played so dominant a part. Incidentally Dr Anz brings forward proofs that the Babylonian religion persisted long after the date when it has been supposed to disappear. Traces of it are not infrequent in the first century before Christ. An examination of the Mandaean religion and of the Mithras

mysteries, as described especially by Celsus, yields many striking parallels to Gnostic notions. The κλῖμαξ ἐπτάπυλος by which the Mithras devotee ascended to heaven may have been due to a spiritualising of the seven-staged temple at Babel, or conversely the temple with its seven stages each connected with a planet-God may have been a material representation of the religious system. Dr Anz thinks the former is the true view, that it was a case of architecture sublimated into doctrine.

Nevertheless the central doctrine of Gnosticism did not arise on the soil of pure Babylonian religion. It is itself a product of eclecticism, a heresy derived from Babylonian religion, through protest against its astrological determinism. Brought to Asia Minor in the first instance probably by Chaldaean magicians, it comes to the surface of history in Simon, Saturnilus, and Basilides. After a long period of quiet working it suddenly appears as a strong force in Ophite Gnosticism, and develops, as we have seen, with endless modifications into the metaphysical theosophy of Valentinus.

It will be seen that the importance of Dr Anz's contribution lies in his definitely assigning the *differentia* of Gnosticism to an extra-Christian and extra-Hellenic source. The system would no longer appear either as a corruption of Christianity or as a *pot pourri* of contemporary speculation. It becomes a tangent to the circle of Christian truth touching it at the one point where it made Jesus the mediator of Gnosis or Christ the manifestation of the Spirit. "It should not be forgotten that Gnosticism was the first great spiritual power which recognised the significance of Christianity, even though the latter in the name of her own self-preservation was obliged to reject its homage" (p. 110). The ghost of Paganism wrapped itself in robes of Christian terminology, appropriated the sacraments as mysteries of initiation, and added the name of Christ to its muttered incantations.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### Notices.

THE very useful series of Historical Monographs known as *Eras of the Christian Church*, which we owe to American enterprise and the editorial skill of Dr John Fulton, the author of a learned treatise on the "Chalcedonian Decree," proceeds rapidly towards its completion. The last three issues on this side of the Atlantic are, each in its own way, works of merit. One of these, *The Age of the Renaissance*,<sup>1</sup> supplies a want that has been long felt, and supplies it well. It might have been improved by giving fuller and more precise information at certain points, especially in matters of topo-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii. 397. Price, 6s.

graphy and chronology. But as a popular study it is well done, and it will form a good introduction to larger and more learned treatises like that of Bishop Creighton. Begun by Dr Henry van Dyke, who writes the Introduction, it passed into the hands of Mr Paul van Dyke. In fulfilling his commission the latter has kept faithfully by the general idea of the series, which is to give a "bird's-eye view" of the epoch. It is correctly described, therefore, by the sub-title as "An Outline Sketch of the History of the Papacy from the Return from Avignon to the Sack of Rome" (1377-1527). The tenth volume of the series is on *The Anglican Reformation*,<sup>1</sup> and the writer is Dr William Clark, Professor of Philosophy in Trinity College, Toronto, the translator of Hefele's "History of the Councils of the Church." Professor Clark's subject is a more familiar one than Mr van Dyke's. He handles it, however, with much force. It is also a subject in which ecclesiastical and doctrinal prepossession is the more apt to make itself felt. The author is by no means free of bias. He seeks, however, to be just, and gives on the whole a reasonable view of his subject from the Anglican standpoint. Perhaps the least satisfactory parts of the volume are those dealing with Wyclif and with the Puritan movement. In both cases questions and forces of great moment are inadequately treated. The object of the book is to exhibit the great Episcopal Church of England as standing "upon the old ways, holding to the ancient principles of the Church, but refusing to identify mediaeval dogmas with primitive beliefs, and also refusing, under the pretext of loyalty to the Scriptures, to disregard the early customs and traditions of the Apostolic Church." The latter part of this sentence must seem to all but a certain section of the Church of England a rather amazing way of putting things. Dr Clark's final estimate of the century and a half that followed Henry's break with Rome, deserves to be noticed. He does not claim for the conspicuous figures of that period that they were often of heroic mould. He thinks highly enough, however, of them to be able to say that "it would be difficult to find, in any similar period of the history of mankind, and within the same compass, an equal number of men so highly distinguished by calm intelligence, extensive learning, a deep and sincere sense of duty to God and man, and a resolute and self-sacrificing devotion to the work to which they believed themselves called by the Providence and the Spirit of God."

The latest volume in the same Series is *The Age of Charlemagne*,<sup>2</sup> by Charles L. Wells, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 397. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. xix. 472. Price, 6s.

Minnesota. Professor Wells has the good fortune to have to deal with a period which is of great intrinsic importance in several distinct points of view, and which, to multitudes of readers, has all the attractiveness of comparative novelty. The number and the variety of subjects which enter into the history of it make it at the same time a period by no means easy to treat with any adequacy in the compass of one of these volumes. Some of the larger and more extensive questions connected with the mission of the Franks, the formation of a Latin Christianity and a Latin Church, and the preparation for the later types of mediaeval and modern times, therefore, are left unconsidered. But, on the other hand, much attention is given to the political conditions, to the growth of the Papacy, especially on its temporal side, and to such topics as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Though the book retains the popular form which is required for the purposes of the Series, it takes the reader in many cases to the original sources, and gives him the means of judging of things for himself. The book is one of the most instructive volumes of the Series. It gives a good digest of the course of events; it exhibits the significance of the period; and it helps us to see very distinctly how the undermining of the imperial power, which seemed at first to strengthen the Papacy, worked to the opposite effect. "Like the air to the flying bird," is the author's last word, "was the imperial power to the papacy, and the weakness of the empire was followed in this, as in every instance, by papal demoralisation."

*Pre-Reformation Worthies*<sup>1</sup> is the title given to a volume containing some interesting historical sketches by the Rev. W. Cowan, incumbent of St Augustine's, Londonderry, to which the Bishop of Derry contributes a short preface. The sketches are seven in number, and deal with Grosstête, Thomas à Kempis, Henry Suso, John Ruysbroek, Archbishop Fitzralph, Reuchlin, and John Stau-pitz. They are pleasant and unaffected in style, and make delightful reading. While popular in form, they show wide and appreciative reading, and give not merely biographies of these "Worthies," but expositions of their faith, their theology, and their several contributions to the preparation for the Reformation. The author's sympathies seem to be specially with the Mystics.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of *The Holy Bible*,<sup>2</sup> in the Messrs Macmillan's choice *Eversley Series*, are now to hand. These volumes complete the Old Testament, and do the highest possible credit both to publishers and to editor. Mr Mackail does all that it belongs to him to do with the utmost carefulness, with perfect

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Crown 8vo, pp. vii.-193. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. Vol. iv., Job to Song of Solomon, pp. 408. Vol. v., Isaiah to Lamentations, pp. 336. Vol. vi., Ezekiel to Malachi, pp. 329. Price, 5s. per volume.

taste, too, and sound judgment. In form and in type this edition of the Old Testament Scriptures will please the most fastidious eye.

*Winning the Soul*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a volume by Professor Martin, of the New College, Edinburgh, containing twenty sermons. They belong to the best type of Scotch pulpit discourse—carefully planned and thought out, robust, earnest, upbuilding. There is some distinctive note in each of them. Most of them are distinguished by the original and unhackneyed way in which their subjects are handled. Among the most notable we should mention those on the "Divine Sanction of Human Sin" (John xiii. 27), the "Secret Ministry of God" (Psalm cxxvii. 2), "Touch Me Not" (John xx. 17), and the "Element of Necessity in the Life of Christ" (Luke iv. 23; John ix. 4; Luke xxiv. 7).

Mrs Emmanuel Christen gives us a very readable translation of Professor A. Sabatier's suggestive lecture on *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas*,<sup>2</sup> the point of which is that dogma, which has a necessary place in Christianity, should be the expression of living Christian thought and experience, and that, in fulfilling their function, particular dogmatic forms pass through three kinds of change, some simply dying out as the ideas which they represent cease to be vital, others becoming modified or intensified in their meaning by what the author calls a process of "Intussusception," and others emerging by the way of a revival of old formulas or the construction of new terms for the expression of new ideas.

Dr Hugh Macmillan's pen is as unresting as ever, and maintains its old character for pleasant and edifying writing. *The Spring of the Day*,<sup>3</sup> his latest book, is intended to form a companion volume to *The Clock of Nature*, and deals with such subjects as lend themselves best to illustration by the things of nature. The titles of the chapters or discourses are inviting—"A Scorpion for an Egg," "The Oxlip, or the Upward Look," "The Nest of the Moth," "The Beauty of Wings," &c. The analogies are skilfully set forth; the spiritual lessons are unfolded in attractive terms; the book offers much that will help young readers, and not by any means these alone.

Dr Alexander Whyte has the happy faculty of finding out rare characters in the domain of religious work and religious authorship, and making them the familiar friends of many to whom they might, but for his enthusiasm, have remained unknown. In his *Father*

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 334. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> With a Preface by the Very Rev. the Hon. W. H. Freemantle, D.D., Dean of Ripon. London: A. & C. Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 90. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, 6s.

*John*<sup>1</sup> he makes us acquainted with the most Reverent John Ilyitch Sergieff, of St Andrew's Cathedral, Cronstadt, one of the most remarkable spiritual personalities that the immense Greek Church, which we are apt to think of as so stagnant and unproductive, has reared in our time. The small volume is very tasteful in form, and gives a notable "appreciation," with a series of selected passages from the Father's diary, which has been translated into English under the title of *My Life in Christ*.

Several new volumes are added to the *Guild Library*. One of these is a new edition of Dr James Robertson of Whittingehame's book on *Our Lord's Teaching*<sup>2</sup>—a brief but capable study of a great subject, a book which has deservedly secured a large circle of readers in its earlier form, and which in this enlarged and revised issue is made still more attractive. Another bears the title, *A Faithful Churchman*,<sup>3</sup> and is a memoir of the late Professor James Robertson, D.D. It is by Professor Charteris, and is in greater part an abridgment of the original *Life of Professor Robertson*, which is now out of print. The matter is wisely adapted to the purpose of the Series, and does justice to the strong man who is best known for the work he did on behalf of the Endowment Scheme of his Church. A third is a survey of *The Missionary Expansion of the Reformed Church*.<sup>4</sup> It is written by one who is himself a missionary, the Rev. J. A. Graham, M.A., of Kalimpong, India. Commencing with three brief, interesting chapters on "The Light of the World," the "Reformation and its Influence," and "Beginning at Jerusalem," the author notices what he aptly terms the *Earlier Calls through Empire*, and then proceeds to give a more particular account of Nineteenth Century Missions among Hindus and Buddhists, in the Dark Continent and in Islam, in the Southern Isles and in the New World. The book is well written throughout. It limits itself to the story of the Missions of the Reformed Churches, but it sets forth their principles while giving their history. It is made the more attractive by a large number of maps and well-chosen illustrations. A further addition to the same Series is made by Dr R. M. Wenley, Senior Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan. It is entitled *The Preparation for Christianity in the Ancient World*.<sup>5</sup> It gives a vivid and well-proportioned sketch of a large and profoundly interesting subject. In his

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 83. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 189. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 208. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 246. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>5</sup> Edinburgh : R. & R. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 169. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

introductory chapter Professor Wenley plants himself on the position that the Christian can have no firmer "foundation for his faith than that which rests immovable upon the historical influence issuing from the life of Christ." He then deals first with the Ethnic Preparation in three careful chapters on "Socrates as a Missionary of the human Spirit," "Greek Self-Criticism," and "Salvation by Wisdom," and then with the Jewish Preparation in a chapter which gives an excellent statement of the "Mission of the Jews" in contributing an "adequate conception of God and a vivid perception of the conditions under which alone religion can exist." This leads on to a series of studies on the "Advent of the Saviour," the "Preparation of the World," and the "Preparation of the Spirit." The closing chapter gives a succinct summary of results. It states how the "flood of preparation for Christianity flows steadily down the ages in three main streams"—the Greek, the Jewish, and the Roman; how the problem of Greek civilisation was that of man's freedom, and how that became at last the problem of personality; how the Jew's outlook upon life was made entirely different from that of the Greek by his belief in one personal, ethical God, and by the spiritual insight which was his "pearl of great price"; how Rome's "chiefest gift was unbending devotion to duty"; how Christ entered upon a "materially splendid, spiritually bankrupt," heritage; how He realised all the demands that were made upon Him; and how the work that He did bears witness to Him as the Son of the Living God. Professor Wenley leads a busy life. His pen is not slack, and this last book is one of the best bits of work he has yet done. It touches on some subjects, especially *Socrates*, of which he has already written well. It deals in a very effective way with others, in which he shows himself equally at home, and on which he says much to purpose.

We have received a new edition of Mr Charles L. Marson's volume on *The Psalms at Work*<sup>1</sup> (enlarged by an Appendix of fresh historical and biographical matter, illustrative of what the Psalter has been to many souls), the general merits of which, especially in the quality of the Notes, have been already referred to.<sup>2</sup> The fourth and fifth parts of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>3</sup> of which the one, the literature on Practical Theology for 1896, and the other, the index for the year—a most useful volume; the first part of Mr Somervell's *Parallel History of the Jewish*

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> Vol iv., p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin und Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1897. Vierte Abtheilung: Praktische Theologie und kirchliche Kunst, Bearbeitet von Marbach, Ehlers, etc. 8vo, pp. 633-779. Price, M.7. Fünfte Abtheilung Register. 8vo, pp. 92. Price, M.



*Monarchy*<sup>1</sup> giving the story of the reigns of David and Solomon, according to the text of the Revised Version, as it appears by combining the two narratives contained in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, these being presented in parallel columns for the purpose of comparison when they deal with the same events—a carefully executed piece of work, well adapted for profitable use in schools; a pamphlet written with great precision, and furnished with admirable illustrations, on *Portraits of Christ in the British Museum*,<sup>2</sup> in which Mr Cecil Torr, M.A., directs attention to certain considerations favouring a return to the older Christian way of representing our Lord as of a much younger age when He fulfilled His official ministry; another addition to the *Heroine's Library* by Mr Frank Mundell, *Heroines of History*,<sup>3</sup> telling in a pleasant way the stories of the Maid of Saragossa, Queen Boadicea, Joan of Arc, Catherine Douglas, and others; *Who's Who*<sup>4</sup> for 1898, the second year of the new issue of a publication which has reached its jubilee, and in which a mass of information—political, ecclesiastical, educational, commercial, and, above all, biographical, brought carefully up to date and generally correct—is provided in compact and handy form for the information and entertainment of those interested in the careers of men who have made some mark in affairs or in literature; a popular study by Mr Henry H. Vowles<sup>5</sup> of the Biblical terms expressing the idea of the “Everlasting,” written in a racy style, sometimes wide enough of the real state of the case as regards the Hebrew and Greek words, but rejecting the theory of annihilation as repugnant both to Scripture and to reason, and coming at last to the conclusion that we may see the doctrine of “everlasting punishment” to be true; that the words, however, are not Biblical words; and that we should use such terms rather as “The worm dieth not,” “There is a great gulf fixed,” or say simply, that “some of the painful consequences of sin cannot but endure”; the *Students' Edition*<sup>6</sup> of Messrs Funk & Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of the English Language*—a very

<sup>1</sup> Arranged by R. Somervell, M.A., Assistant Master and Bursar of Harrow School. With an Introduction reprinted from “The Literature of the Old Testament,” by S. R. Driver, D.D. London: Clay & Sons, 1897. 8vo, pp. xii. 109. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Clay & Sons, 1898. 8vo, pp. 14. Price, 1s net.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Douglas Sladen. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 846. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

<sup>5</sup> “For Ever and Ever.” London: Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. 1898. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> James C. Fernald, editor; Francis A. March, LL.D., consulting editor. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls. Small 4to, pp. 915.

useful and welcome edition of the larger work, giving the orthography, pronunciation, meaning, and etymology of many thousands of words, over 1200 pictorial illustrations, and an appendix of proper names, foreign phrases, faulty diction, disputed pronunciations, &c.—a dictionary to be commended; a third and revised edition of Dr Robert Young's laborious translation of *The Holy Bible*,<sup>1</sup> which proceeds on the principle of strict and consistent adherence to the letter and idioms of the original languages, content to sacrifice euphony at the shrine of truth; *God's Measure, and other Sermons*,<sup>2</sup> a volume of fourteen discourses on such subjects as "The Cloud and the Voice," "God's Speech and God's Silence," "God's Thunder and God's Peace," eminently worth reading, full of fresh, suggestive ideas expressed in terse, picturesque language; a collection of *Hymns from East and West*,<sup>3</sup> in which the author of *Hymns of the Early Church* gives translations, generally faithful and often felicitous, of some of the treasures of the poetry of the Latin and Greek Churches, arranged in the order of the Christian year; an exposition of Goethe's *Weltanschauung*,<sup>4</sup> by Rudolf Steiner, dealing in an able and effective way with Goethe's view of the system of things and its relations to other philosophies of the universe, both ancient and modern, especially the Platonic and the Hegelian; a "Manual for Would-be Christians," under the title of *Intent on Pleasing Thee*,<sup>5</sup> consisting of a series of brief, pointed, devout, practical meditations, well suited for edification, on such subjects as Religious Decision, the Means of Grace, Temptations, Business Life, &c.

In the March issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, edited by the Rev. W. L. Watkinson, we have among other things a good paper by Mr Budgett Meaken on *Moorish Places of Worship*, and a continuation of Mr Herbert B. Workman's very readable study of *St Anselm*; in the *Methodist Review* for March-April, Dr H. K. Carroll, of New York, gives a liberal reply to the question *Is Methodism Catholic?*; Dr A. H. Tuttle, of Newark, N.J., writes usefully on *The Teaching Element in Preaching*, and Dr R. J. Cooke, of Chattanooga, contributes an instructive paper on *The Ancient British and Ephesian Succession Theories*. The object of the last-named paper is to disprove the claim that "episcopal authority was derived by the Anglican bishops from the early British Church,"

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: G. A. Young & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. 586 and 178. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. J. T. Forbes, M.A., Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 206. Price, 2s 6d.

<sup>3</sup> By the Rev. John Brownlie. London: Nisbet & Co., 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Weimar: Felber; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 206.

<sup>5</sup> By A. R. Kelley. London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. Pp. 160,

and the similar claim that "succession was also received from Eastern bishops back to St John at Ephesus." The argument is put briefly, and deals with facts which show that "from Rome, whether for weal or woe to the Anglican Church, the succession came to the sees of Lyons and Arles."

The monthly magazine entitled *The New Orthodoxy*, recently commenced under the editorship of the Rev. Robert Tuck, aims at furnishing thinkers and teachers with brief, pointed articles on the great Evangelical verities. One feature of it is a series of papers on the question, *What can I believe?* These are written by the editor, and the particular question considered in the March number is the Atonement. The point of the article is that theories of the Atonement hitherto constructed have proceeded too exclusively on the idea of God as *King* or as *Moral Governor*; that they have been founded, therefore, on a relation of God which is neither His only relation nor His highest relation; and that they must give place to another Doctrine of the Atonement as "that atonement which a *father* requires before he can restore to his home-place an erring, wilful child."

The tenth and eleventh numbers of the *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst* contain, along with other matter useful to those interested in questions of Christian worship and art, two good papers by Professor F. Spitta, one on Zwingli's Hymn, and another on the Hymns of the Constance Reformers.

We have received the fourth and fifth numbers of a new magazine, *La Foi et la Vie*, issued under the superintendence of Benjamin Couve and Paul Doumergue. It describes itself as a *Revue de Quinzaine religieuse, morale, littéraire, sociale*. The fourth number has a short but interesting paper on Professor Blass. The fifth number opens with a paper by L. Maury on the *Question of Progress*, and the second part of an instructive article on *Art and Protestantism* by André Michel. It belongs to its plan also to give a series of Notes on the ideas of the day and on social questions, and these are done with point.

The most suggestive paper in the first quarterly issue of the *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz* for the current year is one by Dekan Hermann Fay on *Judas Iscariot*. It is a popular, psychological study of Judas, as the New Testament narrative presents him *before, in, and after* the Betrayal. Accepting the full historical credibility of the narrative, as against Volkmar, the writer analyses the character of the man with the view of discovering how he came to be the traitor and to continue with his Master with the treachery in his heart.

The *Theologische Rundschau*, under the care of Professor W. Bousset, of Göttingen, answers well the end its projectors had in

view. The fifth part, which is now before us, in addition to a short paper by M. Löhr on E. Meyer's *Die Entstehung des Judenthum*, gives a series of surveys of recent literature on the Hagiographa (Proverbs and Job), Church History, Systematic Theology, and Practical Theology. These are done in a very informing way. Of special interest are the notices of the recent publications by Ecke and Winter on the Ritschlian theology.

In the March number of the *Homiletic Review* we notice a lively and characteristic paper on Charles H. Spurgeon, by Joseph Parker, D.D.; a short article by Professor Warfield on *Recent Reconstructions of Theology*, which looks at certain newer movements of theological thought in the light of the systematic theology of an earnest confessional Calvinism. There is also a varied selection of papers, expositions, representative sermons, and the like, in which preachers of all kinds should find something to help them.

*La Liberté Chretienne* is the title given to a new magazine published in Lausanne, under the editorship of Professors Jules Bovon, Philippe Bridel, and Lucien Gautier. It is to appear on the 1st and the 15th of each month, and costs but 8 francs a year. It promises well, being written in a lively style, and in an evangelical spirit. The opening number has interesting articles by Professor Bovon on *Sin and Redemption* (with reference to M. Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion*), Mr J. Wilson on the *Three Principal Branches of the Evangelical Church of Scotland* (a very good sketch in brief of the Established Church, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church), and Marie Dutoit on the Countess Schimmelmman.

Students of the Greek New Testament will be interested in a pithy paper by Professor W. G. Ballantine on *Negative Futures in the Greek New Testament* in *The American Journal of Philology*, xviii. 4. The writer contests the prevailing idea that "the double negative οὐ μὴ, which is used with the aorist subjunctive, and more rarely with the future indicative in denials referring to the future, is an *emphatic negative*." His object is to show that "the facts of New Testament and Septuagint usage prove that οὐ μὴ was not regarded by Hellenistic writers as an emphatic negative, but that, on the contrary, the aorist subjunctive with οὐ μὴ was the more common way of expressing a negative future." Negative predictions are expressed in the New Testament in three ways, viz., by οὐ with the future indicative, by οὐ μὴ with the aorist subjunctive, and by οὐ μὴ with the future indicative. Looking to the best readings, the writer calculates that in eighty cases the New Testament follows the first of these three ways, in eighty the second, and in ten (according to Westcott and Hort's text) the third. He then points out that of ninety-three instances in which the Textus Receptus gave

οὐ μὴ only seventeen were rendered as emphatic by the Authorised Version; that even the Revisers deal with οὐ μὴ as emphatic only in twenty-two additional cases; and that thus, in the Revised Version, we have about fifty-three instances in which the formula is dealt with as non-emphatic, and thirty-eight in which it is credited with emphatic force. By a careful examination of passages (comparing, e.g., Matt. xiv. 31 and John xx. 25 with Heb. xiii. 5 and John iv. 48), he proceeds to establish the fact that "there is nothing to indicate that the line of division between the cases in which οὐ μὴ is translated emphatically in the Revised Version, and those in which it is not translated emphatically is other than an accidental one;" and, further, that it cannot be said that the passages in which οὐ with the future indicative is used are less emphatic than those in which οὐ μὴ with the aorist subjunctive occurs. He further supports his contention by arguments drawn from the Septuagint use, and by the fact that, in the New Testament, οὐ μὴ is not used in future prohibitions (except in one or two doubtful cases), whereas it is used in relative clauses and other connections in which emphasis is out of place, and other considerations. The editor, Professor Gildersleeve, appends a learned Note, in which he criticises the explanation of οὐ μὴ which Professor Jannaris gives in his recently published *Historical Greek Grammar*, viz., that οὐ μὴ is a corruption of οὐ μὴν, and that οὐ μὴν is a negative form of ἦ μὴν.

Among articles in this year's issue of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, which is ably conducted by Professor Gustav Holzhausen, of Munich, with the assistance of Dr Buchrucker, of Munich, Professor Zahn, of Erlangen, and other scholars, we may refer our readers to the conclusion of a very interesting sketch of *Duke Ernest the Wise, and his services to the Evangelical Church*, by Pastor Kunz (ix. 3); two elaborate studies of the Ritschlian Theology—one by Dr Maerker on the question, *Does Albert Ritschl teach an Eternal Life?* the other on the system considered as a *Teleology*, by Professor Schultze, of Berlin (ix. 2, 3); and a very suggestive paper by Oberconsistorialrath Buchrucker on *Theology and the Formation of Character* (ix. 3).

Among much solid and instructive matter in the January number of *Mind*, we may refer to a lively paper by Mr James H. Hyslop on *Kant's Doctrine of Time and Space*, touching on certain things in the *Critique* which, like others in the recently published *Loose Blätter aus Kant's Nachlass*, give evidence of the "development of Kant's philosophy and of fluctuating convictions on certain fundamental problems in it." Among papers of broader interest than the strictly ethical in the January number of the *International Journal of Ethics*, there is one by Dr Lester F. Ward, of

Washington, on the *Essential Nature of Religion*, in which, defining religion as "a substitute in the rational world for instinct in the subrational world," he would persuade us that he thereby provides a reconciliation between science and religion "more complete than any that have been hitherto propounded."

Professor S. I. Curtiss contributes in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January an article on the question, *Does a literal Interpretation of the Song of Songs remove its Character as Scripture?* He gives a very fair statement and criticism of the various interpretations which have been proposed, allegorical, typical, and literal. He examines the theory that the poem is not a drama but an idyl, as it is put by Professor Moulton, of Chicago, giving it as his opinion that the limitation of the characters to Solomon and Shulamith "does not explain the change of attitude which Shulamith expresses toward her admirer." Then, following generally the opinions of Ewald, Robertson Smith, and Stickel, as to the time and circumstances, he gives his own version of the story and its dramatic form, and concludes that Shulamith expresses a view of true affection in its permanence, power, and unmercenary nature. "When we reflect," he remarks at the close, "upon the crimes and sorrows with which men and women have been visited because of the perversion of love, it certainly does not seem strange that there should be one book in the Old Testament which shows its true nature, teaching that all the real peace and happiness of those who submit to it is dependent upon mutual and worthy affection."

The fifth volume of the valuable series of *Texts and Studies*, edited by Professor J. Armitage Robinson, of Cambridge, consists of three parts. The first gives the second collection of *Anecdota Apocrypha*,<sup>1</sup> which we owe to Dr M. R. James. It contains some curious literature—a Fragment of the Acts of John, the Acts of Thomas, the Epistles of Pilate and Herod, the Epistle of Tiberius to Pilate, the Apocalypse of Baruch (in Greek), and the Testament of Job. Strange and sometimes grotesque as these writings are, they deserve the attention of Biblical students for the light which they give us on old ideas. Dr James should have our thanks for the pains which he has spent on them. Only a specialist could follow him into the various questions which he has to consider. Any eye, however, can see that his work is admirably done, and that it has the note of modesty which marks the true scholar. He has not only given the texts with his well-known care, but has grappled with the literary problems and with the difficulties of interpretation in ample Introductions and in Additional Notes. The documents are of very mixed value. Some of them are of import-

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdota Apocrypha*. II. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. cii. 174. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

ance, especially the Acts of John and the new Apocalypse of Baruch. Most of them contain a great deal that startles and is hard to understand. Under Dr James's guidance we shall make the most that can be made of them at present. There is, we should add, an important note on "Leucius and the Gospel of John," in which Dr P. Corssen's contention that Leucius, the author of the "Acts," did not know the Fourth Gospel, is subjected to a very convincing criticism. Dr James examines the question in the light of the contents of the Fragment, and concludes again in favour of the view of Lipsius and Zahn that Leucius used the Fourth Gospel. The second part of the same volume contains a scholarly edition of the *Quis Dives Salvetur*<sup>1</sup> of Clement of Alexandria, which interesting writing has been known hitherto only in an inaccurate form. The text is now given for the first time as it is found in an Escorial MS. of the eleventh century, five centuries older than the Vatican MS., on which former editions have been based. The third part contains *The Hymn of the Soul*,<sup>2</sup> which is ably edited by Professor Bevan, of Cambridge. This interesting poem is introduced into the "Acts of Judas Thomas the Apostle" in a collection of Lives of Saints, the manuscript of which is in the British Museum, and dates A.D. 936. How it came to be there we do not know. But Professor Bevan thinks the probability is that it was taken from some extraneous source and inserted into the Acts; but when or how we know not. Dr Nöldeke describes it as "an ancient Gnostic hymn relating to the soul, which is sent from its heavenly home to the earth, and there forgets both its origin and its mission until it is aroused by a revelation from on high; thereupon it performs the task assigned to it and returns to the upper regions, where it is reunited to the heavenly robe, its ideal counterpart, and enters the presence of the highest celestial Powers." Professor Bevan accepts that description, and proceeds to consider the further questions as to the precise form of Gnosticism that is represented in it, its date and its authorship. His conclusions are that it is not of the Manichean type, but apparently of the Bardesanic, and that it was probably composed before the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty in A.D. 224. The peculiar value of the Hymn lies in the light which it casts on the Gnostic doctrine. For it shows us Gnosticism "not as it appeared to its enemies, not as a tissue of fantastic speculations, but as it was in reality, at least to some of its adherents, a new religion." First published by Dr William Wright in 1871 in his *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, it has appeared also in the Syrian

<sup>1</sup> By P. M. Barnard, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxx. 66. Price, 3s net.

<sup>2</sup> By Professor A. A. Bevan. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 2s net.

text in the third volume of the *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* (Paris, 1892), and in two German translations, by Macke (1874) and Lipsius (1883). There was room, however, for a new edition and translation (Dr Wright's being out of print), and Professor Bevan has supplied the want. In doing so he has brought all up to date and has shown us that the verses, which run mostly in six syllables each, as was pointed out by Nöldeke, are also arranged in couplets.

We have also to notice a *Commentary on the Epistle of Jude*<sup>1</sup> by Dr George Wandel, written with a view to practical as well as scientific interests, going with care into questions of text and literary criticism, giving the relevant passages from the *Book of Enoch* and the *Assumption of Moses* in full, and furnishing a good translation—on the whole a sensible and useful addition to our expositions of this Epistle; another volume of *The Biblical Illustrator*,<sup>2</sup> containing a mass of expository, homiletic, and illustrative matter applicable to the Epistles of John and Jude; a tenth and substantially new issue of the late Dr F. W. Weber's *Kurzgefasste Einleitung in die Heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments*<sup>3</sup>—a very useful introduction, written from the scholarly-conservative point of view, now carefully worked over by the editors, M. and J. Deinzer, of Neuendettelsau; a second and revised edition of Professor Friedrich Baethgen's *Psalms*,<sup>4</sup> one of the volumes of Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, the merits of which, especially in text-criticism and in grammatical exegesis, have been already recognised<sup>5</sup> in this Journal; a volume of wise and weighty thoughts on *Christian Aspects of Life*,<sup>6</sup> in which the Bishop of Durham gives some of the results of his life-long consideration of such subjects as the National Church, Foreign Missions, Education, Social Service, and Social Relationships, and once more sets before us the noble ambition of making our Christian faith "the direct rule of our whole life—of our social and civic and national life, no less than of our personal life."

The *Expositor* has completed the sixth volume of its fifth series.<sup>7</sup> It holds as high a rank as ever among our many monthlies, and

<sup>1</sup> Der Brief des Judas, exegetisch praktisch behandelt. Leipsic: Deichert, 1898. 8vo, pp. 95. Price, M.1.40.

<sup>2</sup> London: Nisbet. 8vo, pp. 472, 25, 29, 95. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> München: Beck, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 414.

<sup>4</sup> Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Large 8vo, pp. xli. 436. Price, M.8.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. iii., p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 428. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 471. Price, 7s. 6d.



continues to provide from year to year a rich variety of articles by our most competent writers on subjects of more immediate interest to Biblical students. Among other papers in this volume which are both able and timely are those by Professor Harnack, the Rev. John A. Cross, and Professor Armitage Robinson on the *Logia*, by the Rev. J. B. Mayor on the Authenticity of the the Epistle of St James (a searching examination of the theories of Harnack and Spitta), and by Professor W. M. Ramsay on various Pauline and Lukan questions.

Professor Paul Haupt, of the Johns Hopkins University, has put into the hands of the public the first instalment of the large and important undertaking called *The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments*, or more popularly *The Polychrome Bible*, which has been in preparation for a length of time. He has had the assistance of Horace Howard Furness in the editorial work, and the effective services of a band of well-known scholars of different nationalities in the preparation of the several volumes. He is to be congratulated on these first issues, which consist of *Judges*, by Professor Moore; *Isaiah*, by Professor Cheyne; and *Psalms*, by Professor Wellhausen. The object of the series is to give a new translation of each book direct from the original and on the basis of the best critical texts, to indicate by the use of different colours the composite nature of the books, and to supply in the shape of notes what further is required for the interpretation of the writings. The seventh part, that on *Judges*,<sup>1</sup> is now before us. It has been committed to a scholar than whom no better could have been found for the purpose. Professor G. F. Moore, of Andover, stands in the front rank of Old Testament students. In his book on *Judges* in the *International Commentary* he has produced one of the masterpieces of recent critical Hebrew scholarship, and in this new publication we discover again all the good qualities which have given distinction to the former work. His English rendering is readable, though it looks to faithfulness first and to style only in the second place. His Notes are pointed and helpful; his criticism is free and thorough-going, without becoming either precipitate or showy.

Mr Benjamin Kidd's *Social Evolution*<sup>2</sup> has had a reception such as is seldom given to books of its kind. It has gone into its nineteenth thousand, and has been both appreciated and criticised as few books are. The feature of this new issue is an Appendix containing a reply to criticisms. In this paper, which is a revision and extension of an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr

<sup>1</sup> The Book of Judges. A New English Translation, with explanatory notes and pictorial illustrations. London: James Clarke & Co., 1898. Pp. xii. 97. Price, 6s. net.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. iii. 385. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

Kidd reaffirms the fundamental idea of his book, states again the proposition in the light of which he analyses the processes of our Western civilisation, and explains why he feels that the time has not yet come for any detailed reply. His appeal is to the future—to “the rising generation of workers, to those whose mission it will be to assimilate in the spirit of scientific continuity the vast store of new knowledge.” We could have wished the author to go further. For the scope of his book presents itself very differently to different minds, and there are things in it, vital to its argument, which require more exact definition. Until that is done the book will probably continue to be regarded by some as an argument of solid and lasting value, by others as a brilliant paradox. Its literary qualities, its vigour of thought, its suggestiveness, and the integrity of its motive were acknowledged on its first appearance.<sup>1</sup>

The second volume of *Ritschl's Life*<sup>2</sup> brings the story down from 1864 to 1889, and completes the biography. It deals with Ritschl's first years in Göttingen, and with the various events in his domestic and professional life for the last twenty-five years of his career. This is all well told. Of special interest is the picture which is given of the last three years and his decease. The chief value of the volume, however, lies in what it says of his literary work, in particular of his *Geschichte des Pietismus*, and still more in the account which it presents of his theology, the rise of a Ritschlian School, and the assaults made upon his system. The most important section of the book undoubtedly is the fifteenth chapter, in which we get a summary of Ritschl's aims and methods, his conception of Biblical Theology and of Dogmatics, the chief points in his representation of Primitive Christianity, and his main dogmatic positions. The exposition of his doctrines of God, Sin, Christ, and Christian Sonship, is particularly clear and helpful. Had there been nothing else than this synopsis of his Theology in the volume, we should have been under great obligations to the biographer. But the book is good throughout. No one who will understand Ritschl's Theology can dispense with this faithful and ably executed biography of the theologian himself.

The *New Order of Nobility*,<sup>3</sup> by Fred. A. Rees, is an interesting, pleasantly written little volume, dealing with the only true patent of nobility, viz., character and conduct. We find the keynote of the whole in the following words of the author: “Pomp is not power,

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. iv., p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Albrecht Ritschl's Leben. Dargestellt von Otto Ritschl. Zweiter Band. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Morgate. 8vo, pp. 544. Price, M. 12.

<sup>3</sup> London: A. H. Stockwell & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 125. Price, 2s.

a name is not nobility, wealth is not worth—love is more than genius and morality than possession.”

The book is divided into five parts, each setting forth some particular guarantee of this newer and truer rank, which is to be determined by Honour, not by Heritage ; by Merit, not by Mercy ; by Worth, not by Wealth ; by Virtue, not by Valour ; by Piety, not by Poverty. Each section is introduced by, and interspersed with, numerous apt quotations, so numerous, in fact, as at times to drown the original portions of the work, but so apt as to justify by their very appropriateness their superabundance.

The whole book, in short, is a most useful and popular treatment of a subject which, however old it may be in theory, is ever new in practice.

Professor Lucien Gautier, of Lausanne, has already made himself known to the public as a writer upon the Holy Land in his tasteful little volume entitled *Au delà du Jourdain*. Now we have before us a similar though somewhat larger work from his pen, the title of which reveals its subject-matter. *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*<sup>1</sup> is a collection of articles descriptive of various journeys made by the author in the Holy Land, which appeared in fragmentary form in magazines and reviews before being gathered together in one volume. M. Gautier seems to think he owes us something of an apology for bringing into a world of literature already overstocked with works upon the Holy Land, another book of the same kind. This apology he bases upon the importunity of his friends, and upon the fact that he writes in French for Frenchmen, among whom such works, though so numerous in England, are comparatively scarce. None, however, who have read the book, will regard any apology as necessary. It is no attempt at an elaborate historical or geographical treatise upon Palestine, but is simply a series of bright descriptive sketches, written in a fresh, vivid, racy style, which cannot fail to interest all readers. In 1894 M. Gautier and his family spent four months in Jerusalem, from which, as their headquarters, they made various excursions into the surrounding country, which they have commemorated in these articles. Amongst them we have descriptions of a journey to Hebron, of wanderings among the Philistines, of Samaria, Mount Carmel, the Highlands of Galilee, &c. From such an interesting series it is difficult to select any particular article as more worthy of notice than the rest. Yet, if we may venture to make a distinction, we think that the most highly interesting parts of the book are those dealing with the country of the Philistines and with Tyre and Sidon. Many of the excursions made by M. Gautier at this time penetrated into country not in the

<sup>1</sup> Lausanne : Bridel et Cie, 1898. 8vo, pp. viii. 337. Price F.5.

usual track of the ordinary tourist, a fact which renders his work of more value. The general interest and attractiveness of the volume is greatly enhanced by a series of fifty-nine beautiful plates from the photographs taken by his wife. The whole is got up in the tasteful style, and the clear type, already familiar to us in *Au delà du Jourdain*, which also have their influence in making the whole a most attractive and readable book.

In *The Light of Shakespeare*<sup>1</sup> Miss Clare Langton does not attempt to add to the long series of critiques upon the genius of the immortal dramatist, but simply offers to the public a collection of quotations from his works, illustrative of the religious feeling and faith of their author. "There is one point," she says, in her delightful introduction to the book, "which, though recognised by many of his ablest critics, has not, in a general way, been brought into sufficient prominence, and that is the depth and reality of his religion, nor is the fact insisted upon that his higher teaching is at once the most conspicuous and most precious inheritance bequeathed to posterity." This is a want, regarded by many as a serious one, which Miss Langton now supplies by a most judicious selection of those sublime passages from Shakespeare, which are permeated by the highest moral feeling and the deepest faith and reverence. These selections are divided suitably into different sections, according to the subject with which they deal. They are grouped under such titles as the Godhead, Conscience, Mercy, Guilt, Repentance, Sin, &c., so that any passage can be readily found without unnecessary trouble. This little book will be a valuable possession to all students of Shakespeare, and its introduction alone, apart from anything else, should gain for it a place in every Shakespearian library.

*Voices of the Day*,<sup>2</sup> by C. S. Wardle, is a prettily written and elegantly got up little book, which aims at conveying to the minds of men absorbed in earthly cares, the divine message contained in all nature. God's voice is to be heard through all His works, "in the wind sighing among the trees, in the silent movements of the white clouds, in the blue depths of the summer sky." Therefore, just as we study the Bible for God's message, let us study nature—"the splash and murmur of the streams, the winsome beauty of the flowers, the hum of the insects, and the songs of the birds"—for the divine Voice and Revelation. Such is the aim of the book, an aim which has been carried out and developed in an interesting and successful manner.

<sup>1</sup> Passages illustrative of the Higher Teaching of Shakespeare's Dramas. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 116. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Voices of the Day*; or, "Thoughts on the Message of God in Nature," by C. S. Wardle. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 140. Price, 3s. 6d.

*Village Life in Palestine*,<sup>1</sup> by the Rev. G. Robinson Lees, B.A., F.R.G.S., is another interesting little volume about the Holy Land. It deals mainly with the life of the peasantry of the country, and it presents us with many good descriptions of the ways and manners and life of the people, which we do not find in the ordinary book of travel. It gives a considerable amount of information about the religion, life, manners, customs, social characteristics, and superstitions of the peasants of the Holy Land, with reference to the Bible, and is the "result of study and observation during a residence of six years in the country, combined with a knowledge of the language of the people." It seems to be a book that one can trust as regards the accuracy of the information it contains. It is intended as a handy volume for the use of Sunday School and Bible Class teachers, and is enriched by twenty-six illustrations from the negatives of the author, which increase its value and interest.

From Professor H. Sidgwick, under the title of *Practical Ethics*,<sup>2</sup> comes another volume of the *Ethical Library* which Professor J. H. Muirhead is editing. This addition consists of a series of essays delivered before various ethical societies lately founded in London and Cambridge. These societies, it must be remembered, are not gatherings of professed philosophers, nor are they limited to any special school of thought. Their object is the wider one of attracting men of all schools and all lines of life who are interested in such questions, to discuss with one another in a thoroughly practical way common questions of conduct that present themselves to all thoughtful men. The first two lectures are devoted to considering the scope of such societies, and the others may be taken as models of what their discussions should be, as regards both subject and treatment. Most have already been published in the *International Journal of Ethics*. The titles sufficiently indicate the questions at issue. After the two introductory chapters come essays on Public Morality, the Morality of Strife, the Ethics of Religious Conformity, Clerical Veracity, Luxury, the Pursuit of Culture, Unreasonable Action. All these are at once seen to be very debatable topics, and Professor Sidgwick deals with them all in an eminently broad-minded and

<sup>1</sup> *Village Life in Palestine*. A description of the religion, home-life, manners, customs, social characteristics, and superstitions of the peasants of the Holy Land, with reference to the Bible. By the Rev. G. Robinson Lees, B.A., F.R.G.S., author of "Jerusalem Illustrated," "Jerusalem and its People," and joint-author of "Palestine," in Dr Lunn's Guide Book, "How to visit the Mediterranean," &c. With twenty-six illustrations from photographs by the author. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> *Practical Ethics*. By Henry Sidgwick, Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, 4s. 6d.

common-sense way, and in a manner well calculated to stimulate thought, and sometimes criticism, in his readers. That on the Ethics of Religious Conformity evoked considerable discussion on its first publication, and the essay on Clerical Veracity is Professor Sidgwick's rejoinder to his chief critic, the Rev. H. Rasdall. Whatever view one takes of this question, it is good for the recognised leaders of religious thought to see how it presents itself to the mind of an able layman, who, from his position, must exercise a wide influence over the cultured youth of our country. It cannot be maintained that Professor Sidgwick errs on the side of extreme strictness; he would allow great latitude in interpretation, but thinks that the line must be drawn somewhere, and that is at the beginning of direct and conscious deception. This is an age of intellectual activity and interest, and, should the laity come to think that their religious teachers are repeatedly professing and inculcating doctrines, held to be fundamental to Christianity, which they have themselves thrown over, the result would be disastrous to religion and morality. The power of sincerity in a teacher is enormous, and the Churches will get much nearer their cherished goal by taking the laity into their confidence, and speaking frankly to them only what they fully believe. No thoughtful man will rise from a perusal of this sane little book without getting much food for reflection, and much help in solving many of the everyday ethical problems that all have to face in one form or another.

The first appearance of Professor James Seth's *Study of Ethical Principles*<sup>1</sup> was very favourably reviewed in these pages three years ago, and the fact that a third edition is called for so soon proves that that approval has been widely endorsed. This edition has been thoroughly revised and enlarged. Two new chapters are introduced which will considerably enhance the value of the work as a textbook. The first of these is on the method of Ethics, and the author tries to limit its scope and free it from the admixture of various other inquiries quite separate from it, but often confused with it. Ethics is a science, and its method is absolutely and truly scientific, not metaphysical. It differs from other sciences only in its content. "The common task of all science is the rationalisation of our judgments through their organisation into a system of thought." But these judgments may be either judgments of fact or judgments of worth. The natural or descriptive sciences deal with the former, while the normative or appreciative sciences, like ethics, logic, and aesthetics, have to do with the latter. The natural history of morality is a very useful, even essential, study, but it is strictly only the handmaid of

<sup>1</sup> A Study of Ethical Principles. By James Seth, M.A., Sage Professor of Moral Philosophy in Cornell University. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Price, 7s. 6d.

ethics as a normative science. The confusion of these two separate inquiries is seen not only in the psychological theories of Hume and Mill, but also in the later evolutionary theory, which explains the relation of the fact to other facts, but not the ethical value of the fact. The sphere of metaphysics, on the other hand, lies away behind all the sciences as their true foundation. It has to examine the ultimate validity of all our judgments, which validity must be assumed by the separate sciences for their very existence. The normative sciences, however, since their function is to judge the value of the actual in terms of the ideal, are thus brought into closer relationship with metaphysics than are the natural sciences. But all science ultimately merges in metaphysics, and especially in ethical inquiry is the metaphysical question forced upon us, and hence the author devotes Part III. of his book to the metaphysical implications of morality. The second new chapter is on "Moral Progress," and is a very able attempt to show that the law of moral progress is "the progressive discovery of the individual"; not the individual as an isolated unit, but the individual in his whole social setting. The growth and development of the idea of the value and position of the individual is traced in a masterly fashion in a rapid historical survey, and the effect of this in deepening and widening man's view of morality is thoughtfully presented. Although at present the stress of the existing industrial system is somewhat obscuring the individual's true place in society, the author thinks there are already signs of a still truer and fuller recognition of the personal worth of man. The whole book is conspicuously able, the style is fluent and lucid and elevated, and a student of ethics could read no more suggestive and helpful manual. An index has been added, and a very useful sketch of the literature of the subject has been appended to each chapter.

*Practical Idealism*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a small volume by Mr William De Witt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College. Its origin was a course of lectures delivered at various summer schools in America, and it is an attempt "to interpret the spiritual significance of everyday life." It is not a treatise on metaphysics or ethics, but it ranges pleasantly over a wide field, with many a quotation and reference to philosophical writers. It is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the Natural World, under the headings—the World of Sense-Perception, the World of Association, the World of Science, the World of Art; the second part is devoted to the Spiritual World, and contains other four chapters, entitled the World of Persons, the World of Institutions, the World of

<sup>1</sup> *Practical Idealism*. By William De Witt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Cr. 8vo. Price, 5s.

Morality, the World of Religion. It is impossible to criticise such a medley, but its practical tone and happy way of putting things may, as the author hopes, stimulate young readers to undertake a more extended and strenuous journey along the same roads.

To a "Society of ministers accustomed to meet for free and brotherly conference" we are indebted for a volume which deserves more notice than can be given it here and now. Its title, *The Ancient Faith in Modern Light*,<sup>1</sup> indicates so far its purpose, which is to restate and reaffirm certain fundamental doctrines of Christianity in accordance with modern ways of thinking. It consists of a series of Essays, in which old questions are reconsidered, and the attempt is made to distinguish in each between the permanent and the transient, between what is of the special time and circumstance and what is of the certainties of truth itself. The writers include Principals Tymms, Cave, and Vaughan Pryce, Professor Medley, Mr Brock, Drs S. G. Green, Joseph Parker, Guinness Rogers, and the late Principal Henry Robert Reynolds—*clarum et venerabile nomen*. These are all men worth listening to, and some of them can command an audience anywhere. The opening paper, which is by the Head of Rawdon College, deals at some length and with much insight with the question of "Christian Theism," comparing it with Hebrew Theism and other Theistic systems. The discussion of the ethical problems involved in Christian Theism is perhaps the best part of this able essay. Dr Parker provides a racy paper on the "New Citizenship," in which he says many incisive and suggestive things on the ideas of Church, State, and Nation. Dr Rogers delivers his message, a strong and ringing message, on the "Pulpit and the Press," one object of which is to show how far preaching is from being a spent force. Dr Newth states in clear and definite terms the "New Testament Witness concerning Christian Churches." Mr Brock writes wisely and sympathetically of "Christianity and the Child." Professor Medley says some good things about the "Permanent significance of the Bible," and the paper by the late Dr Reynolds on the "Witness of the Spirit" is of such merit and interest that one regrets it is but a fragment. In addition to these we get three distinctively doctrinal papers. One of them is on the "Bible View of Sin"—an instructive discussion, in which Principal Cave takes us over a wide and difficult field, handling with special ability the whole range of questions connected with the teaching of Scripture on the Adamic and generic consequences of sin. Dr Green writes of the "Deity and Humanity of Christ," giving a careful summary of the facts which establish our Lord's Divinity, and exhibiting the principles of the Incarnation. Dr Green's examination of the

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 416. Price, 10s. 6d.  
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Kenotic theories and of Dorner's doctrine of a progressive incarnation, though necessarily brief, well repays consideration. Principal Vaughan Pryce has a great and difficult subject to grapple with in "The Redemptive Work of the Lord Jesus Christ." He brings into one view various indications which are given in the New Testament, and especially in Christ's own words, of the meaning and purpose of His work. He examines the various terms, *sacrifice*, *propitiation*, *reconciliation*, and others which throw light on the *method* of salvation and the *efficacy* which is attributed to our Lord's death. At times this essay errs, in our opinion, in reducing some of the Scripture terms to less than they really mean, and in making certain doctrinal statements of the value of Christ's work, especially the idea of its substitutionary character, stand or fall with extreme forms of these statements. But the paper will be read with profit, both for its own view of the teaching of Scripture and for its criticism of theories. The volume contains much strong and independent thinking, and is written in the spirit of honest, reverent inquiry.

*A Life of Philip Schaff*<sup>1</sup> will be a welcome book to many. It has been expected for some years. It is now in our hands, and it is all the more acceptable that it is in part autobiographical. It is the work of Professor David S. Schaff, of Lane Theological Seminary, and it is well done. It is a thoroughly readable book, and gives us a very good picture of a man who was known to none without having their respect and affection. Philip Schaff's journeys were many, and wherever he came, he made friends. As the years went on, the circle of his acquaintanceships and intimacies became wider and wider. It embraced multitudes of the best known men in England, in America, and on the Continent, and not only theologians and ecclesiastics, but men of all kinds and positions. One great charm of the book, therefore, are the glimpses it gives us of Dr Schaff's intercourse with European and American celebrities, and his estimates of them. His labours were enormous. The multitude and magnitude of his literary undertakings stagger one when they come under his view here, and much of his literary work is of excellent quality. We owe him a great deal for his *History of the Church* and his monumental collection of the *Creeds of Christendom*, to speak of only two out of many large and important contributions made by his capable and never-resting pen to theological literature. Nor were his energies exhausted by these things. He took upon himself the burden of great public movements, such as the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, and others, and he did

<sup>1</sup> New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 526. Price, 10s. 6d.

noble service in each. He was a man, too, of the widest sympathies and the largest charity, ever quick to recognise all that was good and true in beliefs and organisations different from those by which he himself held. To read the story of the life of such a man is to be refreshed and stimulated. The son deserves our cordial thanks for the memorial which he has given us of his eminent and honoured father.

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## **Divine Immanence ; an Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter.**

*By J. R. Illingworth, M.A., author of "Personality, Human and Divine." London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 212. Price, 7s. 6d.*

MR ILLINGWORTH has rapidly taken a foremost place among those writers of the day who deal with questions lying on the borderland of science, philosophy and theology. His work on *Personality* deals with the crucial question of philosophy and theology, and it could not have been written until that great problem had come to the front, as it has come under the great stimulus of the Kantian, and specially of the Hegelian, philosophy. It is a striking circumstance to note how the question of personality presses itself on all the philosophies of the present hour, and to note how the traditional psychology deals with it. Formerly the unity of the subject was lost, or, at all events, it was only the formal bond which somehow held the faculties together. Consciousness was looked at as a product, which came to appearance when the organism attained to a certain growth. It is one of the merits of Green that he was able to destroy this supposition, and to show that the unity of the subject was the presupposition of experience, and reference to a self-conscious subject the condition of knowledge. This made an end of many speculations, but the traditional psychologists are still unconvinced, though they are now compelled, as never before, to face the problem. Like M. Ribot, who is a typical writer of the school he represents, they essay "to reduce conscious personality to its immediate conditions—the organism." Now it is one of the services of Mr Illingworth that he has dealt seriously and effectively with this class of writers, and has reached a number of readers who are not likely to read the works of Green and others who have written on this question.

The book before us may be described as the sequel to the work on *Personality*. Generally it is a discussion on the relation of nature to religion. The opening chapter has the title, "matter and spirit." The distinction dates from the old distinction of "body and soul" of primitive philosophy, and this latter distinction is as old as human reflection. This is first set forth, and the author proceeds to look at the nature and relation of spirit and matter. The main conclusions to which he comes are these. However

different they may be, they are known only in combination, and so neither can be completely known. They, however, represent very distinct and easily distinguishable phases of experience. Spirit is what thinks, and wills, and loves ; matter is what moves in space. "Other things are determined from without : they are what external forces make them : they do not choose what they will be. But spirit chooses its own end, elects what it will become, and thereby asserts its existence, as having a value in itself." Matter, he contends, is of use to spirit, but spirit is of no use to matter. As to the first part of the saying, it is obvious that the human spirit does depend on matter ; that without oxygen and nitrogen, and phosphorus and carbon, we could neither think nor will nor love. But the other part of the statement, that spirit is of no use to matter, is not so obvious. It seems to conflict with his main thesis, which is, that nature has a direct influence on religion. No doubt there is a limited sense in which his statement is true. Nature does go along by herself, and man does not change the character of the forces he presses into his service. But if, as he contends in a later statement, "nature exists for the sake of spirit," it can be true only in a very partial sense that spirit is of no use to matter. But we need not dwell on this point. As he admits that there is a teleological relation between the two, and that spirit is the final cause of matter, he has caught the essential fact in the case. The mention of teleology leads him to explain that Bacon's objection, so often misapplied, deals only with the misuse of final causes, and also to examine and refute the more drastic objection of Spinoza.

The religious influence of the material world is the theme of the second chapter, and it is dealt with in a happy way. The material world has had a religious influence on man, and the proof of it lies embodied in the literature of the world. A number of selections, happily chosen from varied sources in ancient and modern times, gives ample illustration of the religious influence of the external world. From Egypt, India, Persia and Palestine, from Greece and Rome, from the Christian fathers and medieval writers, from the renaissance, later theologians and modern poets, his illustrations are drawn, and the chapter is as delightful from a literary point of view as it is from the point of view of his main argument.

The Divine Immanence in Nature is the next theme, and it is set forth with felicity. However we may interpret the religious influence of external nature, it is a great fact. If it is not an illusion, and if the faculties which feel it are not untrustworthy, it must have a great meaning. This gives rise to the question, What is reality ? Reality is shown not to consist in existence in space, but in relation to personality. From this it follows that the

sensible is as real as the scientific aspect of the world, and feeling is as trustworthy as reason, for both feeling and reason are elements in the same personal experience. It cannot be doubted that we are receptive of the religious influence of nature, and the inference is that there is a spiritual presence in nature. The analogy of our own personality helps us to understand the relation of the spirit in nature to nature itself. As human personality combines transcendence of matter and immanence in matter, so the analogy excludes the mere immanence of pantheism, the mere transcendence of deism, and the mere identity of monism. Such is a brief and bald outline of the argument of this chapter, an argument which will repay close and sustained study. Divine immanence in man is the next topic. He summarises the evidence given in conscience and in inspiration, and shows that the evidence points to the Incarnation as its climax. He is mindful of the argument of the anthropologists, who explain away the Incarnation because, they say, there is a tendency to believe in incarnations. "Folklore and mythology find endless traces of supposed incarnations which are quite as unspiritual, and even immoral, as they are unscientific; and conflict not only with all canons of rational criticism, but even with the ordinary dictates of plain common sense. Yet these fictions only emphasise the persistence of the instinct which continued to invent them, because it continued to demand them. And when at length we are confronted with a tale of Incarnation, whose spiritual sublimity and actual influence are absolutely unique, its believers may fairly recognise in the previous expectation of mankind an additional proof of its truth. The event has occurred, they may reasonably say, which man's prophetic soul divined. The Incarnation which he so often fantastically dreamed of has at last become a fact." To the objection that the Incarnation is improbable, is miraculous, and therefore improbable, he answers that it is an unique event, and therefore not miraculous in the sense of the objection. The primary evidence for the Incarnation is spiritual, for it is the manifestation of a Person. "We cannot separate the wonderful life from the wonderful teaching, from the wonderful works. They involve, and interpenetrate, and presuppose each other, and form in their indissoluble combination one harmonious picture." It is also to be borne in mind that the Incarnation is redemptive, and this thought must have its effect on our estimate of the wonderful works done by the Incarnate One.

The next chapter deals more fully with the question of "The Incarnation and Miracles." We have not space to summarise the argument, and, indeed, the argument is so closely woven that it is scarcely possible to shorten it without doing it injustice. He points out that the objection to miracles is based on the supposed



uniformity of nature, and that now we think more of the unity than of the uniformity of nature. Unity is a spiritual conception, "The world is not a chaotic flux, as it would be if merely material, but an orderly system of things. Atoms combine in mathematical proportion; stars move in their courses by mechanical rule; organic life in plant and animal is mainly elaborately teleological; man is guided and developed by a moral law. And the result is a coherent universe, whose elements are intimately bound together by the mutual ministrations of all to each and each to all. But all these links are obviously spiritual, and analogous to what we find within ourselves, and thus the unity of nature must be due to a spiritual power. The phrase, indeed, has no other meaning; for we cannot conceive a mere material unity, since spirit is the only unifying agent that we know. Thus the more science impresses upon us the unity of nature, the more does it, by implication, assert that nature is rooted and grounded in spirit. Now spirit, as we have repeatedly seen, affirms the absolute supremacy of its own ends. It claims as of right to govern, and never to subserve matter; to use matter for spiritual purposes, and never the reverse. And whenever the reverse takes place, and we see spiritual beings using their powers in pursuit of animal, and therefore material ends, we recognise at once that they are contradicting the very essence of their nature, and are therefore unrighteous or wrong." It is also pointed out that miracle is to be expected in connection with the redemptive work of the Incarnate One, and that the gradual cessation of miracles was as needful as their occurrence.

Two chapters follow on the Incarnation and Sacraments, and on the Incarnation and the Trinity. The first is rather mystic, and not satisfactory; the second is altogether admirable. We regret much that the author has, in our judgment, spoilt a great book and a great argument by tying it to a view of the sacraments, which would justify any amount of ritual. But on this question we do not dwell. The chapter on the Trinity is good, and dwells largely on the fact that as the purport of the Incarnation was the revelation of God as love, this was impossible, if there were not the previous fact that God is love. Love implies more than one; it implies a plurality of Persons in the Godhead, between whom love exists. This conception, by no means a new one, is finely worked out, and its theoretical and practical consequences set forth with great lucidity. An appendix deals with the questions of Personal Identity and Freewill, and in connection with the discussion he has gathered together the most significant passages of modern philosophers, who deal with these great questions. Looking at the book as a whole, and taking it, as we are bound to do, in connection with the former book on Personality, we are glad to

welcome it as one of the most noteworthy contributions to philosophical theology made by our time. It is also a magnificent contribution to Apologetics.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Apostolical Succession in the Light of History and Fact.**

*The Congregational Union Lecture for 1897; by John Brown, B.A., D.D., Minister of Bunyan Chapel, Bedford. London: Congregational Union of England and Wales, Memorial Hall, 1898. 8vo, pp. viii. 463. Price, 10s 6d.*

THERE are not a few who will say, "Is it worth while at this time of day to write a book on Apostolical Succession? And what man, if he writes such a book, can show us anything new?" But Dr Brown knows that, though the theory may be ridiculed by everybody in this country outside the Roman and Anglican Churches, and probably by the bulk of laymen (we speak not of women) inside the Anglican Church, and though many of those who consciously hold the theory may be, from lack of mind or of the historical mind, scarcely amenable to argument, it is nevertheless still worth while to expose the hollowness of its pretensions, first, because they are false; secondly, because they are antichristian; thirdly, because they are divisive; fourthly, because they are recrudescant, particularly among those who talk most about reunion; and, lastly, because, even with those who do not consciously admit them, they are, at bottom, still responsible for much of the unbrotherly habit of English Christianity. Nor is it correct to suggest that there is nothing new to tell. If Dr Brown needs further justification he finds it in the fact that recent discoveries in early Christian literature have contributed fresh and important points of vantage for the attack.

Taking the book as a whole, we feel it is sound, strong, and apt for its purpose. Its deficiencies are minor and do not affect the main thesis. It has one signal excellence: its style is simple, clear, and direct; there is no straining after epigram; no metallic resonance is perpetually trying the ear. Yet there is no lack of force, point or variety; and amid its lucid, readable and accurate English there is only a word here and there (such as the word *reliable*) which a purist itches to alter, and perhaps a sentence or two which might be better for re-writing; take, for example, the sentence that reads, "*Ordo*, the origin of the word *orders*, is not found in the New Testament" (p. 53).

The author pursues his subject historically. After justifying his work on the ground that the investigation of Church organisation

is pre-eminently a task for the present day, a day of increased historical material, of unprecedented historical sense and method, and of proposals for reunion, futile because hatched in an atmosphere of unhistorical presuppositions, he proceeds to dwell upon the doctrine of Apostolical Succession from the side of its grave uncertainties and its yet graver practical injuriousness. Then, by the help of the discussions and discoveries of the present century, he carefully and judiciously discriminates the earliest forms of church life, the functions that were universal, divinely conferred, charismatic—those of the apostle, the prophet, the teacher,—and the offices that were local, elective, administrative—those filled by the presbyters, otherwise called bishops and deacons. At the next step he reaches the letters of Ignatius, and, leaving undecided, after discussion, the questions of genuineness and interpolation, he forcibly argues that, even if all the letters be genuine, the language whereby (if taken literally) Ignatius would (for the sake of local unity) invest the episcopal office with a “crushing despotism” (in Lightfoot’s phrase) “subversive of the true spirit of Christianity,” is more than counterbalanced, for the purpose of the present argument, by the fact that, in spite of the stress he lays upon the episcopal claims, he never adduces apostolic support or speaks of apostolical succession; that the letters reveal the absence of the monarchical bishop in some of the churches addressed; that each bishop was obviously congregational or, at most, the presiding pastor of the local community; and that, as Lightfoot wrote, “there is not throughout these letters the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian ministry.” Dr Brown then traces, during the second century, the transition from the charismatic prophet-preacher to the administrative and teaching pastor, and the process by which there came thus to be one presiding bishop in each church. He sides with Loening, Kühl, and Foucart against the narrowness of Hatch’s view that this development turned mainly on financial considerations, and deems inadequate Professor Ramsay’s solution that it arose chiefly from the recognised duty of intercommunication among the churches; preferring to attribute the change to the demands of the inner church life and the growing need of an abiding local preaching ministry in proportion as the charismatic gifts of the itinerant prophet ceased. Hence, he believes, the functions of prophet and presbyter came to be united in the hands of the single local *episcopus*. Next follows an exposition of the way in which hierarchical developments in the Church were assisted, first, by the subordination of spiritual faith to intellectual creed, the clergy coming to be regarded as endowed in due succession to be centralising guarantees of doctrinal truth; then by the restless machinations of the cunning and ambitious

Callistus, Bishop of the Roman Church, who claimed to be able to forgive sins and readmit to fellowship men of gross and evil lives; and subsequently by Cyprian's establishment (in spite of the resolute stand made by Novatian for purity and holiness) of the principle that the unity of the Church depended not on a common life in the spirit, but on the cohesion of the bishops, though even Cyprian knew of no archbishop, and no episcopal authority underrived from the people. How the secularisation of the Church under Constantine, the uniformity-mongering of Theodosius, the importation of materialistic superstition into baptism and the Lord's Supper through the influence of heathenism, Gnosticism and the Greek mysteries, quickly matured the priestly idea—all this we are told in a later chapter. The historical foundations of the argument having thus been laid in the origins of the Christian Church, the remaining three chapters (it may be briefly stated) speak of the development of the Papacy, the Anglican Church in the Tudor times, and the Anglican Church from 1603 to 1833, in the early part of which latter period the claim to apostolical succession was, in the face of much resistance, first set up in the Anglican Church by Richard Bancroft as a counterblast to Presbyterianism, was afterwards revived and fixed upon the Church by Laud, and was finally, after an interval of "neglect," more emphatically enforced by John Henry Newman as "the real ground on which [clerical] authority is built."

The book is strongest in dealing with the origins, and these will, after all, prove the final court of appeal. The position and authority of the bishop is the fundamental question; and Dr Brown does solid service in showing how the discovery of the *Didachè*, together with the latest work issuing from the pure historical school represented by Dr Hort and Professor Ramsay, has tended in the direction of proving that the position and authority of the diocesan bishop and the supernatural sacerdotal claims of the clerical caste were unknown to the churches of the first two centuries. So keenly do advanced Anglicans appreciate the trend of current criticism that their champions are driven to depreciate criticism itself, Canon Gore striving to belittle the judicial reputation of Dr Hort, and Canon Moberly seeking to undermine an interpretation of history which is not guarded by presuppositions. Dr Brown's admirable digest of the historical arguments and pertinent facts which this party must sooner or later face if they are not to be stamped as unworthy of a scientific age, can be grasped by any English reader of average intelligence; while the spirit pervading the whole discussion is so exemplary and conciliatory that there is nothing, except the facts, to irritate the most sensitive opponent.

No doubt there will be occasional differences of opinion, even among the sympathisers with Dr Brown, as to his views on criticism and his reading of history. He speaks, for instance, as if there were more certainty than there really is about the dates of the successive periods of St Peter's life (pp. 85, 86), and about his sojourn in Babylon. He states without any qualification that St Paul, in the phrase *οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι* (2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11), refers to the Twelve—an interpretation which even Hilgenfeld and Holsten have in the light of the context ceased to uphold. Probably also he extracts from the phrase "certain came from James" (Gal. ii. 12) too distinct a trace of James's Jewish "rigidity." Further, we do not quite clearly see why (p. 154) the absence of the article before the words *ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους* (Phil. i. 1) "shows that the summary of the persons constituting the Christian Church at Philippi was complete." There is more doubt, too, than Dr Brown seems to admit whether bishops and deacons, where such offices obtained, monopolised the presbyterate, and whether there may not have been presbyters besides. Nor is it to be affirmed without hesitation that *πρεσβύτερος* was originally a Jewish and *ἐπίσκοπος* a Gentile title: any such exclusiveness of classification must at present be based on insufficient evidence.

But, with such a book before us, we are in no humour to pick holes. And the holes are small holes, even if we add to their number such as experts may discover here and there in the author's reading of the history of the Reformation period. The main argument is untouched by such slight flaws: the book remains a calm, judicial and effective apology for an historical, an uncorrupted, and a spiritual Christianity.

J. MASSIE.

### **The Conception of God: A Philosophical Discussion concerning the Nature of the Divine Idea as a Demonstrable Reality.**

*By Josiah Royce, Joseph Le Conte, G. H. Howison, and Sidney Edward Mezes. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1897. Pp. xxxviii. 354. Price, 7s. 6d., net.*

THOUGH second in order of publication, this is designed and numbered as the first volume of a series to be issued under the auspices of the Philosophical Union of the University of California, and under the general editorship of G. H. Howison, LL.D., Mills Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in that University, and one of the contributors to the work now

before us. The earlier volume of the series, Professor Watson's *Christianity and Idealism*, which somehow managed to outstrip its intended predecessor, was noticed in this *Review* last year (vol. vii. p. 177). A special interest will doubtless attach to the present work in the minds of many readers of the *Critical Review*, from the fact that, first of all Transatlantic scholars and thinkers to receive the important appointment, Professor Royce, to whose pen is due the major part of this discussion on "The Conception of God," has been chosen as the next Gifford lecturer on Natural Theology in the University of Aberdeen.

The origin of the volume, we are informed, was a public discussion held at the seat of the University of California in 1895, in which the four gentlemen named on the title-page took part. Of these, two are Professors in the University of California, one in Harvard, and one in the University of Texas, but their association in the discussion is not accidental, since Professor Royce recognises in the Californian University his *Alma Mater*, and in Professor Le Conte a former teacher of his own ; while Professor Mezes had been a pupil of each of the other disputants. After the original discussion, the report of which had been published in pamphlet form, several more private meetings took place, "in which the leader of the original debate had ample opportunity to reply to his critics, and to expound further consequences of his thesis." The proceedings of these meetings were not printed, but when a year later the Philosophical Union resolved "to give the whole discussion a more permanent form," Professor Royce was invited "to put on record his replies to his critics, to extend and confirm, at his pleasure, his main argument, and to expound some further developments of his doctrine" (p. 135).

The present volume consists therefore of the following papers, of which it is desirable to indicate the relative extent :— 1st, Professor Royce's address, which forms the basis of the whole discussion and extends to forty-eight pages ; 2nd, a criticism by Professor Mezes, twelve pages in length ; 3rd, a statement, also extending to twelve pages, partly in criticism of Professor Royce, partly in exposition of his own view, by Professor Le Conte, well-known in this country by his admirable books—*Religion and Science* and *Evolution in its Relation to Religious Thought* ; 4th, Professor Howison's comments on all the foregoing theories, occupying fifty-two pages ; and 5th, Professor Royce's supplementary essay extending to 220 pages or much more than half of the whole book. But not even thus is the discussion finished, for Professor Howison, as editor, prefixes an introduction of thirty pages, in which he repudiates, if he does not refute, Professor Royce's criticisms of himself, and, with the same object, adds various footnotes to Professor Royce's Supplementary

Essay. Professor Mezes, on the whole, fares the worst, for while he is permitted to breathe a defiant sentence through the mouth of the general editor, "the limits of the volume have forbidden the insertion of his rejoinder in full. Its unavoidable length precluded its appearance as a whole, while the close articulation of its parts made impracticable any excerpts that would do it justice" (p. xxxviii., note). Altogether we are not favourably impressed with the form which the book has taken. It is true, as the editor remarks, that "discussion is the method of philosophy," but no permanent contribution to philosophical thought should perpetuate the purely accidental circumstances of its origin. Except to those who were present at the discussion, or to those who took part in it, these circumstances can have no interest, and they are a hindrance rather than a help to the acceptance of the book as a mature philosophical treatise, for on every side the reader is met by complaints of limitation of space, and the lament that this or that explanation and defence is thereby rendered impossible. A Platonic dialogue takes the form of a discussion doubtless, but it is artistic in a sense in which this volume is the acme of awkwardness, and its dialectic movement helps forward the thought in a way in which the conference of the four American Professors wholly fails to do. While his work here gives evidence of a power and resource, a speculative breadth and subtlety, which leads us to anticipate with keen interest the fruits of his Gifford Lectureship, we shall not be sorry that Professor Royce will on that occasion have no antagonist to consider except the stern difficulties of the problems with which he will have to deal.

Within the compass of a notice like this it is impossible to give an adequate account either of the main argument or of the various criticisms it elicited. Of the latter especially a mere indication can be given. In his opening address Professor Royce points out that "a really fruitful philosophical study of the conception of God is inseparable from an attempt to estimate what evidence there is for the existence of God" (p. 6). He then concentrates attention upon the attribute of Omniscience, provisionally defines the word "God" as indicating "a being who is conceived as possessing to the full all logically possible knowledge, insight, wisdom," and asks, "Does there demonstrably exist an Omniscient Being? or is the conception of an Omniscient Being, for all that we can say, a bare ideal of the human mind?" (p. 7). An Omniscient Being would be one with whom, therein differing from us, there would be no divorce between idea and fact; He would find "presented to him, not by virtue of fragmentary and gradually completed processes of inquiry, but by virtue of an all-embracing, direct, and transparent insight into his own truth . . . the fulfilled answer to every genuinely rational

question" (p. 8). The thought and experience of such a Being would be all-embracing, absolute; it would also be fully or completely *organised*, that is, He would have "present to himself all the conceivable relations amongst facts, so that in his world nothing would be fragmentary, disunited, confused, unrelated" (p. 14). Does such an Omniscient Being exist? The author starts from an examination of that human ignorance which so forcibly suggests a Being possessed of all possible knowledge. Here the point that is made is "that our ignorance of reality cannot mean an ignorance of some object that we can conceive as existing apart from any possible experience or knowledge of what it is" (p. 19). In other words, that is not ignorance, at least in any sense of which philosophy needs to take account, which is ignorance of what no intelligence can possibly know. It is ignorance which will, or may be, displaced by knowledge. The knowledge which Science substitutes for the impressions of sense is an organised experience which, though indirect, "reveals more of phenomenal truth than can ever be revealed to our direct sensory states as these pass by" (p. 21). Therein consists the truth of Science as contrasted with our individual experience, and if the organised knowledge which it represents be conceived as raised to its highest terms, we have an absolute experience face to face with an absolute reality; in fact, we can only define "absolute reality" as "either that which is present to an absolutely organised experience, or that which would be presented as the content of such an experience if there were one" (p. 31). But such an absolute experience cannot be conceived as a bare possibility only. A fragmentary experience is only intelligible in the light of an experience that is not fragmentary. "The very effort hypothetically to assert that the whole world of experience is a world of fragmentary and finite experience, is an effort involving a contradiction. Experience must constitute, in its entirety, one self-determined and consequently absolute and organised whole" (p. 41). "There is, then, an Absolute Experience, for which the conception of an absolute reality, *i.e.* the conception of a system of ideal truth, is fulfilled by the very contents that get presented to this Experience." It is "related to our experience as an organic whole to its own fragments. It is an experience which finds fulfilled all that the completest thought can rationally conceive as genuinely possible. Herein lies its definition as an Absolute." Its contents "form a self-determined whole, than which nothing completer, more organic, more fulfilled, more transparent, or more complete in meaning, is concretely or genuinely possible. On the other hand, these contents are not foreign to those of our finite experience, but are inclusive of them in the unity of our life" (pp. 43-4). The conception thus reached Professor Royce regards as the philosophical



conception of God. It is founded upon the principle that "all knowledge is of something experienced," with this almost inevitable expansion that "if a world of finite experience exists at all, this world must have a consistently definable constitution, in order that it may exist" (p. 46). He claims that it is "distinctly theistic and not pantheistic" (p. 49), and that "every ethical predicate that the highest religious faith of the past has attributed to God is capable of exact interpretation in terms of our present view" (p. 50).

We have been struck in reading this essay with the curious parallel between the course of reasoning adopted and that in Ferrier's *Institutes of Metaphysic*. There can be no question of the independence of Professor Royce's argument, and the resemblance becomes therefore all the more instructive. Ferrier also makes one of the pillars of his structure an "Agnology; or, Theory of Ignorance." His "Law of all Ignorance" (*Institutes*, p. 412) is: "We can be ignorant only of what can possibly be known; in other words, there can be an ignorance only of that of which there can be a knowledge" (compare the reference above to p. 19). And the concluding propositions of his "Ontology; or, Theory of Existence" lead us to the recognition of the fact that "the only true, and real, and independent Existences are minds, together with that which they apprehend" (the imperfect, fragmentary human experiences of Professor Royce), and that of these, all are contingent *except one*—"in other words, there is One, but only one, Absolute Existence which is strictly *necessary*; and that existence is a supreme, and infinite, and everlasting Mind in synthesis with all things" (*Institutes*, pp. 511, 522). (Compare the summary of Professor Royce's doctrine on pp. 103-4.) It is true that the conclusion, as well as the mode of arriving at it, may be said to be common to all Idealism; but in this case the parallel is, as we have indicated, more than usually close and striking.

Professor Mezes entitles his criticism "Worth and Goodness as Marks of the Absolute," and in the main it is occupied in pointing out what Professor Royce had *not* proved by his argument rather than any errors in that argument so far as it goes. But it may be asked, Is such an argument any less valid and useful because it does not prove everything? It has been a mistake and fault of very many writers on Theism since Kant, to carp at the Theistic arguments because each of them does not lead us into all the fulness of the Divine Existence. Surely, if the existence of an Omniscient Being can be shown to be a necessary implication of thought and experience, this is not inconsistent with the possession by that Being of other Attributes otherwise attested, and faith acquires a foothold by no means to be despised.

Professor Le Conte, in his "God, and Connected Problems in

the Light of Evolution," develops an argument of his own, bringing into notice the relation of the conception of God to the idea of Immortality, as Professor Howison, in his comments, which he entitles "*The City of God, and the true God as its Head*," emphasises the thought of Freedom, and those ethical implications of the problem which he conceives to be endangered by Professor Royce's view. It is indeed the case, as Professor Howison points out in his preface, that the three conceptions of God, Freedom and Immortality run up into each other, and can hardly be studied apart. On the ground of Freedom, Professor Howison distinguishes his own doctrine, which he terms Pluralistic, Ethical, or simply Personal Idealism, from the Monism which he conceives to be involved in Professor Royce's view, and to be inseparable from a pantheistic absorption of the many in the One. This inference Professor Royce in turn repudiates, and in his supplementary essay on "*The Absolute and the Individual*," he enters at length into the discussion of the Principle of Individuation and the relations of the Self-conscious Individual, including the question of Individual Immortality.

We may call attention, in conclusion, to the interesting account of the two great Scholastic theories of Individuation—the Thomistic and the Scotistic—contained in the supplementary Essay, and also to the no less interesting historical sketch of recent speculation, so far as it bears upon the conception of God, and the present state of the controversy regarding it, contained in the preface of Professor Howison. He holds as its outcome that we are justified in the hope, even in the persuasion, "that religion, in its highest historic meaning, is verifiable by reason." He and those who think with him maintain that "their inheritance in aspirations after Immortality as the only field for exercising to the full their moral Freedom—in longings after the reality of God, in which alone, as they see, have those aspirations any sure warrant—will be shown valid at the bar of knowledge, will be vindicated as of the substance of reality itself, when once the nature of that reality gets stated as genuine intelligence sees it to be. . . . The hour has arrived, they are sure, for a higher philosophy, thoroughly Personal, which will prove itself Complete Idealism and Fulfilled Realism at one and the same time" (p. xxviii.).

ALEXANDER STEWART.

**La Pensée de Jésus sur le Royaume de Dieu d'après les Évangiles synoptiques avec un appendice sur la question du "Fils de l'homme."**

*Par Frédéric Krop. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 142. Price, 4 Fr.*

THE Kingdom of God as a technicality of New Testament Theology still attracts enquiry. Not the least serviceable part of M. Krop's publication is the full Bibliography in which he catalogues the various books and monographs in which this subject has received treatment. That he himself has made good use of the industry and ingenuity of his predecessors, his notes afford abundant evidence. These notes contain much valuable criticism, and the same may be said of the Appendix, in which Lietzmann's brochure on the "Son of Man" is convincingly dealt with.

It is from the religious consciousness of Jesus that M. Krop starts in his interpretation of His life and His proclamation of the Kingdom. He thinks it possible to ascribe too much influence to the Old Testament during the period of our Lord's youth, impossible to ascribe too much to His delight in God. So close was the intimacy between His Spirit and the Divine, that He could with all sincerity say: "My Father and I are one." This unique, unheard of, sinless fellowship with God, which is the great mystery of all history, we cannot penetrate. We can only say, God was there. It was the happiness occasioned by this fellowship with God which He wished every man to enjoy. The joy He felt could only be the joy promised under the term "Kingdom of God," and the fact that He possessed it was proof that it was nigh, delayed only by the sin of the people.

It was this actual possession of supreme happiness in fellowship with the Father which gave Jesus His interpretation of the Kingdom, and determined his attitude towards the expectations of His countrymen. They cherished a feverish expectation of the judgment of God upon the nations, followed by an era of national prosperity, in which religious and political dreams are grotesquely mingled. They looked for the establishment of the Kingdom by terrific cosmic catastrophes; and they believed that the elect people were to be distinguished from the pagans devoted to extermination by the observance of the Law, and especially of the ceremonial of Moses and the elders. M. Krop makes it his aim to show that, while using language which might admit of a material interpretation, our Lord's own enjoyment of the simple, spiritual, personal blessings of the Kingdom preserved Him from adopting the current fantastic de-

scriptions of the future; and how by His own inward harmony with God He perceived the inadequacy of Jewish legalism, and laid down quite other conditions of entrance into the Kingdom.

M. Krop believes that at the beginning of His ministry Jesus expected to see the final catastrophe in His own lifetime, and finds no difficulty in citing expressions which seem to favour this idea. But His experience of the opposition of the authorities and the obduracy of the people caused Him to abandon the hope of so prompt a conversion. He is thus thrown upon the idea that the Father must mean Him to die, and to return with power and in glory. This return will find place within the generation then on earth; and it is this which explains why He wrote nothing, arranged no permanent organisation, and paid no attention to the social aspect of His work. On one point in this connection M. Krop elaborately insists, and that is, that Jesus always conceived the Kingdom as future. "The Kingdom is at hand," "Thy Kingdom come," "The meek *shall* inherit the earth," and several other sayings are cited as evidence, while those words of Jesus which speak of the Kingdom as present are proleptic; and, moreover, the substantive verb is suppressed in Aramaic. The Parables of the Kingdom, M. Krop supposes, are evidence of the same conception of its coming as future. But in admitting, as of necessity he does, that Jesus inaugurated the Kingdom, and, by His hand to hand conflict with Satan, defeated the prince of the terrestrial *malkuth*, he grants all that need be contended for. The Kingdom was present in the person of Jesus and in those who received His Spirit, but could only "come" in its complete realisation after many days.

In a closing chapter on "The King," M. Krop shows that Jesus had the consciousness of being something more than a herald proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom. The titles applied to Him in the gospels are examined, "Son of David," "Son of Man," "Son of God." The first of these titles was only once, and then in peculiar circumstances, used by Jesus Himself, who was ever on His guard against awaking the political hopes of the people. The title "Son of God," M. Krop considers, is purely Messianic.

To our thinking, M. Krop, by the excellence of his treatise, has justified the addition of another volume to those which already might seem to have threshed out all the good grain of this field. It is written in a style that is lucid, and which once or twice kindles into eloquence. The spirit is reverential and kindly. Full account is taken of the gospel material, and considerable light thrown upon some contested passages; and if there are omissions—as, *e.g.*, of the miraculous element in Christ's work—these may be accounted for by the limits which the author imposed on himself. As an introduction to the subject it takes a high place; and may be recom-

mended in this aspect in preference to the well-known German treatises.

MARCUS DODS.

### **La Composition des Évangiles.**

*Par Edouard Roehrich. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 518. Price, 7.50 Fr.*

M. ROEHRICH's purpose in this elaborate work is to examine the gospels as literary compositions; to ascertain the object of the several Evangelists, their sources of information, and their peculiarities as writers. His method is to take each of the gospels in succession—Mark, Luke, Matthew, John—and to examine in detail what may assist him in his enquiry. The priority of Mark he establishes by the usual arguments, and he finds that, besides the reminiscences of Peter, Mark has used a number of sayings of Jesus which he himself has gathered, and the common tradition regarding the Passion and Resurrection. He surpasses the other Evangelists in narrative, seizing upon the picturesque and memorable features of a scene; but he attends too little to the development of the ministry of our Lord. For the hypothesis of a Proto-Mark he finds no need. Besides the documents used by Mark another source of the first order, the *Logia*, was used by Matthew and Luke, both of whom also used with discrimination the large body of oral tradition current in their time. M. Roehrich does not determine whether the narratives of the Birth and Infancy used by these Evangelists existed in writing or as oral tradition. So far as regards the narrative in Luke, he leans to the former alternative. These narratives he considers to be genuinely historical. The genealogy given by Luke he believes to be that of Mary, and finds an argument for this in the fact that his "Master, the Apostle Paul," expressly says that Jesus is the descendant of David "according to the flesh."

The most original part of M. Roehrich's investigation is that which concerns the relation of Matthew and Luke respectively to the original sources used by Mark. In using that material Luke adopts three methods of assimilating it to his own narrative, and these three methods M. Roehrich names "Transposition," "Interversion," "Omission." The last explains itself, and the reasons assigned by our author for the omissions in Luke are certainly more reasonable than the fancy that he possessed an imperfect copy of Mark's Gospel. More interesting and subtle are the instances of Transposition. When Luke wishes to give a different version of a scene recorded by Mark, he does not scruple to shift it to another place in the history in which it better suits his purpose. It will

suggest itself to the reader that where Luke does this, he may have had additional information. By "Interversion" M. Roehrich means the interpolation by Luke of what he borrows from other sources into the narrative of Mark. Many of the differences between Luke and Mark are explained by the translation into "Japhetic" of Semitic expressions.

It will be seen, then, that in M. Roehrich's volume there is not a great deal that is new, although all is independently investigated and thought out. The volume is rather serviceable than important. It is a very full, well-arranged, and lucidly written account of the conclusions at which an evangelical scholar can arrive regarding the composition of the four gospels, together with the reasons for these conclusions rendered in the full light of recent criticism. The whole investigation is characterised by knowledge, acuteness, and sobriety.

MARCUS DODS.

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### **Die Synoptischen Parallelen und ein alter Versuch ihrer Enträtselung mit neuer Begründung.**

*Von Lic. Theol. Karl Veit, Pastor in Siegersdorf. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, 1st part, pp. 212; 2nd part, pp. 162. Price, M.7.*

THIS volume consists of two distinct parts, and might, with an eye to convenience, have been issued in two volumes. In the first part the Greek text of the synoptical gospels is printed. But considering that the ordinary arrangement in parallel columns is not sufficiently *synoptical*—that is to say, does not afford a sufficiently easy and direct comparative view—Veit adopts a method of his own. He prints the gospels in alternate lines; a line from Matthew, then the corresponding line of Mark, then that from Luke. The gospels are distinguished by the figures 1, 2, 3; so that even when one is omitted, those which are represented in the text are at once identified by the figure at the beginning of the line. The order followed is that of the second gospel, so that the narratives of the birth and childhood of Jesus are awaiting. The text adopted is Gebhardt's. Plainly this method has its advantages for anyone who is pursuing a certain kind of investigation. A glance tells us whether the incident, phrase, or word which occurs, say in Matthew, is represented in Mark and Luke, and by what. Its disadvantages are also obvious. Still, as supplementary to Tischendorf, Huck, and the rest, it is to be welcomed as a distinct addition to the apparatus for facilitating enquiry into the relation of the gospels to one another.

The second and more important part of the volume is occupied with an elaborate defence of the oral tradition hypothesis of the origin of the gospels. Had Veit known Mr Arthur Wright's treatment of the same subject, his defence might in some parts have been considerably strengthened. Veit serves himself heir to Gieseler, and adds to the older critic's exposition little that materially affects the result. His criticism of opponents is never ill-tempered, but he does not always seem to see the strength of the opposition. And there is too much criticism, especially of Wilke's *Der Evangelist*, which he allows even to modify the form of his own exposition. He hangs upon Wilke's heels, and consequently is at times less direct in the pursuit of his own proper object than is desirable. But however small may be the net result of the discussion, Veit has the merit of opening with knowledge and intelligence some questions which, though fundamental to any satisfactory treatment of the synoptical problem, cannot be said to have been finally answered.

Veit, with Gieseler, bases his theory on the Jewish partiality for oral tradition, and the Rabbinic shrinking from committing their knowledge to writing. In this connection, however, it should have been noted that this preference for oral tradition is the self-preserving instinct of a caste or order whose interest it is to pose as the sole depositories of a certain recondite knowledge. Whether the opposite instinct of the Apostles to make as widely public as possible what they knew, might not operate in favour of writing, Veit should at all events have discussed. That there was among the Rabbis this preference for oral teaching, and the accompanying persuasion that the memory could retain as fixed an impression as papyrus or vellum, is admitted. Mishna, or doctrine, literally means "what is repeated," and it was by repetition knowledge was inculcated. And when oral tradition is spoken of as the basis of the gospels, what is meant is not that the gospels are a planless compilation of popular tales, rumours, and fancies, but the deliberate selection made by the college of apostles of what it was most necessary to teach regarding their Master. They have something of the character of a mosaic, but this is the natural result of their origin; bit by bit, scene by scene, parable by parable, they had to be communicated to the catechumens. To the catechumens—for it was the necessity of instructing them, not the necessity of summoning men into the kingdom, which lies at the basis of the gospels. And if it be said that such a mechanical and tedious filling and training of the memory was inconsistent with the spiritual enthusiasm of the times; it is to be remembered that in, e.g., the 119th Psalm, we find the same mingling of the mechanical with a highly-wrought enthusiasm, and also that the catechumens could not over-

look that what they were learning was the word of life, the word of Christ.

But this suggests the much more serious question : How were the Twelve themselves instructed ? If the Apostles delivered to the people what they considered to be best in the teaching of Jesus, how had they themselves retained these things in memory ? Is there any trace of such a schooling of their memory as they gave to the catechumens ? Veit thinks there is. Certain of our Lord's most memorable sayings would find for themselves a permanent lodging in the memory. But what of the longer discourses, on the verbal accuracy of which so much depended ? Where, indeed, there is full inward comprehension of the Lord's mind, the actual wording may not be of so much consequence. Yet even in this case how much may be missed by abridgment, by slight alterations, by embellishments. How much often depends on the exact language. Can our Lord have neglected to secure this exactness in His representatives ? He said, " My words shall not pass away " ; did He at the same time allow them to be forgotten ? Veit believes this to be inconceivable ; and he is of opinion that there are traces visible of the method He adopted for indoctrinating the Twelve. He not only repeated rudimentary truths, but points that were raised in public, and to which He gave a popular answer, He discussed again in private with the Twelve until His meaning, and even the words in which His meaning was best embodied, were fixed in their memories.

It will therefore be seen that there is much of interest in Veit's volume. But that he materially alters the prospects of the Tradition hypothesis may be doubted. The old difficulties remain. That apostolic preaching preceded the writing of gospels is certain ; but by how long an interval is uncertain. The third gospel, Blass assures us, was written in 56 A.D., and already many written gospels were in existence. This indeed might *à priori* be anticipated. At the first preaching in Jerusalem there were present Jews and proselytes from all parts of the world, and from parts of the world where writing was common. Must there not have been at once a demand for written gospels of greater or less extent ? And at whatever date these gospels originated is it not likely that their authors would not confine themselves to reminiscences of apostolic preaching, but would gather material where they could ? The implication, too, of an organisation for teaching in the very earliest days of the Church is apparently inconsistent with the inchoate condition of things as described in the Acts. And the often urged difficulty of understanding how the order of events as well as their wording should be similar remains as before. The structure of the third gospel, as well as its



preface, is evidence that St Luke used both oral and written sources of information, and to determine the proportion in which he employed them, or how the one was interlaced with the other, and was corrected by the other, is one of the difficulties of the unsolved synoptical problem.

MARCUS DODS.

### **The Cambridge Bible for Schools.**

*The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, chaps. xl.-lxvi., with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. J. Skinner, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Presbyterian College, London. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1898. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. lxi. 251. Price, 4s.*

ISAIAH is one of the few books of the Old Testament that have been commented on both frequently and well. But Professor Skinner's volume satisfies, in a most admirable manner, a want that must have been long and widely felt. Both in the Notes and in the Introduction the results of the varied criticism of the book are succinctly stated. The author shows a fine sense of proportion in his treatment of the numerous subjects—historical, critical and exegetical—that come before him. He devotes no undue attention either to dead controversies or to the minuter and as yet far from settled critical problems. In a word, the commentary successfully fulfils the purpose of the series to which it belongs—it is precisely what the student requires in approaching this most interesting and most difficult book; for it elucidates the text by clearly and accurately stating what is well established, and at the same time it indicates with sufficient prominence where uncertainty still exists.

The Introduction falls into five chapters, the several subjects being "The Contents of the Prophecy," "The Historical Background of the Prophecy," "The Prophet's Theological Conceptions," "The Date and Authorship of the Prophecy," "The Unity of the Prophecy." The Appendix contains discussions of two important exegetical questions—the meaning of the terms "The Servant of Jehovah" and "Righteousness"—and of "some critical theories of the composition of chaps. xl.-lxvi."

In the "Analysis of the Prophecy" (pp. x.-xvii.) Professor Skinner, though he desires in this part of his work to be severely neutral, will raise questions in the mind of a careful reader. Isaiah xl.-lxvi. falls into three main sections, xl.-xlviii., xlix.-lv., lvi.-lxvi. Each of these is sharply distinguished from the others in its lines of thought, though the first two are also connected by one common conception of great importance. "In the second division of the prophecy several lines of thought, which have been very prominent

in the first, entirely disappear. The references to Cyrus and the prediction of the fall of Babylon, the appeal to past prophecies now fulfilled, the polemic against idolatry, and the impressive inculcation of the sole deity of Jehovah, all these now familiar topics henceforth vanish from the writer's argument. But one great conception is carried over from the first part to the second, and forms an important link of connection between them. This is the figure of Jehovah's ideal servant" (p. xiv.). "The third section of the book is less homogeneous in its composition than the two others. In passing from chap. lv. to chap. lvi., the reader is at once sensible of a change of manner and circumstance, which becomes still more manifest as he proceeds" (p. xv.). In chap. v. Professor Skinner gives some account of the theory (associated particularly in its different forms with the names of Duhm and Cheyne) according to which the peculiar character of chaps. lvi.-lxvi. are due to diversity of authorship. It is clear that Professor Skinner considers the correctness of this theory to be highly probable. It is certainly a very significant fact that, as Professor Skinner elsewhere (p. xxi. n) points out, the references which imply the author to have been resident in Babylon and contemporary with Cyrus, are almost, if not entirely, confined to chaps. xl.-lv. It may be added, that the passages on which the maintainers of the Isaianic authorship of the whole book used to lay most stress in their counter criticism to the argument that chaps. xl.-lxvi. presupposed an author living in Babylon, were largely derived from chaps. lvi.-lxvi. In brief, then, it is far less easy to prove from chaps. lvi.-lxvi. than from xl.-lv., regarded by themselves, either that they were written in Babylon or that they originated during the exile. Now that the question of a diversity of authorship for these two sections has been raised, a conviction that chaps. lvi.-lxvi. are a product of the Babylonian exile must rest largely on the assumption or the proof of identity of authorship with the previous chapters. The difference of theme which Professor Skinner's analysis reveals is not necessarily inconsistent with unity, but it creates at least a further necessity for a very careful deliberation.

The theory that even chaps. xlix.-lv. are not the work of the Babylonian prophet, to which Professor Skinner briefly alludes on p. 243, is now accepted by Professor Cheyne in his edition of *Isaiah* in the "Polychrome Bible." This view is, of course, rendered somewhat more probable if another conclusion, also adopted by Professor Cheyne in his recent work, be correct, viz., that the "servant" passages are not merely the work of a different author, but are interpolations subsequent to the time of the Babylonian prophet. For in this way the great common conception that unites

xl.-xlviii. and xlix.-lv. is a purely illusory mark of common authorship. Professor Skinner, in his discussion of the "servant" passages (pp. liii.-lv.), it must be remembered, is referring to Professor Cheyne's *Introduction*, not to his "Polychrome" *Isaiah*, which latter was published after Professor Skinner's commentary.

Once again, in spite of his would-be neutrality, Professor Skinner really proves that chaps. xl.-lxvi. are not the work of Isaiah in chap. ii. (cf. especially pp. xx. f.). It may still be necessary for some little time to come gravely to argue that there is a difference between the style of Isaiah's writings and that of chaps. xl.-lxvi. of the book which bears his name. But the real proof that these chapters are not Isaiah's lies in the fact that a large section of them presuppose the Exile from which they predict a return; for from this it necessarily follows that they were written in the sixth century, and therefore cannot have been the work of Isaiah, who lived in the eighth century B.C. No one whose view of prophecy saves him from the necessity of this conclusion is likely to be convinced by the various differences of points of style. Where internal evidence is conclusive we need not greatly lament the absence of external evidence. But Professor Skinner might have stated with somewhat greater clearness and emphasis than he does that the earliest external "evidence" for Isaiah's authorship of chaps. xl.-lxvi. is five centuries later than the prophet's death. But in doing more than justice to those from whom he differs, he commits a very pardonable error.

In a note on "Sing unto the Lord a new song" (xlii. 10) Professor Skinner writes:—"The expression is common in the Psalms (xxxiii. 3, xl. 3, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1, cxliv. 9, cxlix. 1; cf. Rev. xiv. 2). These Psalmists probably borrowed the term from our prophet, whose use of it bears the stamp of originality." This involves the conclusion that Ps. xl. is post-exilic. I see no reason to doubt that it is, though some (e.g. Kautzsch) have ably argued for a pre-exilic date, on the ground of the *character* of the references to sacrifice. The parallel in any case is worthy of attention, for the relation of Ps. xl. 3 to Isa. xlii. 10 has an interesting, but, so far as I am aware, hitherto unobserved similarity to the relation between other parallel passages in Isaiah xl.-lv. and the Psalms. In four instances what is regarded as *future* by the prophet, is regarded as *past* by the Psalmist. Thus, corresponding to "Sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth" in the prophecy, we find in the Psalms (xl. 3)—"And he put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God"; again, parallel to "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee . . . when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned" (Isa. xlii. 2), we find—"We went through fire and

through water, but thou broughtest us out into a wide place" (Ps. lxvi. 12). Compare also Isa. xlv. 2b with Ps. cvii. 16. The remaining instance is Ps. xviii. 44-48, 52, and Isa. lv. 3, 5; in this case the tenses in the Psalms are imperfect, but in these verses as generally in Ps. xviii. they refer to the past. I have already discussed this last parallel elsewhere (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. VII., pp. 658-686, especially pp. 682, etc.), and stated my reasons for regarding Ps. xviii. as post-exilic.

I will take this opportunity of communicating another matter that is not without a bearing on some of the critical problems connected with the last part of the Book of Isaiah, and noticed by Professor Skinner. Some years ago I investigated the usage of Jacob and Israel (= the nation), as synonymous terms in parallel lines or clauses; as a typical instance of the usage, it may suffice to quote, "Yet now hear, O Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen" (Isa. xlv. 1). By the nature of the case the usage is practically confined to the prophetic and poetical literature; the only instance in simple prose being Ex. xix. 3 (JE). But within the poetical and prophetic literature it is only really characteristic of two or three writers; in others it is either not found, or it is quite sporadic. Thus we find no instance of the usage in the books of Hosea (xii. 13 refers to the patriarch), Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi; and although the terms Jacob and Israel stand near together in two passages of Amos (iii. 13 f., ix. 8 f.) in neither case are they corresponding terms in parallel clauses. It occurs sporadically in the genuine writings of Isaiah and Jeremiah,<sup>1</sup> and in the books of Ezekiel (xx. 5, xxxix. 25, cf. xxviii. 25) and Nahum (ii. 2—see especially Nowack's emendation), and in non-Isaianic parts of Isaiah i.-xxxix. (xiv. 1, xxvii. 6, cf. xiv. 1b, 2). It occurs with such frequency as to be characteristic in three authors only (apart from certain Psalmists, on which see below); in the songs of Balaam we find seven (or eight) instances (Num. xxiii. 7, 10, 21, 23; xxiv. 5, 17, 18c, 19), in the genuine prophecies of Micah (chaps. i.-iii.) four instances (i. 5, iii. 1, 8, 9; ii. 12 is the work of a later writer), in Isaiah xl.-lv. *seventeen* instances (xl. 27; xli. 8, 14; xlii. 24; xliii. 1, 22, 28; xlv. 1, 5, 21, 23; xlv. 4; xlvi. 3; xlviii. 1, 12; xlix. 5, 6. Cf. xlv. 2). The remaining instances of the usage in the O. T. occur as follows: three in Ps. lxxviii. (vers. 5, 21, 71), two in Ps.

<sup>1</sup> In Isaiah at most five times; for certain only once—ix. 8; the Isaianic authorship of x. 20, xxix. 23 is questioned (e.g. by Cheyne); viii. 17 f., x. 21 f. are not cases of strict parallelism. In Jeremiah once certainly,—ii. 4; but the five other instances (x. 16=li. 19, xxx. 10=xlvi. 27, xxxi. 7) occur in passages of doubtful, and in some cases of very doubtful, authenticity (cf. Driver, *Introd.* pp. 254, 272 f.).

cv. (vers. 10, 23), one each in seven other Psalms, xiv. 7 = liii. 7 ; xxii. 24 ; lxxxi. 5 ; cxiv. 1 ; cxxv. 4 ; cxlvii. 19 ; and in other poetical passages, Deut. xxxiii. 10, 28 ; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1 ; Lam. ii. 3. 1 Chron. xvi. 13, 17 are citations from Ps. cv.

In many instances we find one or other, or sometimes both of the two terms, amplified by the prefix of such a phrase as "house of"; so especially in Micah, but never in Balaam, and only once or twice in the Deutero-Isaiah.

The usage, it is clear, is confined to no particular period of Hebrew Literature; it occurs in the literature of the eighth century (Micah), if not earlier (Balaam), but also in exilic (Lamentations) and post-exilic (Psalms) literature. But the *frequent* employment of the usage is characteristic of only two or three writers. The great frequency of it must be considered a striking characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah. This is not without a bearing on the suspected passages in Jeremiah where the usage occurs, and may illustrate afresh the great influence of the author of Isaiah xl.-lv. on the Psalmists. But it is particularly interesting in connection with recent discussions of the unity of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. The usage occurs seventeen times in xl.-lv., but never in lvi.-lxvi. Yet further it occurs fifteen times in xl.-xlviii., and only twice in xlix.-lv.; but the two occurrences in xlix.-lv. are in a "servant" passage (xlix. 1-6).]

Great questions such as the unity of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. cannot be determined by the evidence of a single trick of style. But the foregoing analysis may prove suggestive, though not conclusive. In any case, it serves to bring to light a striking characteristic of the strongly-marked style of the Babylonian Prophet.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

### **Die Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der hebräischen Eigennamen des alten Testaments von neuem geprüft.**

Von Georg Kerber, Dr Phil. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. 8vo, pp. 99. Price, M.2.80.

### **Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen. Elemente der Laut- und Formenlehre.**

Von Dr Heinrich Zimmern, a.o. Professor der Assyriologie an der Universität, Leipzig, mit einer Schrifttafel von Julius Euting. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. and 194. Price, 5s. 6d. net.

DR KERBER'S is a lucid and sober, though in no way an exhaustive, discussion of his subject. The first chapter of the introduction (pp. 1-12) contains some general remarks on the significance of names

and an excellent analysis of the different types of Hebrew names; the second chapter (pp. 12-23) explains the author's view of the development of Hebrew religion; he closely follows Kuenen. The actual discussion of the religious significance of Hebrew proper names falls into five chapters, of which the first (pp. 23-37) deals with survivals in Hebrew proper names of ancient nature-religion, and discusses such names as compounds with צור and שרי (taken to mean "my demon"), and individual names such as אהישחר (שחר = dawn), נחש, and other names signifying serpent. Chapter ii. (37-58) discusses the compounds with בל, בעל, and און; it is a clear statement of the view that these elements in proper names are proper names and not simply titles of gods, but it does not add materially to Kuenen's argument for the same view. Chapter iii. (58-79) examines the remains of ancient clan-religion with reference to compounds with אב, אח, and עם, and other names (e.g., compounds with אש, גר, אהל, and some of the names of the Hebrew tribes—Gad, Asher, Reuben, Dan). Chapter iv. is devoted to foreign—especially Egyptian—names current among the Hebrews, and chapter v. (80-99) to the compounds with אל and יה.

Perhaps the most important question touched on by Dr Kerber in his essay is the significance of Baal, Melech, and Adon in proper names. There is no question connected with Hebrew religion which rests for its solution so much on the correct interpretation of names as that of the nature of Hebrew Baal worship. I entirely differ from Dr Kerber in his conclusion on this point on grounds which will be found in my *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (pp. 115-148), and are not affected by Dr Kerber's discussion. I should add that Dr Kerber explains that my book came into his hands too late for him to make much use of it. It may be pointed out that to avoid the damaging evidence of the name בעליה (Yahwè is Baal —1 Chron. xii. 5), Dr Kerber (p. 47) attributes the name to the invention of the chronicler.

Names are sometimes cited without any warning that they are doubtful. נור עבל, cited on p. 50, is almost certainly corrupt; cf. *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 126. Again, none of the instances cited of Hebrew compounds with a preposition are quite beyond doubt, though בצלאל is certainly explained with most probability, on the analogy of Ina-šilli-Bêl, "in the shadow of God." But לאל is doubtful; and בריה is very probably a corruption for בריה (= בואיה = Yahwè has created). In any case the assumption that it is parallel to the numerous Phœnician names with בר (=, according to G. Hoffmann, by the will of) is hazardous.

In the discussion of abbreviated names (pp. 9-12), Renan's

important article, *Des noms théophores apocopées* in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* (v. 161 ff), is not mentioned; this is the more noticeable since Dr Kerber is generally well acquainted with the literature of his subject.

It is not always so clearly indicated, as is desirable, that place names, generally speaking, permit of no direct inference as to Hebrew belief. That a place was called En-Shemesh (p. 33) gives us no right to conclude that the Hebrews ever worshipped the sun.

There are many details on which it would be easy to disagree with Dr Kerber; but the essay as a whole is excellent, and may be warmly recommended. It is to be hoped that the author will pursue the subject and work out such matters as the pronunciation of the Hebrew names in the light of the (vocalised) Assyrian transcriptions, of which he cites an interesting example (pp. 3, 4). Such an investigation should yield valuable results.

The study of the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages has done so much for the correct interpretation of the Old Testament, that any work, which helps to make that study more accurate and more generally pursued, is to be warmly welcomed. Dr Zimmern's Grammar, which forms the latest volume of the *Porta Linguarum* series, is certainly a work of this kind. It is, as the author explains in his Preface, intended to be an *elementary* grammar, and aims primarily at the presentation of the facts, only secondarily and in a less degree at their interpretation. In its general scope it resembles Dr William Wright's *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*; but certain differences of treatment and method will make it well worth the student's while to possess himself of the German as well as of the English work. The chief of these differences are as follows: (1) All the forms cited by Zimmern are transliterated, whereas Wright generally employs the various Semitic alphabets. This will make Zimmern's easier of use for those who are not very familiar with the various alphabets. Transliteration, which to the advanced student is generally an annoyance, has for comparative purposes manifest advantages. (2) A very large part of Zimmern's material is thrown into the form of comparative tables; this is a great and distinctive merit of the work. (3) Assyrian data are more fully employed by Dr Zimmern, who is a distinguished Assyrian scholar.

Both books have certain limitations which are to be regretted. Neither contain any discussion of comparative syntax; for this, for the time being, we must turn to the last volume of Professor König's *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, which is, in this respect as in others, most valuable, though of course in it the standpoint is that of the

Hebrew grammarian. Again, Professor Zimmern has not supplied the deficiency of Dr Wright's work, which consisted in the meagre treatment of the Semitic noun. When Dr Wright's lectures were written, neither of the chief monographs on this subject—de Lagarde's *Uebersicht über die im aramäischen, arabischen und hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, nor Barth's *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*—had appeared. Since so much has been done of late years in this part of the subject, and since Dr Zimmern informs us (p. vi.) that he has himself devoted more peculiar attention to it, we the more regret that he has limited his presentation of it to 16 pages (pp. 162-178); it is excellent so far as it goes, but altogether too meagre. It is to be hoped that in future editions this part of the book will be considerably enlarged: it might be, without increasing the volume beyond the limits of the series, and without depriving it of its elementary character.

The "Literature" (pp. 186-194) is hardly so full as the general plan of the series might have led us to expect. By a remarkable omission no reference is made to Duval's *Grammaire Syriacque* either in section I. or in the section on Literature.

It would be out of place in reviewing a work which is intended to present established, or, at least, very probable results, and not to contribute to the solution of open and obscure questions, to enter into a discussion of details. The purpose of the book, within the limitations already indicated, is achieved with great success; and along with Dr Wright's, Dr Zimmern's work forms an admirable introduction to a most important subject. No serious student of the Old Testament in the original can consider himself fully equipped without at least such familiarity with Comparative Semitic Grammar as these books will afford him.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

### **The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac.**

*Edited by the late William Wright, LL.D., and Norman M<sup>c</sup>Lean, M.A., with a collation of the Armenian Version by Dr Adalbert Merx. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1898. Lex. 8vo, pp. xvii. 418. Price, 25s.*

Is our Greek text of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius trustworthy? This question must have been asked by many of the readers of a very interesting letter on the Armenian version of the History contributed by Mr F. C. Conybeare to the *Athenæum* about two or three years ago. That letter, if I may trust my memory, con-



fronted the Greek text with the Armenian, and left it lying under grave suspicion to take its trial at some convenient season. The issue thus raised is a very important one for the *Origines* of Christianity in general and for the history of the Canon of the New Testament in particular. It is true that Eusebius is not an indispensable witness; it is true that if his history were lost or discredited, the period it covers would still be illuminated by a representative and comparatively full series of Christian documents; but the history of Eusebius is a kind of *second line* in the defence of Christianity, strengthening and giving definiteness to the first, and if the text be uncertain, some difficulties arise, especially in the presentation of some parts of the history of the Canon.

The publication of the Syriac text of Eusebius makes it now possible to bring the Greek text to the trial with which it was threatened by Mr Conybeare. It can be confronted not only with Dr Merx's full collation of the Armenian, but also with the readings of the immediate original of the Armenian, i.e. the Syriac. Our new Eusebius is therefore of very great value.

I propose to touch briefly on (1) the contents and arrangement of the work before us; (2) the relative age of the witnesses for the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian texts respectively; (3) the faithfulness of the Syriac version; (4) the verdict suggested by the Syriac on the trustworthiness of the Greek text.

(1) Mr McLean, in completing Prof. Wright's work, gives us the Syriac text of Bks. i.-v., viii.-x. Bk. vi. chaps. 16, 17, 25, and vii. chap. 32, §§ 29-32, appear as the surviving fragments of Bks. vi., vii. The division of chapters and paragraphs is that of Heinichen. At the foot of the page is given Prof. Merx's collation of the Armenian, taken not from the printed text (which is very faulty), but from MSS.; Syriac variants are also given when of sufficient importance.

(2) As regards the age of the witnesses for each text it may be said that the Syriac stands high above both the Greek and the Armenian. The best Greek MSS. (Heinichen, p. xvii.) belong to the ninth (?), tenth, and twelfth centuries. The three Armenian MSS. known at present are of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Syriac, on the other hand, the St Petersburg MS. (containing Bks. i.-iv., viii.-x.) is dated A.D. 462, while the British Museum MS. (containing Bks. i.-v.) is attributed by Dr Wright to the sixth century. The lateness of Armenian MSS. must not, however, blind us to the early date of the Armenian version, for it seems to have been executed before 430 A.D. (*Preface*, p. xvii.).

(3) With regard to the faithfulness of the Syriac version, Mr McLean writes:—"Of the two qualities most desirable in a version—faithfulness and literary skill—our Syriac translator

shows both in a considerable degree, but the latter more markedly than the former." With this verdict careful readers will most probably agree. The simple direct style of the Syriac translator refuses to reproduce with faithfulness in detail the involved sentences of Eusebius.

The freedom which the translator has allowed himself is illustrated by the fact that quotations from the Old Testament which are made in the Greek from the LXX are made in the Syriac from the Peshitta. Two instances may be given —

(a) Eus. i. 2, 3.

Greek.

Syriac.

τὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγε-  
λον (Is. ix. 6).

"The Wonder and the Coun-  
sellor" (= Pesh.).

(b) *Ibid.* 2, 7.

ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, οὐ  
ποιήσεις κρίσιν; (Gen. xviii.  
25).

"Judge of all the earth, this  
judgment shall not be exe-  
cuted!" (= Pesh.).

Some other inaccuracies are :—(a) Bk. iii. 25. τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτὺν = "The Holy Gospels"; (b) *Ibid.* τὰ νόθα and τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα are both rendered, "Those concerning which there is a difference of opinion"; (c) Bk. iii. 39. Ματθαῖος . . . τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο = "Mattaï . . . wrote a Gospel." Some interesting translations, which must not be hastily condemned, occur in the chapter just cited :—(a) "I did not think that I could profit so much from *their books*" (i.e. from the writings of apostles) as from a living and abiding voice"; (b) "A certain woman whose many sins were spoken of *during the time in which our Lord was in the world* (ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου)." (Clearly our Syrian did not know the *Pericope Adulteræ*.) (c) The opening of chap. 30 of Bk. iv. in the Syriac is also noteworthy: "But in the same reign of *Antoninus Verus* heresies were many, and in Mesopotamia in *Urhai* (i.e. in Edessa) Bardaisan, a man of rank, who was well skilled in the Syrian tongue," &c.

(4) In spite, however, of many small blemishes, the Syriac translation must be pronounced as trustworthy on the whole. As a witness for our present Greek text, its witness is clear. Two instances seem to be particularly telling. (a) Bk. iii. 25 contains Eusebius' list of the acknowledged and disputed books of the New Testament. The twenty-seven Canonical and eleven Un-canonical Books mentioned by name in the Greek text re-appear

with the same titles and in the same classification in the Syriac, with one exception; *Θωμά καὶ Μαθθία . . . εὐαγγέλια* = "Gospels . . . of Thomas or of Tolmai (Bartholomew?)." (b) Bk. iii. 39 (the account of Papias). Here also the Syriac text in the main confirms the Greek. The order of the names of the apostles (§ 4, Heinichen) on which Lightfoot founded an argument (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 192, 193) is the same in the Syriac as in the Greek. The general conclusion seems to be that our Greek text is good, and that the Syriac (with its daughter the Armenian) does little towards giving us a better text.

The heartiest thanks of scholars are due to Mr M<sup>c</sup>Lean for editing, revising, and giving to the world Prof. Wright's work on one of the most important of Christian authors, and also to the Cambridge University Press for their generosity in providing for the publication of this most interesting book in a form entirely worthy of it.

W. E. BARNES.

### Einleitung in das Neue Testament.

*Von Theodor Zahn. Erster Band. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897.*  
8vo, pp. viii. 489. Price, M.9.50.

THEODORE ZAHN, formerly Extraordinary Professor in the University of Göttingen, and now Professor in the University of Erlangen, has gained for himself an illustrious name among living German theologians. He is a voluminous writer, and his writings are much esteemed in Germany for their erudition and exhaustiveness. His great work is *The History of the New Testament Canon*, which has engaged his attention for many years, and which may now be considered as the standard work on that important branch of Biblical criticism. Besides this may be mentioned his *Ignatius of Antioch*, a work of much learning, in which he takes a conservative view of the Epistles of Ignatius, somewhat similar to that taken by Bishop Lightfoot in his great work on the Apostolic Fathers. In his *Acta Johannis*, Zahn gathers together all the legends concerning the 'Beloved disciple.' Zahn's standpoint is that of positive theology; indeed he may be considered as the foremost supporter of that school. He is the opponent of the views of Harnack; those two distinguished theologians carry on a constant contest by means of pamphlets, articles or magazines, and other writings; they are the champions of opposite schools of theological thought, and are well matched, being nearly equal in point of erudition, theological research and natural abilities.

The work on which we propose to make a few remarks, *The*

*Introduction to the New Testament*, is Zahn's most recent writing, being published only last year. It is only the first volume of his Introduction; the second is promised this year. The contents of this volume are a dissertation on the language of Palestine in the lifetime of our Lord, an examination of the Epistle of St James, and a discussion of the thirteen Epistles of St Paul. Zahn adopts the traditional view, regarding all the Epistles of Paul, even the most disputed, as genuine. He treats of the books of the New Testament, not as arranged in our Bible, but in a chronological order, beginning with those which he considers were the first written, and in this arrangement he differs considerably from the usual views of exegetes. His mode of discussion is similar to that generally adopted by German professors. A paragraph is first given and discussed, and then learned notes and illustrations are annexed to it. These notes are most valuable and require careful perusal. It must be confessed that the German of Zahn is often very difficult. The sentences are long and involved, and the patience of the translator is often severely taxed.

This Introduction is one of great excellence, and will take its place among the best German Introductions of the New Testament, as those of Hilgenfeld, Mangold, Holtzmann and Weiss. It has the advantage in giving a positive view of the subject which is too frequently wanting in recent German introductions. Its chief value is its exhaustiveness. There is a minuteness and fulness in it which have seldom been equalled. All points bearing upon the subjects discussed, both the well known and the less known, are brought forward. But although the work is decidedly positive in its statements, yet there is nothing of the narrowness and one-sidedness with which works maintaining traditional views are sometimes accused of showing; it certainly cannot be regarded as belonging to the higher criticism; but difficulties are not evaded, and objections do not remain unanswered; there is a liberality of thought and an impartiality in the discussion of opposing opinions which is highly to be commended.

The work commences with a preliminary chapter on the language of Judæa in the time of our Lord. To this Zahn gives the somewhat ambiguous title "The Original Language of the Gospel: *Die Ursprache des Evangelium.*" The Gospel, he observes, is older than the New Testament. More than twenty years elapsed from the time when Jesus published the message of the kingdom of God before we have the first Christian writing, and perhaps seventy years before the last book of the New Testament appeared. Although few Palestinian writings of the first generation have survived, yet there are various indications which enable us to ascertain the language of Palestine when the gospel was promulgated.

This language, as Zahn asserts, was Syriac—the language in which Christ and His disciples taught the multitude. He uses the term Syriac instead of Aramaic, because he regards them as the same, the only difference being a variety of dialect. When Paul addressed the Jews he spoke in the Hebrew tongue, that is in Syriac. The old Hebrew was only retained by the Jewish Scribes and interpreters of the law, but was a dead language to the multitude. According to Zahn by the unlettered (*idōtrai*) was meant those who were ignorant of the language of the Rabbins. The few words of our Lord which have been preserved are Syriac or Aramaic, thus intimating that this was the language in which He generally spoke, as Cephas, Boanerges, Ephphatha, and the exclamation on the cross, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani. So, also, Josephus, whilst he calls the Hebrew, that is the Syriac, his native tongue, speaks of Greek as a foreign language.

But whilst Zahn maintains that Syriac was the language spoken in the districts of Judæa and to a considerable extent in the cities, he dwells upon the wide diffusion of Greek, but does not think that it was so diffused as to constitute the nation bilingual. Greek was the result of the conquests of Alexander; Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to compel the Jews to speak Greek, just as the Russians attempted to force the Russian language upon Poland; Herod the Great was the great patron of Greek culture. There were numerous Greek cities throughout Palestine, especially in the south and south-east of the Sea of Galilee, called on that account "Galilee of the Gentiles." "Macedonian cities," says Zahn, "as Pella and Dion on the east of Jordan, remind us of the time of Alexander. Ptolemais on the sea and Philadelphia in the east testify by their names to the sovereignty of the Ptolemies"; and the cities founded by the Herodian family, as Sebaste in Samaria, Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee, Cæsarea Philippi in Perea, and Cæsarea on the Mediterranean, are proofs of the rule of the Romans. But although Greek cities were scattered throughout Palestine and were partially colonised by Greeks and Romans, yet, as we learn from Josephus, in all of them there was a powerful body of Jews who retained their native language. Greek was to a certain extent adopted by the Jews as being the language of law courts, and must have been used in commercial transactions with foreigners. Still it must have made slow progress in Palestine, as is the case with the introduction of all foreign languages into a country.

Zahn has some instructive remarks on the education of the Apostle Paul. He supposes that Paul, being a Hebrew of the Hebrews, educated in a strict Pharisaic family, would in early life have had a purely Hebrew education. But after his conversion he spent about five years in his native city Tarsus. Here Zahn

supposes he embraced the opportunity of cultivating Greek literature. Tarsus was one of the most celebrated schools in the world, inferior only to Athens and Alexandria; and thus Paul, by his home and scholastic education at Tarsus, was qualified to preach the gospel both to the Jews and to the Gentiles. Zahn adopts the opinion that Paul was well acquainted with Greek literature. He quotes three if not four times from the Greek poets. In his address to the Athenians he gives an exact quotation from the Cilician poet Aratus and a probable allusion to the hymn of Cleanthes. He also quotes from Menander in 1 Cor. xv. 33, and from Epimenides in Titus i. 12. According to Zahn the Epistles of Paul are those of a highly-educated man: "In comparison with the Epistles of Paul as literary productions the fourth Gospel is monotonous and the Epistle of James is poor."

Zahn, following the chronological order in which the writings of the New Testament were written, discusses first of all the Epistle of James. This he considers the earliest writing of the New Testament, an opinion which is now generally admitted. But Zahn places it at a much earlier period than is generally allowed. There is not in the Epistle any mention or indication of Gentile Christians, nor the slightest allusion to the great controversy concerning circumcision, or to the question whether the Gentiles were obliged to observe the Mosaic law. "The complete silence," observes Zahn, "concerning the binding of the Mosaic law on all Christians, the laxity with which on the one hand the law is spoken of as a law of liberty and the mention of justification by works, is historically incomprehensible if the Epistle was composed after the time when Jewish Christianity sought to impose upon recently existing Gentile churches the observance of the Mosaic law as the means and condition of justification." He seems to suppose that James wrote his Epistle not only before the council of Jerusalem but before the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas. The Christian Church would then be almost entirely composed of converted Jews and Jewish proselytes. The churches which existed before the year 50 in the different districts of Palestine and Syria were colonies of the mother church at Jerusalem. Until the death of Stephen Christianity had almost its only abode in Jerusalem; the persecution of the year 35 drove them thence and scattered them beyond the boundaries of Palestine. Zahn supposes that the main object of James in his Epistle was to unite these Christian Jews who were scattered abroad into one church. Erdmann goes further, and supposes that the Epistle was written before the formation of the Gentile church in Antioch, when consequently all Christians would be either Jews or Jewish proselytes. Certainly in the Epistle there is no mention of or allusion to Gentile Christians.

This view of the early composition of the Epistle is very plausible. It is addressed to the twelve tribes—that is, to the Christian Jews who are scattered abroad. At the time when James wrote his Epistle the Christian Church would be almost exclusively composed of Jewish converts. The preaching to the Gentiles had just commenced; probably Paul and Barnabas had not set out on their first missionary tour; and perhaps the name Christian had not been coined to distinguish believers from Jews. Believers would still be regarded by the Gentiles as a Jewish sect, distinguished from their countrymen by their belief that Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God. In accordance with this, the doctrine and teaching of the Epistle is of the simplest nature, more nearly resembling “the Sermon on the Mount” than any other book of the New Testament.

It is impossible in a review to examine this book in detail: all that we can take up are its most salient points, especially those on which there is still a variety of opinions among critics, and on which Zahn differs from many of those belonging to his school, and which he discusses with remarkable force and ingenuity. There are three points to which we would allude—the country to which the Epistle to the Galatians is addressed, the correct title of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the heretics mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles.

Zahn, differing from most critics, removes the Epistle to the Galatians from continuity with the Epistle to the Romans, and considers it the first of Paul's Epistles. This depends on the meaning to be attached to Galatia. There are two opinions. According to Zahn, what he calls the older or antiquated opinion, which is supported by Meyer and Lightfoot, and still defended by many learned writers, is that by Galatia is meant the districts around Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, which were colonised by the Gauls B.C. 300, and received from them the name of Galatia. Others understand a much wider district, the Roman province of Galatia comprehending not only Galatia proper, but Pisidia, Lycaonia, and a considerable part of Phrygia, being the kingdom of Amyntas, which was incorporated after his death into the Roman empire. This opinion, that the province of Galatia is intended, is not new, having been adopted by Böttger, Ulrich, Thiersch, and other critics, but had fallen into disrepute, and the opinion was generally adopted that Galatia meant the country in which the Gauls had settled. Now, however, the theory that what is meant is the Province of Galatia has been revived. It has been ably brought forward by Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen in his work, *Paul, the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, a work which has obtained for him a widespread reputation. This is the opinion which is now most generally adopted, and is em-

braced and maintained by Zahn with several highly plausible arguments.

Important consequences flow from this view, both as to the time of the introduction of Christianity into Galatia and as to the order of Paul's Epistles. If we take Galatia in the limited sense of the country occupied by the Gauls, then it was not until Paul's second missionary journey that the Gospel was there preached, and in the Acts there is only a short and cursory allusion to it (Acts xviii. 23). But if we adopt the view that by Galatia is meant the former kingdom of Amyntas, then converted into the Roman province, the four towns mentioned in the Acts, Antioch of Pisidia, Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium were in Galatia, and consequently it was visited and evangelised by Paul on his first missionary journey, and before the council of Jerusalem. If this was the case, Timothy, Paul's favourite disciple, was a Galatean, and by his means constant communication would be kept up between Paul and the Galatian churches. We have also a detailed account of the founding of the Galatian Church instead of the incidental remark: "He went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." Again, if by Galatia is meant the Roman province, this would alter the order of the Epistles of Paul. Formerly the two Epistles to the Thessalonians were considered the first of Paul's epistles that have come down to us; but if the province of Galatia is meant, there are conclusive reasons to cause us to infer that the Epistle to the Galatians takes the precedence in order of time. According to this view, the date of that Epistle has been assigned to the time when Paul, after preaching the gospel in Thessalonica and Athens, came down to Corinth, and during his early residence in that city.

Zahn mentions several remarkable coincidences between the Epistle to the Galatians and the preaching of the apostle during his first missionary journey in the cities of Lycaonia and Pisidia, as recorded in Acts. In the Epistle we are informed that when Paul came to Galatia he was accorded a warm welcome, and was received as an angel of God, yea, even as Jesus Christ (Gal. iv. 14); and this agrees with the account of his reception as recorded in the Acts, when the impulsive inhabitants of Lystra thought that the gods had come down to them in the likeness of men, and would have done sacrifice to him (Acts xiv. 11, 13). In the Epistle Paul asserts that he bears about in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus (Gal. vi. 17), which is illustrated and confirmed by the persecution and sufferings which came unto him at Antioch, at Iconium, and at Lystra, especially at Lystra, where he was almost stoned to death; but the words receive a more striking additional illustration, if we adopt the opinion that the Epistle was written shortly after the



apostle came from Macedonia to Corinth. The scourging which he suffered at Philippi was then fresh, and when composing the Epistle he would actually be bearing in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus. In the Epistle Barnabas is prominently brought forward as the fellow-labourer of the apostle; but it was during his first missionary journey that Barnabas accompanied Paul, whereas during his second missionary journey Silas was his companion. The prevalence of Judaizing views among the Galatians is accounted for by the numerous Jews found in Pisidian-Antioch and Iconium and by their opposition to Paul, as recorded in the Acts.

A second disputed point, in which Zahn differs from many eminent critics, is the correctness of the address of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The reading supported by the preponderance of authorities is that it is addressed to the Ephesians; but Zahn holds that it is a circular epistle addressed to a number of churches in Proconsular Asia, and that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are an interpolation. According to this view several copies were made, and were filled up with the names of different churches. The words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are regarded as doubtful; they are wanting in the two oldest manuscripts, being written not in the text but on the margin. This opinion is adopted by Zahn and supported by several striking arguments of a subjective nature. According to him the circumstances of the church to which Paul wrote this Epistle are precisely the same as the circumstances of the church of Colosse, namely, that Paul had never visited it and was personally unacquainted with its members. He had merely a hearsay knowledge. "Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and love to all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers" (Eph. i. 15, 16). And so likewise those to whom Paul wrote had only a hearsay knowledge of the gospel preached by him, but no actual experience of it. "For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given to me to you-ward: how that by revelation he made known to me the mystery" (Eph. iii. 1-3). "If," says Zahn, "it is held that the destination of the Epistle is for the Church of Ephesus, we must conclude from Eph. i. 15, 16 and iii. 1-4 that Paul wrote the Epistle before he had come to Ephesus and before he had become personally acquainted with the church there. It must either be maintained in direct contradiction to the Acts of the Apostles that not Paul but John was the founder of the Church of Ephesus, or we must assume that Paul has written this Epistle before the time stated in Acts xviii. 18-20, which is incompatible both with the Acts of the Apostles and the contents of the Epistle." From all this Zahn infers that this Epistle was not directly addressed to the Ephesians, but was a circular epistle sent

to the churches of Proconsular Asia. Indeed Bleek goes the length of asserting that Ephesus was not one of the churches to which the circular epistle was directed, but that it was sent to those churches in the neighbourhood of Colosse and Laodicea, where the gospel had been shortly before introduced and where believers were personally unknown to the Apostle.

Another remarkable fact pointing in the same direction is that there are no personal references in the Epistle. According to the Acts Paul had remained for three and a half years in Ephesus and had preached the gospel with great success. He must, far from being personally unacquainted with the Ephesian Christians, have formed a close intimacy with them. And yet in the Epistle there are no personal salutations sent from any of Paul's friends, and no member of the Church of Ephesus is saluted; the Epistle bears the marks of being written to a church with which Paul had no personal relation. The only person mentioned is Tychicus, the messenger to the Church of Colosse, by whom the Epistle was transmitted, who was to carry information concerning the Apostle and to bring back information concerning the church addressed. "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, will make known to you all things" (Eph. vi. 21). The mission of Tychicus may refer to a circle of churches in the neighbourhood of Colosse. The Epistle to the Ephesians as it has come to us is precisely similar to the Epistle to the Colossians. There is only one point of difference, that in the Epistle to the Colossians Epaphras is mentioned as the founder of the Church of Colosse, whereas in the Epistle to the Ephesians there is no indication of the person by whom the gospel was introduced. But if the Epistle to the Ephesians is a circular epistle the reason of this omission is obvious, because each church in the circle may have had a different founder.

The arguments adduced by Zahn to prove that the Epistle was not directed to the Ephesians, but was a copy of a circular epistle, are very plausible and have much to recommend them. But notwithstanding there are strong objections against the adoption of this opinion. It rests entirely on internal considerations and is completely unsupported by external evidence. No manuscript has been found with a different address: no church except Ephesus is mentioned. To suppose an entire omission of the address leaving a blank space to be filled up would constitute this epistle not circular but catholic. Although the epistle is very general in its statements and is in a measure devoid of specialities, yet these are not wanting, and the absence of any personal references and salutations may be accounted for by the special mission of Tychicus.

A third point on which we would in conclusion make a very few

remarks is the character of the heretical tendencies mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles. A large, we might almost say a disproportionate, part of Zahn's work is devoted to a discussion of the Pastoral Epistles: it occupies nearly a hundred pages. The reason of this importance is that the Pastoral Epistles are most exposed to the attacks of hostile critics, and are undoubtedly beset with special difficulties. There is the difficulty of finding in the life of Paul a place for the incidents recorded in them. Zahn adopts the opinion of a second Roman imprisonment, and endeavours to trace the travels of the Apostle after his deliverance from captivity. He assumes the truth of his journey to Spain. Most of this rests on merely arbitrary suppositions and is perhaps too confidently affirmed. There are wanting in the writings of the Fathers sufficient data to go upon.

Zahn occupies much space in reference to the character of the heretics alluded to in the Pastoral Epistles. These, he affirms, are not, as is generally supposed, Gnostics, whether Jewish as represented by Cerinthus, or anti-Jewish as represented by Marcion; but Jewish Christians, not, however, precisely the same as those mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, who insisted on the necessity of circumcision, but similar to the Petrine faction mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, who taught a modified Judaism. Two sets of these heretics, according to Zahn, are mentioned, those who taught another doctrine *ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν* (1 Tim. i. 3) and those who taught decidedly heretical opinions, as that the resurrection is past, and who by their false doctrine eat as a cancer into the essence of the Gospel (2 Tim. ii. 17). The first are to be censured and warned, whilst the second are to be excommunicated and vehemently condemned as overthrowing the foundation of the gospel.

Zahn maintains that in these epistles there is no reference to Episcopacy or to the threefold ministry—bishops, presbyters and deacons. There are only two orders, bishops and deacons. Episcopacy did not arise until after the apostolic age, though he admits that there are traces of it in the Apocalypse.

The great objection to the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles arises from their linguistic peculiarities. One cannot but discern that there is a great difference between the phraseology and diction of these epistles and that of Paul's other epistles. This objection Zahn meets by the remark that these epistles were the last of Paul's writings, and probably several years intervened between them and the other letters of Paul. According to Zahn there was a development in Paul's vocabulary. As he discussed new subjects, so he had to employ new words. There was no deterioration of style, but rather an improvement. But this is a subject which we cannot further pursue.

Zahn regards his *Einleitung* as a text-book; but if by this is meant that it contains elementary principles and facts, this certainly fails to represent its deep importance. It is a work of great erudition, and deserves to be regarded not merely as a text-book, but as an exhaustive Introduction to the New Testament: it should be translated and find a place on the shelf of every theological library.

PATON J. GLOAG.

### **Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Genesis.* Von Lic. Dr H. Holzinger. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig, und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxx. 278. Price, M.6; to subscribers, M.4.50.

### **Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Das Deuteronomium.* Von Lic. Dr Carl Steuernagel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, xlii. 130. Price, 3s. 4d.

THE reader will observe, that the *Kurzer Handkommentar* is not an abridgment of the *Handkommentar*—in the instances before us, the *Kurzer* is on the larger scale. Neither is connected with the *Kurzgefasstes Handbuch* or the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*.

Dr Holzinger's thorough and scholarly *Introduction to the Hexateuch* prepared the way for his *Genesis*, and the latter will not disappoint the expectations raised by the former. Those who possess Dillmann and Delitzsch will be glad to get later information in this compact and inexpensive form. The author makes full use of the discoveries and developments of Assyriology, Egyptology, and criticism in recent years. Moreover, every decade makes new revelations of what is involved in the results of such research. Most modern scholars are still unconsciously influenced by the standpoint and preconceptions of traditional criticism; but each fresh commentary shows, that the emancipation is becoming more and more complete. This is notably the case with Holzinger's *Genesis*. For instance, in spite of the analysis into separate sources, the old habit of interpreting one part of *Genesis* by another has persisted, even when the passages compared are from different sources. Thus Dillmann recognises that Gen. ix. 18-27 (Noah's drunkenness and the curse of Canaan) is not from either of the two sources, P and J<sup>2</sup>, from which chap. x. was compiled.

Yet his discussion of the meaning of Japheth in ix. 18-27 is controlled by its use in x. Holzinger, however, considers that "Was die Völkertafel unter Japhet aufzählt, is für diese Stelle wertlos," and is inclined to follow Budde in identifying the Japhet of ix. 18-27 with the Phoenicians.

But not only may the work before us supplement earlier commentaries, it is also complete in itself. The introduction, according to the plan of the series, is brief; but it is lucid, and, allowing for its brevity, exceedingly full. Some mention, however, should have been made of Mr Buchanan Gray's argument for a late date of P from an examination of Hebrew proper names. Dr Holzinger's position is substantially that of Wellhausen and Kuenen. We may mention his opinions on one or two points still under discussion amongst supporters of the Grafian theory. He assigns J<sup>1</sup> to the Southern Kingdom between 850 and about 700. As, with critics generally, he places E<sup>1</sup> before 722, and also places J<sup>1</sup> before E<sup>1</sup>, it seems as if his *terminus ad quem* for J<sup>1</sup> is a little too late. He holds that the Law of Holiness and P<sup>2</sup> had been combined before Ezra; and that the separate works J and E were known to the authors of Deuteronomy and P<sup>2</sup>. The introduction includes a very complete table of the analysis. Only a very few words are given to R<sup>b</sup>; even less than the four or five verses which Mr C. J. Ball in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* ascribes to R<sup>b</sup>. As far as chap. xi. Holzinger and Ball are substantially agreed as to the passages taken from J<sup>1</sup>; but Holzinger ascribes chap. xxxviii. (the Judah-Tamar episode) to J<sup>1</sup>, and xlix. 2-27 (the Blessing of Jacob) is an ancient collection of proverbs included by J in his work; Ball, on the other hand, follows Kautzsch and Socin in ascribing chap. xxxviii. to J and xlix. 2-27 to J<sup>1</sup>. The analysis is further discussed in detail in the body of the book.

The notes on the interpretation, &c., of the text are clear, concise and adequate. Holzinger, however, follows the irritating and too prevalent fashion of giving a multiplicity of references of this type: "über Perf. in diesem Fall s. GES-KAUTZSCH<sup>26</sup>"; "*miqqedem im Osten* (GES-BUHL)." Why should our author imagine that no one will use his book except those who possess these admirable works? Is it wise to suggest that if you have a good Bible Dictionary, Introduction to the Old Testament, Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar you may dispense with any commentary? Most students would be better pleased if commentators would deal with the more exceptional points of grammar and philology, on the understanding that less important matters could be looked up in any standard grammar and lexicon. They would be looked up quite as often as these references will be.

We may mention our author's views on a few leading questions. P's account of the creation rests on earlier Jewish sources, which connected with the Babylonian cosmogony through Phoenicia. J's account is rather parallel to those dependent on Babylonian sources, and may connect with Damascus or the Arabian Mina. As to chap. xiv., Holzinger clearly regards the alleged monumental evidence of which we have heard so much as either irrelevant or based on misreadings. The chapter is late and unhistorical, though, perhaps, based on a narrative of E altered beyond all recognition. We may remind our readers that, according to Mr Pinches (*Expository Times*, May 1898), it is by no means certain that the tablet which Professor Sayce has made so much of as mentioning Chedorlaomer, Arioch and Tidal, does contain their names. Similarly, Father Scheil read a letter from Hammurabi (often identified with Amraphel) to Sinidina, king of Larsa, as mentioning Chedorlaomer, and referring to his wars; but as Mr C. J. Ball reads, the tablet does *not* contain the name of Chedorlaomer. (*Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, xx., 3 and 4.)

Holzinger holds that the Blessing of Jacob, both in its constituent elements and as a whole, belongs to the Southern Kingdom. It was compiled soon after B.C. 850, but separate sayings may be much older.

The commentary proper in Dr Steuernagel's Deuteronomy is admirable, considering its limited scale. Here and there, however, good use could have been made of a little extra space; for instance, in the Blessing of Moses, the LXX insertion of Simeon's name in the second part of the Reuben clause, xxxiii. 6, might have been mentioned; and on 17 a word or two might have been said about the *re'em*.

But this work is specially interesting as an exposition of and argument for the author's theory of the origin and composition of Deuteronomy, which he has already sought to establish in his two monographs, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums*, 1894, *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes*, 1896. And the volume is the more important as these two treatises appeared too late to be used by Dr Driver in his *Deuteronomy*, and are merely mentioned in his *Introduction*. According to the plan of the *Handkommentar*, Steuernagel gives a new translation; and in this he indicates his analysis by eight kinds of type and two of brackets. His somewhat complicated theory is very lucidly expounded in the introduction; and much of the commentary is devoted to a justification of the detailed analysis. Before summarising Steuernagel's view, we may very briefly indicate the previous position of the criticism of Deuteronomy, omitting chaps. xxxi.-xxxiv., which are dealt with

in the criticism of the Hexateuch generally. All recognise that chaps. i.-xxx. contain Josiah's law-book, D<sup>1</sup>, and redactional additions D<sup>2</sup>, a formula which includes Steuernagel's position. Driver does not carry the analysis further, and, until xxvii. is reached, assigns little to D<sup>2</sup>. Other critics' views are less simple; to take one of the more complex, Cornill's view is roughly as follows:—D<sup>1</sup> comprises only xii.-xxvi. 15 and xxxii. 45-47; D<sup>b</sup> comprises i. 6—iv. 8, iv. 44, xxvii. 1-8; D<sup>p</sup> comprises iv. 45—xi. 32, xxviii.-xxx., xxxi. 9-13; other sections of the book are later additions. Wellhausen's view is very similar. Such analysis used perpendicular divisions, as it were, and divides the book into compact and extensive blocks. Steuernagel's dividing lines are irregular and transverse; the older Deuteronomic work, iv. 44—xxx. 20, is interwoven throughout from various sources, after the manner of the composition of Genesis, Joshua, &c. The key to the sources is the use of the singular or the plural address; for instance x. 17, "For the Lord *your* God" is from one main source; and x. 21, "He is *thy* praise, and he is *thy* God" from the other.

The following is a rough outline of the theory. Steuernagel accepts the statement of 2 Kings xviii. 4 that Hezekiah attempted to concentrate the worship at Jerusalem; and holds that a code, *Grundsammlung*, supporting such a policy, was compiled soon after 722, possibly under the auspices of Hezekiah. At the beginning of Manasseh's reign, about 690, the *Grundsammlung* was combined with other material to form the document (Sg.) which regularly uses the singular address. A little later, about 670, a second edition of the *Grundsammlung* was combined with similar documents, and amplified by a writer using the plural address (Pl.). Unfortunately, as some of Pl.'s sources use the singular address, this feature is not an invariable test. About 650, Sg. and Pl. were combined by an editor D<sup>r</sup>; Manasseh's hostility to the teaching of the work prevented its publication, and led to its concealment in the Temple, where, in happier times, it was found by Hilkiah, and was adopted by Josiah as the programme of his reformation. (Sg. + Pl.) D<sup>r</sup> = the ordinary D<sup>1</sup>, and is so styled by Steuernagel. Before D<sup>1</sup> was combined with JE, a pre-exilic Deuteronomic D<sup>2</sup>, provided D<sup>1</sup> with a historical framework. Then D<sup>1</sup> (without D<sup>2</sup>) was combined with JE, forming JE + D<sup>1</sup>, to which D<sup>2</sup> was afterwards added. Last, later additions were made by Deuteronomic, (R.), and other editors. The Book of the Covenant was not known to Sg., Pl., or D<sup>r</sup>, but is dependent on some of their sources. Pl. and D<sup>r</sup> use E exclusively, E still being extant as a separate work. It is not clear whether Sg. uses E, J, or JE. Hence, apparently, the Book of the Covenant is not part of either J or E.

The Song of Moses is a composition of the time of the Second

Isaiah. The Blessing of Moses is a collection of sayings of the time of Jeroboam II., inserted in the middle of a post-exilic Psalm, xxxiii. 2-5, 26-29.

That the author of Deuteronomy used sources is fairly certain, and in many instances Steuernagel has probably succeeded in distinguishing various sections as from different sources; but we are not yet convinced, either by the general argument or by the detailed analysis as it appears in this commentary, of the truth of his main contention, that Josiah's law-book was interwoven from two sources. Our author is driven to make too constant a use of his redactors. For instance, in order to justify the statement that D<sup>1</sup> is not dependent on the Book of the Covenant, he maintains that the closer parallels with the latter in D<sup>1</sup> were inserted by a late editor. Again, the use of the characteristic Deuteronomic formulæ throughout the book is often cited as a evidence of literary unity. But, according to Steuernagel, these too are mostly due to editors and scribes, who had a special affection for Deuteronomic phrases. This latter view is certainly supported by the LXX, especially in Joshua.

Nevertheless, even if we cannot at once accept our author's analysis, we have to thank him for a most interesting and suggestive book, and for a very lucid exposition of an important problem.

W. H. BENNETT.

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### Die Offenbarung Johannis.

*Neubearbeitet von Lic. theol. Wilhelm Bousset, Professor in Göttingen.*  
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi.  
528. Price, M.8.

A REMARK on the cover informs us that in this new edition of Meyer's Commentary five volumes have been completely rewritten, and the book before us is one of these. It is in every way a striking and remarkable production. There is no part of the New Testament which presents a more difficult problem to the commentator than the Apocalypse, and of late years it has gone through the crucible of the critics, who for the most part have left us nothing but *disjecta membra*; or, in other words, a number of Apocalypses, Jewish or Christian, which we are to believe have been fitted into each other, the lesser within the greater, like Chinese boxes. The great merit of Professor Bousset's Commentary is that, in the face of all these theories of compilation, he has emphasised the unity of style which characterises the whole work. Yet it cannot be denied that, in spite of clear marks of one ordering



hand, there are also visible traces of a variety of more or less ancient materials, which have been incorporated by the writer, and worked up into a literary whole. It is the correct analysis of these materials which forms the literary problem of the Apocalypse. Bousset does not bind himself to any theory, but inclines perhaps to those of Weizsäcker and Sabatier.

The scheme of the Commentary is most exhaustive. We have first an introduction of 208 pages arranged under the following seven heads: (1) the general character of Apocalyptic literature; (2) the place of the Apocalypse in the canon of the New Testament; (3) the author of the work, whom the writer takes to be John the Presbyter; (4) the history of its interpretation—this extends to some 90 pages and is divided under 20 sections, the last of which, the methods of literary criticism, will naturally attract most attention, summarising, as it does, the various analyses of the work which have been proposed by modern scholars; (5) methods of interpretation; (6) the criticism of the text; (7) the language and style.

Then follow the notes with a number of excursuses on special points. It is in these excursuses that the writer's special point of view comes out most prominently. Here, as also in his other work on *Antichrist*, he has been largely influenced by Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, and indeed the parallels adduced by the latter from the religious lore of the Babylonians are very interesting. It does not seem improbable that he is right in tracing the mystic significance of the seven stars and the twenty-four elders to early astronomical speculation. Astronomy and religion were at first inseparably connected. The seven heavens in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, with their New Testament parallels, were doubtless originally the divisions of the heavens marked out by the seven planets, and we see a trace of the ancient personification of the stars as angels, both in Rev. ix. 1, where the key of the bottomless pit is given to a star fallen from heaven, and also in St. James' designation of God as the Father of "lights," i.e., "the heavenly luminaries." Perhaps, too, the reference of the Woman and the Dragon in ch. xii. to an original Sunmyth, the birth of the Sungod, and the triumph of light over darkness, is correct. Such a myth is shown to be common to the Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek religions, and may very well have been adopted by a Jew or a Christian, as symbolising the victory of Messiah over the powers of darkness. Vischer laid great stress on this chapter in support of his theory of a Jewish Apocalypse, and compared a late narrative in the Jerusalem Talmud which relates how Messiah was born in Bethlehem, but was caught up to heaven, while yet a child, by a whirlwind. This may simply be an invention of later times evolved

in the course of controversy with the Christians, and in any case it differs in some essential points from the narrative of ch. xii. where the child is born, not on earth, but in a heavenly region, and caught up, as soon as born, to the throne of God. Yet while Bousset's criticism of Vischer is here just, he fails to shake one's faith in the latter's general hypothesis that all the passages in which "the Lamb" is mentioned are Christian interpolations. It is impossible, however, to feel sure that Vischer is right in the exact limits of his scheme of interpolations. One feels especially doubtful in dealing with the last three chapters. Bousset has shown that at first the Jews looked only for a New Jerusalem, i.e., a restored and enlarged earthly Jerusalem. It was not till after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus that they began to look for an entirely new heaven and earth, and for the descent upon earth of a heavenly Jerusalem. And one may plausibly conjecture that the Jewish Apocalypse, which underlies the work as we have it, ended up with a description, not of the heavenly Jerusalem, but of the New Jerusalem. May we not see a trace of this in xxi. 10 ff. "He showed me the holy city Jerusalem *coming down from God out of Heaven*." The italicised words may be a mere repetition from xxi. 2, and the seer may originally have simply seen a vision of the ideal Jerusalem in Heaven, just as Moses was supposed to have seen the ideal tabernacle in Heaven. The New Jerusalem would thus have been conceived of as an earthly copy of that heavenly ideal. I would also suggest that this vision of the New Jerusalem was originally connected with the coming of the Millennium, the world's Sabbath day; but that just as the New Jerusalem faded into the Heavenly Jerusalem, so the Millennium, and the Messianic Kingdom upon Earth faded into the vague and boundless perspective of the Kingdom of Heaven. This would account for the extraordinary brevity of the paragraph in ch. xx. about the Millennium. The ideal had moved forward: the Millennium had become, as Bousset calls it, a mere "Zwischenzeit."

But what was this Jewish Apocalypse which underlies our Apocalypse? According to Vischer it was not written by the author of the Epistles to the Churches, but that writer—S. John—incorporated it. So far, probably, Bousset agrees with him, though it seems to me it is quite possible S. John wrote it before he became a Christian. Polycrates of Ephesus says S. John was a priest and wore the *πέταλον*—which may be used loosely for the priest's turban, though it is strictly the plate on the high priest's turban. May not S. John have written the original Jewish Apocalypse in the year 69 A.D. when still a Jewish priest? The fulfilment of Christ's predictions in the fall of Jerusalem might very well have converted him to Christianity.

But Vischer not only denies the Johannine authorship; he holds also that S. John practically incorporated this Jewish Apocalypse without change, only interpolating the name of the Lamb and a few references to the Christian martyrs. Here Bousset, and I think rightly, differs from him. He urges the similarity of style which runs through the whole Apocalypse, as also the mere mechanical nature of the supposed compilation, so unworthy of one who could write the fourth Gospel. Further, he points out that the original Jewish Apocalypse could hardly have included the section of the seven vials, which is an artificial reduplication of the seven trumpets (see p. 463). Also, both the writer of this part of the Apocalypse and the author of the fourth book of the Sibylline oracles seem to have written after the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (see p. 475). Some time ago I read an article by Mr Theodore Bent, in which he most ingeniously connected the narrative of this part of the Apocalypse with certain old histories of the phenomena of volcanic eruptions, and the nature of the pain caused by the burning lava. This part of the Apocalypse may then, with considerable probability, be assigned to the Christian redactor, *i.e.*, to S. John.

The date of the Jewish Apocalypse is fixed by ch. xvii. 10, from which it appears that it must have been written in the time of Vespasian, c. 69 A.D. Even if verses 10, 11 were a later interpolation, it would still be clear that the interpolator, while inserting a *vaticinium post eventum*, adapted it to a writer who lived under Vespasian.

It further follows, from ch. xvii. 8, that this original Jewish Apocalypse was connected with the idea of "Nero redivivus." Bousset has, in a most interesting excursus, traced the gradual growth of this idea. The outcome of his investigation is that, in this original Apocalypse, Nero was not thought of as Antichrist, only as a Roman emperor in league with the Parthians for the overthrow of Rome. The Christian redactor advances a stage—Nero becomes Antichrist. By comparing the Sibylline books, it is shown that this change did not emerge in Apocalyptic literature earlier than about the end of the first century. Nero is now Antichrist, and, as such, in league with "the false prophet." One is "the beast from the sea," *i.e.*, from Rome; the other "the beast from the land," *i.e.*, from Palestine. To the mind of the Christian writer, the Jews and the Romans are leagued together against Christ. In what way these two enemies of Messiah were supposed to co-operate is a matter of conjecture; but, from the references to the worship of the image of the beast, one may suppose that the Jewish authorities—perhaps some one in particular, some false prophet—had advised Jews to tolerate the idolatrous worship of

the emperors. It may be that Professor Spitta is right in connecting the matter with the attempt of Caligula to set up his statue in the Temple. He supposes that we have in the Apocalypse a fragment of a Caligula-Apocalypse, in which it was prophesied that "the man of sin" would succeed where Caligula had failed. Bousset only gives a very hesitating assent to this theory. All that is certain is, that Nero came to be conceived of as Antichrist and in league with the Jews, as represented by some false prophet. It might almost seem possible that S. John's banishment was the penalty of his stern opposition to the cult of the Cæsars, which appears to have been specially popular in Asia Minor. Even if the refusal to burn incense before the emperor's image were only made penal throughout the empire in the time of Trajan, it is quite possible that local persecutions for this cause may have originated somewhat earlier. The net result of these considerations is, that our Christian Apocalypse is not, as Vischer and Harnack contend, merely the epistles to the Churches, together with a series of interpolations in which the name of the Lamb is mechanically introduced, but a much more integral part of the work, including the sections of the Seven Vials and the heavenly Jerusalem. The remainder is a Jewish Apocalypse, which probably pictured the overthrow of Rome by Nero redivivus and the Parthians; the supernatural birth of Messiah, and his reservation in heaven till the time came for him to appear in the clouds of heaven as the Son of Man, and reap the Vine of the Earth; the preaching, death and ascension of Moses and Elias, his two witnesses, and, finally, the coming of His Millennial Kingdom and the New Jerusalem.

Perhaps the chapter about the two witnesses, and other fragments, were taken from earlier Apocalypses. Bousset points out remarkable coincidences between the section about the two witnesses and the predictions of Christ about the fall of Jerusalem in S. Luke's gospel, as also between "the sign of the Son of Man," in S. Matthew's gospel, and Rev. i. 7. The study of Jewish Apocalyptic thus throws valuable sidelights upon the Apocalyptic portions of the gospels. Professor Bousset's work is worthy of the most careful study, and will doubtless meet with the appreciation which it deserves.

J. H. WILKINSON.

**Holl, Dr Karl, Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes  
Damascenus.**

*Texte und Untersuchungen. Bd. xvi. Heft. 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. Pp. xiii. 392. Price, M.12.*

THE sixteenth volume of *Texte und Untersuchungen* is also the first of a new series. This famous collection, which already contains so much of the greatest value, and not a little that is "epoch-making" in the literary history of the early church, commences a "Neue Folge," and to some extent enters a new field. It has been in a sense "established," and also, we venture to hope, "endowed." In Germany, if pure scholarship does not enjoy even such pecuniary rewards as fall to its share in this country, it frequently receives from the State, and from State institutions, such countenance and support as it would be vain to look for here. For many years past the Vienna Academy has been directing and supporting the publication of a definitive critical edition of the Latin Fathers. Now the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, not to be outdone by its southern rival, has undertaken a parallel scheme of equal importance, the publication of an edition of the ante-nicene Greek Fathers, edited in accordance with results of the latest researches. The work has been in hand for three or four years, and the fruits of it are now beginning to appear. The actual texts are heralded by the issue of *Studies and Prolegomena* representing the wide labours of each editor in the preparation of the text. We do not know what is to be the relation between the Academy and the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, but some or all of these preliminary studies are to appear in the "Neue Folge."

The editing of the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus has fallen to Dr Holl, a Privatdocent in Berlin. And, as he says, he has found a literary problem sufficiently complicated. The *Sacra Parallela* (Greek text first published by Lequien in 1712) is a Florilegium of the seventh century, in which 323 different subjects, chiefly of ethical interest, are illustrated by quotations from Biblical and Patristic literature. The author explains in the prologue that he proposed to set various virtues and vices over against one another so as to throw light on the Commandments of God. He makes a kind of apology for including Philo and Josephus among the sources of his illustrations. The value of the "Parallels" lies, of course, in its usefulness in controlling, or in places supplementing, the text of those early writers from whom the quotations are made. But for that purpose it is necessary to ascertain the value, the history, and the original sources of the

ἐπαῖ itself. This is the task which Dr Holl sets himself. It has been already partially attempted by Cohn and Loofs, and also by Mr Rendel Harris (*Fragments of Philo*, 1886). It is rendered exceedingly intricate by the divergence of the two chief authorities in regard to the arrangement of the contents, and the presence of yet a third line of authority which differs from both.

Dr Holl attacks his task with remarkable courage, and carries it out with equal patience. It will be sufficient here to indicate his results. Dividing his work into three sections, he seeks to establish the relation between the extant MSS., the authorship, and the sources from which the author probably drew. Two-thirds of the book is devoted to the first of these sections (*die Ueberlieferung des Werkes*). Having reduced the available authorities to three main streams, Dr Holl institutes an elaborate comparison of the chapters or *τίτλοι* and their contents as represented in each of the main recensions. His conclusion is the disappointing one that, in spite of the considerable number of MSS., we have only one which does not represent a derived, and to some extent manipulated, recension. From the quotations, and especially from those in the second and third books, much has been wholly lost, and that probably includes what would have been most interesting to us (p. 255). For all our three authorities agreed in this, that they omitted passages out of older and less known Fathers in favour of others drawn from less famous teachers. The text is also in a bad state. The very variety of styles with which the copyist had to deal removed one of the safeguards of accuracy.

With regard to the authorship, Dr Holl has arrived at a more positive result. The MSS. with one accord ascribe the work to John of Damascus, and the external evidence, though it is but scanty, goes to confirm the statement. After a careful examination of the objections, particularly of those observed and adduced by Loofs, Holl comes to the conclusion that there is no sufficient ground for doubting the traditional authorship.

Less satisfactory, however, is the result of his inquiry into the sources from which John drew his quotations. He finds these not only in the works of the Fathers themselves, but also to a considerable extent in similar collections of extracts anterior to John, and notably in the *κεφάλαια θεολογικὰ* of Maximus Confessor and the *Pandekts* of Antonius. "For the purpose for which the whole investigation has been undertaken, the demonstration of the sources from which John drew, and the general perspective which is thereby opened, present a far from encouraging result. It is obvious how the value of the work is infringed, if the Damascene did not take his quotations from the writers themselves." We cannot but condole with Dr Holl in so far as the

thoroughness of his work here may have reduced the value of the text he is editing. Nevertheless, he is persuaded of the value of what remains. "The learning of Maximus and of John was almost unique. Deducting from the *iepa* all that coincides with Maximus, there still remains material so great that John could not have collected it unless he had taken almost the whole field of ecclesiastical literature for his study."

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### **Gereformeerde Dogmatiek.**

*Door Dr H. Bavinck. Eerste Deel. Inleiding—Principia* (1895). *Tweede Deel* (1897). *Kampen: J. H. Bos; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Price, 1st Vol., 10s.; 2nd Vol., 10s. 6d., bound.*

### **Beginnselen der Psychologie.**

*Door Dr H. Bavinck. Kampen: J. H. Bos.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Price, 3s. 3d. unbound.*

It is a pleasure, at a time when theology is somewhat out of fashion, and the very conditions which render it possible seem to many fast passing away, to call attention to a dogmatic work at once so massive, so comprehensive, and so scholarly as this of Professor Bavinck's. It is a work which takes us back in spirit to the best days of the Dutch theology, and compels the acknowledgment that the cunning has not departed from the hand of the descendants of the system-builders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The appearance of such a work is itself significant. Theology can only rear itself on a basis of faith, and wherever faith revives in a church or nation, a theology of some kind is not long in shaping itself. The movement which has given birth in Holland to a free, believing church, adhering to the old Confessions, in separation from the State, has not only proved a powerful force in resisting and overcoming the rationalism that prevailed, but has shown its abounding vitality in creative effort in a variety of directions. It has given an impulse to education, and in this work by Professor Bavinck, one of its ablest representatives, has demonstrated in a pre-eminent degree its alliance with philosophical and theological culture. Regarding the author we only note that he is Professor of Dogmatics and Encyclopædia in the Theological School of the Reformed Churches of Holland in Kampen—an institution possessing five professors in all. The name *Gereformeerde Kerken* (Reformed Churches) distinguishes the free Evangelical body, to which

the school belongs, from the Established Church, which is called *Hervormde Kerk*. The Dutch have these two words (*Hervormd* and *Gereformeerd*) for Reformed, and while the Established Church claims the one, the non-established body takes the other.

The *magnum opus* which Professor Bavinck is in process of producing is on a scale worthy of the theological masters of a past age. The first volume, which appeared in 1895 (532 pp.), dealt, after an Introduction, solely with the Principles of Dogmatics (*External*—Revelation embodied in Holy Scripture; and *Internal*—Faith), and the second and newly-published volume (571 pp.) gets only as far as the Doctrines of God and of the World in its Original State. A third volume will treat of the World in its Fallen State, of Christ and His Work, and of the Way of Salvation, and even this, we presume, will not complete the undertaking. With such a programme, it need not be said that the work is remarkably thorough and exhaustive; it is also rigorously Scriptural in its basis. But what will strike a reader even more—it exhibits a range of knowledge of the history of dogmatic thought and literature, patristic, mediæval, modern (including English and Scotch), as minute as it is surprising and accurate. This learning is utilised by the author in subserviency to his purpose, yet without injury to the clearness of his own expositions. Neither does Professor Bavinck attempt the impossible task of separating theology from a sound psychology and philosophy. His little work on the Principles of Psychology shows his whereabouts in this department, but the larger treatise also embraces the careful discussion of philosophical principles. Instead of delaying further on generals, we shall best consult the reader's convenience by offering, without criticism, a brief summary of the author's line of treatment as nearly as possible in his own words.

In the Preface to the first volume the author indicates the general standpoint of his dogmatic theology. Not only the ordinary member of the Church, but also, and much more, the student of theology, especially of dogmatics, has to make Confession of the Communion of Saints. Only "with all saints" will he be able to comprehend what is the breadth and length, and depth and height, of the love of Christ. Therefore he must always remember—here we would draw attention to the pleasing note of Catholicity in the theologian of a communion frequently blamed for exclusiveness—that such men as Irenæus, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, do not belong to one age or denomination, but to the whole Church. The author avows his desire to profit from the Christian theology of all Churches and of all ages. He believes, at the same time, that while the Reformed doctrine is not *the only true*, it is *the most pure* exhibition of the Scriptural truth, and that its purest period was in



the time of its first development after the Reformation till the Synod of Dordrecht and the Assembly of Westminster. Since in our own days we have lost in large measure, through the influence of false philosophies (Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, &c.), sound theological principles, it is necessary, in his conviction, to go back, not to Hegel or Kant, but to the great and pious scientific theologians of earlier times. This, however, does not mean that we have only to reproduce the old doctrine; on the contrary, we must raise the old theology by earnest and solid thinking to the level of our own times, and give essentially the same truth in the form and mould of our modern age. The author agrees, therefore, with those who give a large place to the history of dogmatic theology (i., pp. 51-140). Thereafter he expounds the principles in science and religion by which he is guided. In the theory of knowledge, he rejects the rationalism (idealism) of Kant and Hegel (i., p. 145), and the empiricism (positivism) of Comte and others (i., p. 151), and professes his adherence to the old realism, as that which discovers in phenomena the noumena, the ideas of the Logos, and ascends to the knowledge of God (i., p. 157). In religion he distinguishes between the "religio objectiva" and the "religio subjectiva," the former denoting the whole service which God asks from man, the latter the habit of man's mind and heart (generated in creation, degenerated by sin, regenerated by the Holy Spirit), disposing him to walk in the way of God's commandments (i., p. 171). Religion, it is held, embraces man entirely, not only mind or heart, but man in all his faculties of soul and body (i., p. 183). This leads to the consideration of revelation and inspiration. Religion has its origin in revelation—not, however, in a revelation that is mechanical, but which is one with God's making of man after His image and likeness (i., pp. 202, &c.). Revelation, further, does not consist only in words or doctrines, but also in facts; it is an organic system of all God's acts, to restore and regenerate the whole fallen creation. It began with creation: it proceeded in modified form after the fall (*revelatio specialis*); it has its centre in Christ; it develops its power by the Holy Spirit in illumination and regeneration; and it reaches its end in the "*consummatio seculi*" (i., pp. 215-95). In this revelation the inspiration of Holy Scripture forms an organic element. Inspiration is neither mechanical, nor ethical (only), nor dynamical, but organic, so that the Holy Spirit uses the whole personality of the sacred writers, with all their qualities, faculties, and abilities (i., pp. 295-415). And the product of that inspiration, the Holy Scripture, becomes an authority for us, neither by historical and critical arguments, nor in a speculative or psychological way (as in the school of Ritschl, *e.g.* by an impression of the image of Christ), but by faith in the Scriptural sense of that word, by the "testi-

monium spiritus sancti." Then we receive the firm conviction that this book is the Word of God, that we may trust it in life and death; we are bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, but to Christ, as Calvin says, "in vestitu scripturæ."

In the second volume, which opens the material part of dogmatics, the author begins with the knowledge of God. He lays stress on the fact that the science is called *theology*. He cannot, therefore, accept the Christological method. Christ is assuredly the Mediator between God and man. His cross is the centre of theology. We cannot have any true knowledge of the Father except by the Son. Nevertheless it is the knowledge of God that forms the *materia* of dogmatic theology (John xvii. 3). Just because Christ is the Mediator of God and man, the centre of theology, he cannot be the starting-point. All things, the person and work of Christ included, are from, and through, and to God. It may be remarked that there does not seem to be much serious difference in principle between Professor Bavinck and those whose theology he describes as Christological. In the logical order the doctrine of God must necessarily come first. But the source of that knowledge is declared to be supremely in Christ. From faith in Him, accordingly, and with acceptance of His revelation, Christian theology must start. It will also, on Professor Bavinck's own showing, be "Christocentric," and this, we imagine, is nearly all that is contended for by Christological theologians. The first part of dogmatics, viz. theology, receives, therefore, a very large place in our author's treatment. In the first chapter (ii., pp. 1-24) he vindicates the possibility and reality of the knowledge of God against agnosticism. Thereafter he makes a distinction between the "theologia insita" and "acquisita" (ii., pp. 24-62). He there comprises all knowledge of God in the "Name" of God (ii., pp. 63-102), dividing the names into proper names (El, JHWH, &c.), essential names (idiomata, proprietates, &c.), and personal (Trinitarian) names. Next follows a discussion of the counsel of God (decretum), and here the author endeavours to conceive this counsel as an organic system of decrees, which embraces all things, and unfolds itself in the history of the world and mankind. Predestination, therefore, is not the one and whole decree of God, but only one of the decrees. The supralapsarian and the infralapsarian view are both one-sided; predestination must be conceived as a link in the chain. Chapter v. treats of the world in its original state (status integritatis)—not only man, but the whole cosmos, wherein angels, men, animals, have each their place—but man alone is the *image* of God. We need not enter into details.

The smaller work on the Principles of Psychology may be

regarded as a more special exposition of the doctrine of man than could find place in the second volume of the dogmatics. It is therefore published separately. The method followed is the same as in the larger treatise. The author goes back to the older Christian psychology of Augustine Thomas and of the reformed theologians and philosophers, but seeks to combine this with the best results of the new psychology of our age. He cannot, however, accept this new psychology in its essential principles. They undermine, he thinks, psychology itself. He cannot approve of the "Psychologie ohne Seele," and the experimental method, and maintains the substance of the soul, and the necessity of both the deductive and the inductive methods. He specially rejects the three faculties of the soul, and acknowledges only the two faculties *cognoscendi* and *appetendi*, in the same manner as Professor Shedd in his "Dogmatic Theology." The acuteness of the author's exposition is unquestioned, but there are points here on which he may fail to carry conviction. The above survey may at least afford a general idea of the character and contents of the important books of a very able theologian.

JAMES ORR.

### Über das betende Ich in den Psalmen.

*Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Psalters, von Dr Felix Coblenz. Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kauffmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 190.*

### Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias.

*In ihrem Verhältniss dargestellt von Paul Volz. Göttingen: Vandenhöck und Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 92. M.2.80.*

### Isaiah, a Study of Chapters I.-XII.

*By H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Boston and New York: Thomas T. Crowell & Company, 1897. Pp. 263.*

Few exegetical questions are more interesting than that of the meaning of "I" and "me" in the Psalter. The theory that the speaker is the community or church-nation has been much discussed in recent years, and has made a curious cleavage among the critics. From Dr Coblenz's interesting preface we learn that the theory has been accepted by Olshausen, Reuss, Smend, Baetgen, and on the whole by Cheyne. To a certain extent it has commended itself to

W. R. Smith and Driver. Opposed to it more or less strongly we find Hupfeld, Ewald, Kuenen (decidedly), Nowack, and Budde. Dr Coblenz makes an analysis of all the "I" psalms with a view to settling this question. There is nothing novel in his arguments, but it is an advantage to have such a clear survey of the whole ground. He writes forcibly, and his analysis of the spiritual contents of the psalms is characterised by fine feeling. He reaches the conclusion that in 40 of the "I" psalms the speaker is the personified community as a whole; in 6 the individual members of the community are regarded as the speaker; in 21 the community of the pious—the true Israel as opposed to the ungodly—speaks; in 10 the individual members of the pious community is the subject; in 18 the poet himself speaks; and in 2 a king is introduced as the speaker. Briefly stated, the writer's main arguments, often repeated, are these: (1) The words 'poor,' 'meek,' 'afflicted' had a recognised application to the oppressed community. (2) Collective Israel is often personified by the prophets. (3) The frequent complaints against ungodly persecutors appear to indicate that the speaker is collective. (4) The imprecations of certain psalms are thought to be less objectionable if they are the utterances of a community. (5) The ordinary view is distasteful, because "it is improbable that the common consciousness of the Jews borrowed so much from religious individualism" (Smend).

We are still of opinion that as regards the great majority of the psalms the collective theory has not been established. It does not account for the facts. We may refer to the following points:—(1) If the community, as a whole, or the community of the faithful, ever regarded itself as the subject of those "I" psalms, it is strange that it so soon became quite oblivious of the fact, as the titles of many of the psalms indicate. (2) To deny that an individual could speak of God as 'my king,' 'my redeemer,' 'my shepherd' (Pss. v., xix, xxiii.) because in the prophets Jahwe is regarded only as the king, redeemer, and shepherd of Israel, is to make a precarious inference from one kind of composition to an altogether different kind. When Job says 'I know that my redeemer liveth,' he surely speaks for himself. (3) To explain Pss. xvi. 9-11, xvii. 15, xxiii. 6, and others as intimations of nothing more than national immortality is to do violence to language. (4) Such expressions as 'Oh that I had wings like a dove,' 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills,' 'Into thy hand I commend my spirit,' and many more, when referred to the community, as by this writer, suggest ideas not easy to realise. (5) It seems most improbable that the writer of lyrics so fresh and inspired as many of the psalms in question are, should compose "with the community in his eye as the praying subject" (138.) The psalmist is, of course, a

member of the true community, and his words are fitted to express the faith of the whole Church ; but in the first place it is his own faith. Smend's "religious individualism" is a bugbear which need not alarm anyone. All religious feeling is, in the first instance, individual. The analogy of hymnology must count for something. The psalmist who wrote "He leadeth me beside still waters" spoke for himself as much as the poet who wrote "Lead thou me on." In neither case is the speaker a personified community, though of course the fitting word finds entrance into the common heart. (6) The attempt to explain the bodily sufferings often alluded to in the psalms as figures of persecution creates difficulties greater than those which surround the natural explanation.

We do not doubt that a number of psalms were composed expressly for the temple service. The liturgical tone is sometimes apparent, and the blessings desired are for the Church or people as a whole. But even in those cases it would be a mistake to suppose that either to the psalmist or the singers "I" just meant the community. There was more in it than that. Was it not a true inspiration which led the temple-psalmist to model his work upon the old individual psalms, and thereby bring home to each worshipper that sense of his personal share in the blessings of the true community which must always be the supreme joy of worship ?

We used to think the Prophet beyond the reach of criticism. "Others abide our question, thou art free." But it is evident that the turn of prophecy has come. Paul Volz's monograph on the Messianic hope is a plea for radical changes. We are asked to revise all our ideas of the text and doctrine of the prophetic books. This critic's view is that "in the genuine prophetic writings from Amos to Ezekiel no Messianic idea is to be found." He agrees with Duhm, Cornill, Smend, and others in denying to Amos the fine closing passage (ix. 8-15), and figures him simply as "a prophet of judgment, hard as iron" (17). He finds that the Messianic verses under the name of Hosea (xi. 8-11, xiv. 2-9) are additions by a later hand. Hosea foresaw nothing but national ruin, regarded the monarchy as the cancer of Israel, and based no hope on anything regal or Messianic. "He stands before us like Amos as an inexorable messenger of judgment." Canon Cheyne recently questioned Isaiah's authorship of the classical Messianic texts, Isa. iv. 2-4, ix. 1-7, xi. 1-9. Volz goes, if possible, farther ; he is assured that "the original writing of Isaiah contains no Messianic prophecy." This prophet's hope for the future of Israel is quite different from the Messianic idea, which "stands in opposition to his religious and ethical conceptions." Once called evangelical, he was really another *Strafprediger* (41). The beautiful passages in Micah and Zephaniah which give promise

of restoration (Mic. v. 1-4; Zeph. iii. 8-20) are not genuine. Last comes Jeremiah. What interest could he, the foe of worldly patriotism, the prophet of individualism, have in a restoration to regal splendour? The Messianic passages, xxiii. 5-8, xxx. 9, xxxiii. 14-26, are not his. Thus one after another the purple patches are all removed and the Prophet's mantle restored to its original gray. Ezekiel, we are told, was the first true prophet to voice the Messianic hope, and even in his case it was not an original inspiration, but rather a popular idea which he imbibed in his youth and could not help using (87).

Volz does not build quite so much on the argument from language and style as some critics do. Yet he appears to put more on it than it will bear. It is easy to say that a word, phrase, or idea in a certain passage is only found again in late writings. That may prove nothing. With our scanty knowledge of the spoken language it is impossible to date the birth of every phrase and idea. Hos. ii. 22 and x. 13 are regarded as insertions because *חֲסִידָא* and *עַלְמָא* are said to be late. Yet both words occur in 1 Sam.

It will be seen that Volz's conception of the Messianic hope is peculiar. He holds (1) that it is essentially a political not a religious idea, (2) that it is quite foreign to the character and aims of pre-exilic prophecy, and (3) that it did not originate among the prophets of Jahwe at all, but among the worldly patriots who surrounded the court of Josiah. He contends that the historical situation in which the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries found themselves did not permit their publication of such a hope. It was the business of the false prophets to prophesy good things. True prophetism, being not the comforter but the living conscience of the nation, could only predict national ruin. It would have been unwise and impractical to excite monarchical dreams at such a time. The idea of Israel's restoration and Messianic glory arose later; it was the offspring of religious particularism, not of the universalism of the true prophets.

These opinions would need to be closely scrutinised. Does not the critic fail to understand the doctrine in question? He says "the Messianic faith in spite of all religious admixture has always a political kernel." We hold just the converse—that in spite of all political admixture it has always a religious kernel. Of course the doctrine was apt to be misconceived, and as a matter of fact no doctrine was ever more misrepresented. But Volz mistakes the caricature of the Messiah for the portrait. The substance of the Messianic hope was that God would always be in covenant relation with his people, and would manifest Himself in the latter day for their salvation. After this critic has stripped the prophets of all that seems to favour his narrow conception of the hope, there are left

many passages and some whole chapters (e.g., Jer. xxx.-xxxiii.) which contain all that is essential to the true conception. The idea of Restoration seems always to be deduced in prophecy from the Messianic Hope, and we see no good reason for severing them. The probability is that they were always connected. There must have been some idealism in Israel even before the exile, and the person and office most certain to be idealised were the theocratic king and kingship (Ps. xviii.). The Messianic hope was much more closely related to the religious universalism of the prophets than the particularism of the masses. The spiritual blessings expected (Ps. lxxii.) could not be confined to Israel. Volz illustrates his theory by saying that "the worldly patriots of Israel longed for a second David as our people have wished back their Barbarossa that they might establish the nation again with blood and iron." But the true patriots were not Teutons. Their Messiah was not a Bismarck.

Professor Mitchell's Study of Isaiah i.-xii. is a very serviceable student's commentary. The writer thinks that "the style of most commentaries confuses the reader." He therefore undertakes "to present his interpretation in the form of a continuous discussion." It is rare indeed to see the results of the most recent scholarship put into the form of a running commentary of the good old style. The danger of this kind of commentary is that the writer may get into the habit of saying something about every word and explaining what is already plain. Professor Mitchell does not quite escape that danger. At ch. iii. 24, 25, the remarks that *perfume* means 'spices and their odours,' and *thy men* 'adult males,' may be superfluous. But these things are rare, and it will not be denied that the combination of text and commentary carries the reader along more smoothly than the usual system of footnotes, which Professor Mitchell uses only for the discussion of minor textual matters. His work gives in a very attractive form all that most students would want to know. The exposition of such a difficult passage as "A virgin shall conceive" is admirable. He counts iv. 2-4, ix. 1-7 Isaianic, but thinks xi. 10-16 and xii. post-exilic. The commentary is preceded by a spirited translation; but in the great passage ix. 6 "booty-taker" instead of "Everlasting Father" (אֲבִי-עוֹד) is a quite unnecessary bathos.

J. STRACHAN.

**Studies in Philosophical Criticism and Construction.**

*By Sydney Herbert Mellone, M.A. Lond., D.Sc. Edin. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. Post 8vo, pp. xxii. 264. Price, 10s. 6d. net.*

THE work before us is one of the most significant and instructive which have issued from the press for many a day. We began to read the book without any great expectation as we were not attracted by the title, and had never heard of the writer. But we had not read many pages when we found ourselves in the grasp of a master who, to original gifts of reflection had added a thorough knowledge of philosophy in its past history and in its present bearings. No one who has read a little of the literature of philosophy can doubt that in this book we mark the advent of a man destined to have a decisive influence on the philosophic thought of our time. He has all the notes of a philosopher, he thinks clearly, and he thinks things together, he writes with lucidity and discrimination, he has a unique power of classification, and can give in a few terse sentences the main views which have been held on any philosophic topic, and he can state in precise terms the main problems which are set to philosophy at the present hour, and indicate the lines of their likely solution. Such are the conclusions which a perusal of the book has enabled us to draw regarding the qualifications of the author.

In writing a short notice of the book we feel at a great loss. Any one of the questions he deals with might give occasion to a notice which would exhaust the space at our disposal. What can we do with a book that leaves untouched no burning question in logic, psychology, or ethics? In addition to a thorough discussion of these particular problems, he endeavours to mark out the province assigned to each of these and to describe the relations of all the sciences to metaphysic. It is evident that a review of the book is not possible, and adequate criticism out of the question. We may, however, describe the book and indicate its procedure. His starting point is in the thesis that philosophy is the synthesis of Science and Religion, and from this point of view he sets forth the past and present aspects of these great movements of human thought and life. So far his work is introductory, but even the introductory work is sufficient to establish him in the confidence of the reader. The nature and aim of philosophy is the next theme, and under this head we have a clear and fit description of the three great divisions of philosophy, psychology, epistemology, and ontology, in their special nature and province, and also in their interrelations. This chapter is both critical and constructive. The subject of psychology is the description and explanation of con-



scious states as such, the subject of epistemology is the structure of knowledge ; and then comes the problem of the reference to self and to an objective world and the recognition of these references by psychology and epistemology. This leads on to a provisional statement of the problem of ontology. Whoso masters this chapter will have a firm grasp of the main philosophical problems of the hour, and be prepared for the harder task of following the author into more intricate problems still. An appendix to this chapter deals with the theory of "Monism." An able and masterly criticism. The next chapter deals with the distinction of individual and universal judgments. What is the nature of judgment? In answer the traditional theories of the nature of judgment are reviewed, the nominalist view brought to a *reductio ad absurdum*, and it is shown that the conceptualist view ignores the objective reference which can be traced in every cosmological judgment. When the objective reference is recognised, the true problem is before us. A profound discussion follows on the nature of the immediate subject, the meaning of individuality, the significance of identity, and the bearing of these on the truth and worth of individual and universal judgments. The result is to enable us to obtain a fuller view and definition of individuality ; and, finally, leads to the conclusion, that thought is not merely formal, but that it has an organic structure, one of whose roots is the real principle of identity. An appendix follows "on Kant's view of the relation of Sense and Thought."

The general nature of consciousness is the next theme. In dealing with it the author points out that the general nature of consciousness is determined by its necessary relation to an environment. "Any and every consciousness exists only in relation to an environment. This remains always true, though the portion of the environment which is presented to consciousness is susceptible of expansion and contraction to an indefinitely great extent,—from the merely physical, through the social, up to the ideal environment in which ideal truth and goodness are realised in consciousness. In this relation, to a surrounding world of some kind, to some extent, are plainly involved at least two functions—a receptive and a reactive. If the terms could be kept clear of mechanical implications, we might say that the rule of the relation is—give and take, action and reaction, impression and expression or response." This leads to the threefold analysis of consciousness, and to the relation between its three factors—intellection, feeling, and conation. A description of the characteristics of these follows, and also of the typical form of the psychologically complete function. The statement of his own view is further elucidated and defended in relation to opposing views, which are criticised. An appendix on some

problems in the psychology of feeling follows, and well deserves attentive study.

These chapters prepare the way for the admirable discussion on the nature of self-knowledge. This is the philosophical problem of the time, widely discussed, and attacked from various sides by the foremost writers of the day. While we regard with much admiration the work of Mr Mellone in this section, we wish he had discussed it at further length and with more detail. Apparently he has felt that the discussion has grown under his hands, and he has condensed his argument until it has become obscure. As it is the most important and also the culminating part of his argument, we wish that he had set it forth with greater adequacy. The appendix on Biological Theories of Evolution is one of the most competent as well as the most drastic we know on the subject. He shows with great clearness and power the onesidedness and other defects of Natural Selection.

The last two chapters deal with Ethics. One deals with the method of ethics, and the other with the postulates of ideal ethics. In the former the main inquiry is concerned with the ultimate end or good. We shall let the author state his own position. "We started with the assumption that there is a supreme ideal, which we found must be an Ideal of Personal life. We were led to reject two theoretical views of its nature, and neither of which, when carried out systematically, had sufficient coherence to maintain itself. Falling back, therefore, on the development of personality as a whole, we found three separate ends which are capable of being pursued independently of one another to a certain extent, but which seemed to have equally just claims to enter into the ideal. What, then, is the ground of their joint claim to constitute it? As regards this question, we have, through the greater part of the preceding discussion, adopted a point of view which may be called that of a higher form of Intuitionism: instinctively we know that in the progressive attainment of Truth, Beauty, and Righteousness, we are realising the highest capacities of our nature, in whose service all other springs of action should be co-ordinated, and that these are the aims which give to life all its worth. Now, it may prove that there is a sense in which an intuitionism of this kind is the last word of Ethics; but we must push the question further before we can rest in such a conclusion. More than once we have been led to go beyond this point of view. We have pointed out how in realising these highest aims the individual is carried beyond himself: his life, without ceasing to be his own, without being lost in something impersonal, begins to be brought into deeper harmony with other lives. This has appeared most clearly in the Intellectual and Moral Ideals; and it brings us to the question, Is this self-

transcending character of the Good the real ground of its obligation upon us? The problems here suggested are those that lead from Ethics into Metaphysics: but at this transition we must close our present inquiry."

We earnestly hope that the author will continue to prosecute these studies, for which he has shown such remarkable aptitude, and that his next book will take up the inquiry where this has laid it down, and carry the inquiry into larger issues still. Meanwhile all students will thank him for this worthy study of those questions which are always with us, and to which every generation must find an answer of some kind.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Untersuchungen zur Phänomenologie und Ontologie des menschlichen Geistes.**

*Von Dr G. Class, ord. Professor in Erlangen. Leipzig: Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 238. Price, M.4.*

A BRIEF introductory notice refers us to an earlier work by Dr Class, and points out the difference in aim and method between it and the present work. In the former work (*Ideale und Güter*), the discussion moved in the region to which the kritik of practical reason properly belongs. It was, in the words of Kant, a Transcendental investigation. The present work is an enquiry into the nature of reality. The two books supplement one another.

The introduction deals with the meaning of the words "Soul and Spirit," and their significance to the scientific consciousness of to-day. It is an interesting and significant discussion. Not only does it cast light on the particular matter in hand, it has, also, an independent historical and philosophical value in relation to the progress of human life and thought. One way of measuring the progress of thought is to ascertain the difference in contents of terms as used in a former generation and as used now. In the hands of Dr Class, the inquiry into the meaning of the words "Soul and Spirit" becomes a description of the difference between the thought and life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This difference is happily seized and graphically set forth. The nineteenth century has gained something, but it has also lost something. It has a more vivid conception of the solidarity of man, but not so vivid of the great doctrines of freedom and immortality, and of the value of the individual man, as that which obtained in the eighteenth century. Incidentally, Dr Class gives us luminous views of the sciences, and of the relations between the

physical sciences on the one hand, and ethics and religion on the other. He helps us to obtain an answer to questions which ever press on man and are as old as philosophy itself. What view are we to take of the spirit and soul of man? Are they to be looked at as two elements, or as two forms of the same element? This is the topic discussed in the first chapter of the book. The second chapter deals with the ontological aspects of the phenomena discussed and investigated in the first chapter. In the exposition of the phenomena, the author disclaims intention of discussing every question which may present itself, and though he does not expound a system of philosophy, he yet tells us that a definite system lies at the foundation of it. What his system is he does not say in this book, nor shall we inquire. We have found it to be sufficiently intelligible.

As a matter of fact, man is seen to be a twofold being; he is a being living in a body, yet also possessed of a spiritual nature. To describe fully his bodily nature needs the help of many sciences, such as anatomy, physiology, and such like. These and their results are not excluded in an inquiry like the present one. While admitting the high value of these sciences, Dr Class is careful to point out that it is impossible to explain the nature of man from the standpoint of those sciences which deal with the body of man alone. This materialistic view is not the result of empirical investigation, it is a philosophical interpretation of these results. This interpretation must be tried and tested by philosophy. The result of empirical investigation is to present man before us as a being who has both a bodily and a spiritual life, who lives in two worlds, the seen and the unseen. How is the present object of investigation to be limited on both sides, in relation to the material side and in relation to the absolute spirit? How, also, is the subject to be treated, and by what method? These are the questions set forth and answered in the first section of the first chapter.

He describes briefly the kind of help he expects to get from historical, psychological, and ethical science for the solution of his problem. Chiefly he lays stress on the concrete life of man, as that life is manifested in the course of history. He recognises that man lives as an individual, but always as an individual within the concrete stream of universal life. Thus he speaks of all human actions as contained in these three divisions—religious, legal-moral, and relations of culture. Religious relations are those in which men stand to the supersensual ground of reality; legal-moral contain all the relations in which man stands to other men; while under the head of culture he includes all relations of man to nature, such as those of production and consumption, as well as those of art and science. Thus there is a stream of human life,

and the individual is, as it were, a well in that stream. What is the relation of the individual to the universal? of the folk to the individual? We have an interesting discussion of this, in which are described the influence of the folk on the individual, and the chapter ends with a summation of results he has obtained through this investigation. But the investigation is simply a statement of the problem which has to be solved in the second chapter, What is soul? and what is spirit?

In a characteristic way he begins again with a reference to history, and states again the relation of the individual to the whole. The individual comes to full self-consciousness through interaction with the whole, but the individual is not a bare phenomenon, he is real, and in contact with reality. He then passes to the contrast between personal and the life of things (*sachlichen leben*). In this section he seems to us to make distinctions, and to frame definitions which are peculiar. He speaks of *sachlichen leben* in a way hard to understand, and to attribute to it qualities which properly belong only to personal beings. Thus he speaks of the primacy of thought in *sachlichen leben*, and of it as spiritual. The result is somewhat confusing. In truth, the words "personal" and "unpersonal" are used in a peculiar sense. It would have been an improvement had he used these words in their common meaning, more especially as the peculiar sense adds nothing to his argument. In the end he concludes that the constitutive elements of the idea of spirit are the "*Ich*" and "*das Denken*." There is a suggestive section on the relation between spirit and nature as the basis of personal life, and there is a good discussion of the universal basis for the postulate of the immortality of the personal spirit.

We have found the book to be full of interest, but not so much in relation to the particular problem stated in the title. That problem remains to be solved. But the book opened up to us wide vistas of thought, threw open to view many suggestive views of wide-reaching importance in philosophy, in history, and in theology, and we have been greatly enriched by the study of it. The book has, indeed, raised many questions, and has settled very few; but to raise questions wisely is a great service, and this our author has done. It is a great gain to learn that on most questions a great deal remains to be said.

JAMES IVERACH.

**The Christian Pastor and the Working Church.**

*By Washington Gladden, D.D., LL.D. (International Theological Library.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Post 8vo, pp. xiv. 485. Price, 10s. 6d.*

WITH theories of the Christian Ministry and Ecclesiastical Polity this treatise takes nothing to do; nor does the scope of the work include Homiletics. The former subject has been dealt with in Dr Allen's volume in this series; the latter has been assigned for treatment to other most competent hands. Liturgics, Pedagogics, and Haliotics are also extraneous to the purpose of the present work, which deals with Poimenics and Catechetics alone.

The author's view-point, characteristic of the times, is soon evident, and dominates the whole survey. "The Christian Church and its pastor form the subject of this study. By the Church is meant the local congregation of Christian believers. To the organisation and work of this congregation, under the leadership of its minister, our inquiry will be addressed."

Emphasis is thus transferred, for the first time in a large work of the kind, from the ministry to the congregation. The author (perhaps, from several points of view, the most competent man in America to handle this subject,) is weakest on the historical side, strongest, where strength is most needed, on present-day Christian activity—the Church of to-day and to-morrow. "On the scholastic side," he remarks, "the book will be found less elaborate than many of the treatises which have preceded it"; and he wisely refers his readers, for the history of pastoral method, to the pages of Van Oosterzee and Theodosius Harnack. The introductory chapter furnishes certain bibliographical references. The lists, though omitting some favourites, are fairly exhaustive. Vinet, Fairbairn, Blaikie, Oosterzee, are always at his elbow; and he does not hesitate to make free use of good authorities. He writes, doubtless, with large knowledge, but still as an American best versed in the methods of his own country. For apology, if any be needed, he can point to the same limitation (geographical) in the works of all his predecessors: "A flavour of the soil is always in them." For compensation there is of course the suggestiveness arising from comparison and contrast.

The form in which the subject-matter is presented is a series of chapters—or lectures, shall we say, for they may very well have been prepared for delivery as such? In adopting this form, to the rejection of better example and precedent, the author has chosen a method which lends itself to prolixity and the repetition of the obvious. The reader who dislikes footnotes and appendices, how-

ever, will have no occasion to grumble here. Everything to be said on any branch of the subject is said in its own chapter.

The book reveals no ecclesiastical bias. You perceive or guess where the author stands himself. For who can altogether hide that? But his attitude is one of impartiality to a degree. Indeed one feels that an occasional dash of some strong preference would have invigorated parts of the work. Like most Independents he reprobates the heresy that lurks in the system to which he adheres. The conception of society as an organism is, to him, "even more vitally true of Christian society. 'Many members but one body' is as true of the Church of Jesus Christ in any town or city as it is of the individual members of any given church." "The old individualism has done its own disintegrating work in ecclesiastical as well as in civil society." A necessary reaction against hierarchical despotisms, the protest has gone quite far enough; and he sees reason to hope that "the conception of Christian society as an organism will give us, during the century which is now approaching, some precious fruitage." All this, without impinging on doctrines of polity, comes out in his chapter on co-operation between churches, which, with him, serves the purpose otherwise secured in the organized churches, and would in addition group these together for common ends as high and as many as possible. The idea is an old and favourite one with Dr Gladden, and well-approved, we might add; for his bright chapters on the Christian League of Connecticut proved a stimulus and model for united Christian effort in America, and have not been without influence on the "Free Church Council" movement in England. All the same it may be doubted, however useful and promising such voluntary association of Church units may be, whether anything short of "incorporating union" can ever be greatly effective for attaining the ends in view.

The work is divided, really though not formally, into two parts: one (the smaller) on the pastor—call, duties, relationships; and the other on the organization and activity of a church, i.e. congregation. Some of the topics (the call to the ministry, *e.g.*) are handled in good old-fashioned style, for what can be said that is new on such themes? But no chapter is merely trite or stale. Coming from one so wide-awake, eager, resourceful, "forward," the work is surprisingly conservative. Its positions are generally cautious and well-considered. Indeed with some people it might pass for reactionary, in certain respects. For Dr Gladden can see the good and approve it even though discarded or fallen into disrepute, as when he leans to less frequent communion, preparatory services, the revival of catechising, and so on. The distinguishing feature of the book, however, is its freshness of outlook and sympathy with everything, new or old, tending to the perfecting of the ministry and the edify-

ing of the body which is the Church. His idea of the Church as an instrument not an end, an instrument making for righteousness and hastening the advent of the Kingdom, taken along with his theology, which is after the manner or spirit of Robertson and Bushnell, and his keen interest in the great social problems of the hour, will indicate further the standpoint of the author and the scope and aim of the work. When allowance is made for a certain discursiveness, the book may be taken as the best in its own department, more consonant with the character, and more interpretative of the spirit, aspirations and ideals of the Church of to-day, than any kindred work.

The more interesting chapters are those on the children and the young people in the Church, social life within and parish evangelisation around the Church, women's place and work, "Institutional Churches," and the parts dealing with the conduct and character of services (Sunday evening and midweek services in particular, for these and meretricious musicians, as quartettes or choirs, are chief thorns in the Church's flesh beyond the great sea).

On Sunday Schools, as befits an American and a treatise of this kind at this time of day, Dr Gladden has much to say. The earlier authorities barely alluded to the subject, Van Oosterzee sparing less than half a page of 620 pp. to it. The religious well-being and upbringing of the young command two or three out of twenty chapters; and this is as it should be. The whole problem of the religious instruction of the young has yet to come up in our country. It may have to be conceded that the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians are right in requiring a more thorough daily instruction of their children in religious matters, and that others have supinely been satisfied with a minimum, a least common measure (to mix terms somewhat) of religious teaching. No fault is to be found with the zeal of the former if only they would teach their teaching at their own expense. The fault of the latter is their remissness in securing the thorough instruction of their young and their indifference as to how the work is paid for. Dr Gladden sees this, regrets it, and cogently argues for the revival of catechising and the pastor's part in this work. "At the present time the fidelity and thoroughness with which Roman Catholic children are taught by their pastors the doctrines of their Church, utterly put to shame the negligence of the descendants of the Reformers. . . . It is time the Reformed Churches, whose system rests on instruction, had taken up the weapons which have been thrown away." He argues for the use of appropriate catechetical instruction, and is naturally a warm admirer of Dupanloup's method. He has much that is interesting to say on the experiments made in his own country.



Altogether it is a chapter to occasion much searching of heart. Nor is the twin chapter on Sunday Schools much less important. Principles, particulars, methods, are set forth with precision and emphasis. Sunday School buildings, the superintendent (qualifications, appointment, etc.), the conduct of the school, lessons, singing, and what not, are all fully and instructively discussed. No Sunday School superintendent, no minister, should escape examination on chapters ix. and xv. They would work a revolution in some Sunday Schools, and the dissolution of others. On discipline for instance, he is explicit and unmistakable. "The one thing that should not be tolerated in a Sunday School is disorder. Nor is there any difficulty in the case. A superintendent who demands it can secure it. . . . Misbehaviour in the Sunday School is sometimes tolerated because the superintendent fears that by the enforcement of discipline he will drive children from the school. It is better, they say, that the children should come even if they do misbehave; they may get some good out of the service; we must not drive them into the street. But this is sophistry. It is far better that the children should be in the street than that they should be behaving riotously in the Lord's House. The lesson of irreverence, of disrespect for sacred places and sacred services which many of them are learning in the Sunday School is one of the worst lessons they could learn." Nor does he aught extenuate "the stupid and formal Sunday School service." With the author's attitude to the International Lesson Scheme, many will find themselves in full sympathy. A change is inevitable and has, indeed, already begun. Only, after the law of such movements, every several Church and Association is making experiments of its own in providing a rational graduated system of religious instruction.

On the form or order of service he has much to say that will meet with more approval to-day than would have been accorded to such views not many years ago. The odd circumstance, explicable enough historically, that in matters of public non-liturgical worship the minister has so large, the worshippers so small, a share, is acutely and profitably discussed. The rejection of everything liturgical,—and even the reading of Scripture in public worship was an unsettling innovation in some American churches a hundred and fifty years ago,—led to a species of apparent sacerdotalism. But reform is abroad, and Dr Gladden makes a worthy contribution to the cause of improved public worship. In the exclusive claim or conceded right of an ordained clergyman to administer the sacraments and pronounce the benediction, our author finds something that savours of priestism even in Puritanism. To him the modified formula, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with *us* all"

(instead of "you") has saving virtue, and he commends it, rather needlessly. Even Austin Phelps, guiltless enough of High leanings, condones any imagined tincture of sacerdotalism that may be traced in the proper apostolic form. Dr Gladden is disposed, all things considered (and he considers every aspect of the question very fully), to approve of the Lord's Supper being given to the sick in suitable circumstances. On Baptism he holds views the reverse of High, reducing the Sacrament (in the case of infants at any rate) to a form of dedication. What is written on the midweek and Sunday evening services,—and what he says is full of suggestiveness,—would be more convincing if one did not feel that a large part of the object is to meet the difficulty of meagre or waning attendance at these services; for apparently the case is much worse in America than in England. It is too much a question of how effectively to draw the people out to these services. Of course they can be drawn in crowds. Anyone can do it. But if they will not come to pray and to profit by the truth of God, it is a thing of two thoughts whether they should be tempted by discourses on a variety of topics that just touch the fringes of religion; and only an encyclopædic minister could meet Dr Gladden's requirements, literary, artistic, and scientific.

But we must part with the volume. The chapter on "Institutional Churches" may be a revelation to many. Only in America could single congregations "run" colleges (almost universities) with thousands of students, confer degrees, maintain hospitals, and a score of such public general institutions. Dr Gladden views such many-sidedness with considerable favour as an end, good apart from the good end it may also serve. Indeed, he betrays quite a Chalmersian disinclination to hand over the Church's ancient heritage in the poor and suffering to the exclusive control of the State. But the old order changeth, and not for the worse altogether, if the Church so Christianizes the State as to render it willing to undertake those great national charities which are unsectarian, Catholic, Christly, human. What the Church needs to take care of is that she do not jeopardize her most precious possession, her spiritual quality, by too great or too varied or unnecessarily protracted engrossment in things not essential to her mission and commission.

Apart from the flavour of the soil, and a few such Americanisms as "antagonize," "arrears," "rendition" (of music), the book is quite "International," and is the freshest and most useful work we possess in its own department of Pastoral Theology.

JOHN C. GRANT.

### **Seelsorgerliche Kreutzfahrten im Kampf wider Kräftige Irrtümer.**

*Von Johann Friedrich Hashagen, Doktor und ord. Professor der Theologie, &c., zu Rostock. I. Band: der Knecht Christi. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xii. 356. Price, M.5; bound, M.6.*

DR HASHAGEN'S homilies supply a wholesome, spiritual diet to the readers of the *Critical Review*. The growth of the soul in the graces of a devout, religious life does not receive very much real help from critical studies as usually prosecuted in these days. And a work like this from the University preacher in Rostock—a work which breathes throughout the spirit of sincere piety and evangelical fervour—may find a useful place among the volumes of learning and research whose names are honourably recorded in the *Critical Review*.

Dr Hashagen appears to have had some difficulty in choosing a title for the volume before us. It consists of a series of contemplations, meditations, or discussions founded on the Epistle to the Philippians. For a number of years Dr Hashagen has made a careful study of that Epistle. The results of his studies are partly recorded in the present work, which has been published at the request of those who had the opportunity of listening to the discourses contained in the volume.

The author finds a text for the topics he means to discuss in Phil. iv. 8, 9; and the greater part of the present volume consists of a series of homilies on these verses. The object of the popular preacher is, as may be expected, entirely practical. Dr Hashagen is a man of courage. He assumes the rôle of a crusader. At the close of the nineteenth century he finds enemies of the Christian faith as deadly and determined as any that the knights of chivalry, with Richard Cœur de Lion at their head, contended with seven centuries ago. Against these enemies, who, in our day, are to be found mainly in the spiritual and intellectual sphere, Dr Hashagen enters on a campaign as fearlessly as any knight of the old time.

At the close of Phil. iv. 8, the Apostle exhorts the Philippian brethren to think on the true, the honourable, &c., enumerated in the verse. This at once raises the question whether it is in a man's power to control his thinking. If the answer to that question should be in the negative, it is obvious that the Apostle's exhortation cannot fairly be pressed; non-compliance cannot involve a *culpa*.

The question thus raised Dr Hashagen quite properly declines to discuss with those who *abstractly* deny the responsibility of man.

And the line of thought followed in the exposition of this topic may suffice to show the evangelical character of the teaching of the book. It is obvious (so the argument runs), that the Apostle addresses, not the natural man, but the true Christian—the man who has been born again. In respect to his thoughts, as to other matters, the natural man is not free. Personally, his energy is crippled; he neither possesses, nor does he care to possess, the ability to nourish his thoughts with that which is really good, or even to influence them for good. It is quite different with the regenerate man. In him the Grace of God is sufficient for right thinking, as for other things. That is the first point. The next question is, whether the Grace of God necessary for right thinking is freely at man's disposal? It is obvious that a revelation from God alone can give a satisfactory answer to that question. This leads Dr Hashagen to refer to present discussions regarding the books of the Bible, specially those of the Old Testament. Here his attitude is uncompromising. His position will be most easily indicated by an example. He discusses the opinion, largely supported in these days, that no harm would accrue to the Christian faith although the inerrancy of the Old Testament was given up. His answer is that the way in which the Old Testament is referred to and quoted from by our Lord and his Apostles is conclusive in favour of its absolute trustworthiness. He puts aside the question of *Inspiration*. On that he says frankly that he will express no opinion. But as to the *trustworthiness* of the Old Testament record, he holds that it is inseparably bound up with the trustworthiness of Christ Himself (p. 23). Our Saviour uses the Old Testament as an unconditionally trustworthy book, and neither in His words nor in those of His Apostles can the slightest indication of any other opinion be found (*ib.*). It is scarcely necessary to say that Dr Hashagen gives no quarter to the views of those who suggest that our Saviour accommodated Himself to current ideas, or adopted current expressions, without regard to their historical trustworthiness. Against such a method of dealing with a serious difficulty, Dr Hashagen cries, "non possumus," and takes his stand on our Saviour's claim, "I am the truth." That is an answer which, extreme in itself, will be regarded by many as answering nothing. And if Dr Hashagen had nothing more to say, the matter might be left there. But our author calls special attention to the fact that, in the Sermon on the Mount, and in other discourses, our Saviour repudiates many of the views of the acknowledged religious authorities of His time. This will not be denied. But it is urged that our Saviour's condemnation applies to the spiritual sphere alone. As to matters external, material, historical, his strictures are not available. Dr Hashagen's argument at this point

may appear to be one-sided, but it goes straight to the heart of a difficulty experienced by many earnest-minded men in our time. The line of thought is as follows: It is within our power to investigate the material, the external, the historical. In this sphere investigation has been prosecuted much more fully and successfully in our days than in any former age. But the spiritual sphere is beyond our ken. And the question put by Dr Hashagen is, in the circumstances, not unreasonable, viz., "Who is to draw the line between external and spiritual things?" And, further, "if a book is untrustworthy in statements which it is in our power to investigate, how can we be expected to believe it in matters which, from their very nature, we are incapable of investigating?" These are important practical questions. To answer them by saying that each man must determine for himself what is spiritual in our Saviour's teaching, and act accordingly, is to give as little help to blinded souls seeking the light, as Dr Hashagen does when he seeks to silence opponents by simply quoting our Saviour's claim, "I am the truth." The fact is that there is scarcely a more serious question before the Evangelical Churches at present than that which concerns the authority of Holy Scripture.

Another point on which Dr Hashagen insists is, that a true religious life depends, absolutely, on the state of the heart and mind towards God. The wicked and slothful servant (Matt. xxv. 24 ff.) perished because his personal relation to his Lord was all wrong. This is elementary teaching, but it is the elementary which is most apt to be overlooked in these days. And error in regard to the *fundamentals* can lead to only one result.

The apostle's exhortation to think on "whatsoever things are true," our author applies effectively to everyday life. The Psalmist's prayer—"Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, keep the door of my lips"—is greatly needed in our day. Serious thought with a view to strict truthfulness in the familiar talk of daily life is all too rare. The result is that something not strictly true slips into a man's conversation with his neighbours. It is not a lie—as ordinarily understood. There is nothing very reprehensible. No blame attaches to the intention of the speaker. He is simply thoughtless, and his thoughtlessness may prove the source of no little mischief. That on the one side. On the other, the state of commercial and social life in our days is such that to many it appears impossible to maintain a rigid adherence to what is strictly true. A tendency to *thoughtlessness* regarding truth and falsehood easily follows. The result is somewhat graphically indicated by means of an illustration from the natural world. (Such illustrations seem to come readily to Dr Hashagen, and form a noteworthy feature of the style of his book.) A picture is drawn of a man

standing on the sea-shore on a foggy day, and gazing across the water to the horizon. He cannot distinguish where the water ceases and the heavens begin ; he seems to see ships sailing among the clouds, and the clouds moving through the waters. The application is easy, and the lesson is valuable. Man's capacity for self-deception is not easily measured.

What has been written may be sufficient to show the practical character of Dr Hashagen's teaching.

Having expounded verse 8, the author in two closing chapters deals with the apostle's claim in verse 9. He calls attention to the fact that the exhortation to action does not *immediately* follow the call to meditation. The apostle is not dealing with abstract questions. His object is as practical as Dr Hashagen's in these homilies. He reminds the Philippian converts of the doctrine he taught them, and the life he lived among them. And he calls upon them to take his teaching and example as the rule of their life : "The things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, these things do." As Bengel puts it, "*facit transitionem a generalibus—ad Paulina.*" It may be asked, "what is the Apostle's authority for thus presenting himself as a teacher to be obeyed, an example to be followed?" The answer is found in his personal relation to his Lord. The matter is discussed in connection with the incident of the "Thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. xii. 1-10). Through a conflict of the kind reported in these verses, a man reaches the position of a true "Knecht Christi,"—even as our Saviour, in the conflict in Gethsemane, showed Himself the ideal servant of God.

Dr Hashagen calls attention to the three-fold prayer of our Lord in Gethsemane, and the three-fold prayer of the Apostle under the agony of the thorn in the flesh.

The answer to the Apostle's prayer was not what flesh and blood craved. But it was *the* answer for a man like Paul. He accepted it in simple faith,—in the spirit of Him who, in Gethsemane, said, "not my will, but thine be done." With the confidence and courage of an unquestioning faith in the divine promise, he went forth, the first and greatest Christian Crusader, armed with spiritual weapons alone, to make conquests for the kingdom of God such as no one since his day has achieved.

About the middle of the first century A.D., two men took their lives in their hands, and went through Asia Minor preaching Christ crucified and risen. They were the first Christian Crusaders that visited this part of the world ; and they gained converts to Christ, and planted Christian churches wherever they went. Eleven centuries later, other two Christian crusaders—Conrad, Emperor of Germany, and Lewis, King of France—passed through the same

district. They were not alone. They had each an armed host of about 100,000 men. The two world-potentates lost a great part of their forces—were fain to visit Jerusalem as humble pilgrims—and returned home beaten at every point. In his closing pages Dr Hashagen fixes attention on the contrast between the Crusaders of the first century and those of the twelfth. The true Knecht Christi fights with spiritual weapons, and seeks spiritual conquests alone; and in this warfare Paul is the typical Knecht Christi—after the example of Christ Himself.

Dr Hashagen's volume appeals to the Christian community for earnest thoughtfulness in regard to Christian life and duty, and a more needful appeal can scarcely be addressed to the Church in these days.

Forty pages of notes referring to the literature bearing on the topics discussed, and used in the preparation of the homilies, add considerably to the value of the book. GEO. G. CAMERON.

### **After Pentecost, What? A Discussion of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its Relation to Modern Christological Thought.**

*By the Rev. James M. Campbell. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 298. Price, 3s. 6d.*

### **Die Heilsbedeutung der Taufe im Neuen Testament.**

*Von Lic. Theol. Paul Althaus. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. xii. 321. Price, M.4.50.*

IN Mr Campbell's suggestive book we have the substance of a course of lectures given before the Summer School of the University of Chicago and the Macatawa Park Assembly, Michigan. The author begins with a much needed rebuke to those who raise the cry, Back to Pentecost. He shows admirably the senselessness of the cry, and the folly of crying out for the past when we have the power that was given in the past still with us for the work of the present and the preparation for the future. Pentecost as an event is of the past, and never can and never shall come back. "Its rushing mighty wind, its miraculous gifts are gone. They belonged to an initial condition of things that required outward signs and credentials. Christianity is now an established fact, and has no need of attestation. It is its own credential." Yet all that is spiritual and essential in Pentecost remains. The truth for which Pentecost stands is needed to counteract the materialism in philosophy and the formalism in religion of to-day. From this point of view the

author proceeds to treat of Christ, God, worship, the apprehension of death, man, holiness, authority, as imposed by the Spirit, showing how each of these conceptions has to be spiritualised and transfigured into spirit. There is a long chapter (pp. 153-209) on Spiritual Operations, in which the Spirit's work in convicting, regenerating, renewing, anointing, teaching, leading, witnessing, sealing, inscribing, inspiring, interceding, indwelling, striving, is discussed and set forth in a discriminating and suggestive manner. "It is wrong," says our author, "to speak of this sin" (the sin against the Holy Ghost) "as the unpardonable sin." No sin is unpardonable. All that is affirmed of it is that it is an *unpardoned* sin; and it is now and must for ever be an unpardoned sin, not because God in His infinite mercy is unwilling to pardon it, but simply because those who commit it are in an unpardonable condition. For the impenitent there is pardon nowhere and at no time, but for the penitent there is pardon everywhere and at all times." But must not this be said of all sins, as well as of this particular sin? This, however, is true, that the rejection of the Holy Ghost is the unpardonable sin, because it is the rejection of the Spirit who alone can give repentance.

The volume is concluded by an interesting and stimulating chapter on The Kingdom—spiritual and universal. "After Pentecost the Church; through the Church the Kingdom." The author is acquainted with what Augustine, Bruce and Kaftan, have said about the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom is the ideal which the Church has never wholly lost sight of. "An ideal church may nowhere be found, but a church with an ideal is found wherever there is a church in which the Spirit dwells." This work is well fitted, by directing men's thoughts to the Spirit of Power, to help toward the realising of the Kingdom which is Righteousness, and Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost.

Mr Althaus's volume is a really able and helpful work, but it suffers greatly from the form in which it is issued. The 316 pages of its text are sent forth without title headings of any description, and they are printed continuously without any chapter or sectional divisions. The distribution is set forth admirably in the contents, and if only the divisions there indicated and the titles of sections and subsections there given, were repeated in their proper places throughout the book, it would greatly facilitate the use of a very painstaking and elaborate treatise. The work consists of three unequal parts:—First an important Introductory part: The Historical Foundations and Presuppositions of New Testament Baptism (pp. 1-34), in which the author deals (1) with John's Baptism, which has immediate reference to the promised washing of the



Messiah at the coming of the Kingdom of God ; (2) with the instituting of Christian Baptism by the Risen Christ—as means of initiation into the fellowship of Christ, and as being of a sacramental character as an act of individual appreciation of salvation ; (3) with the sending of the Spirit at Pentecost as the condition of fulfilling the command to baptise. The second division is the chief part : Development and Grounding of the Apostolic utterances as to the Saving sense of Baptism from its connection with the New Testament Announcement of Salvation. This part falls into two sub-divisions : (1) The fundamental importance of the gracious activity of the Holy Spirit for the saving efficacy of Baptism : Baptism as Baptism of the Spirit (pp. 34-103). Here we have a most admirable study of the Apostolic doctrine of Baptism with the Spirit, Baptism in the power of the Spirit, and the gracious effects of such Baptism ; (2) the fundamental importance of the gracious activity of the living Christ for the saving efficacy of Baptism : Baptism as Christ-Baptism (pp. 103-296). Christ baptises with the Spirit in order through the Spirit to communicate Himself to the recipient of baptism. Thus in baptism a general gracious fellowship with the living Christ is formed. At considerable length (pp. 115-296) our author treats of : The personal sharing by means of baptism in the gracious effects of the Messianic facts of redemption pledged to us in the person of the living Christ. We have here a thorough and painstaking review of the New Testament literature on the subject. In discussing the Pauline doctrine, the writer shows that Paul regards the sacrificial death of Jesus as the basis of the power of baptism in pardon, that he makes the person of the risen Christ the conditioning means of pardon in baptism, and that He makes baptism represent the personal fellowship with Christ in His death and resurrection. In a short closing section, pp. 296-316, we have a statement of the relation of baptism and faith in the New Testament.

It will thus be seen that Herr Althaus has given us a well arranged presentation of the New Testament doctrine of Baptism in its spiritual, as distinguished from its liturgical, significance. His subject is Christian baptism, and so he does not raise the question of adult or infant baptism. But he closes his Preface with the significant words :—"A right knowledge of baptism as such is the necessary basis, but, at the same time, the surest warrant for the correct solution of the question as to the right of infant baptism."

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

**The Christian Interpretation of Life, and other Essays.**

By *W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D.* London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 335. Price, 4s. 6d.

WITH one exception the chapters composing the above volume have already appeared in the form of articles, contributed, during the last few years, to the *London Quarterly Review*. A risk attends such reprints; but in the present case the author did well to ignore it. Professor Davison writes to excellent purpose on the various topics he deals with, and is entitled to seek a longer lease of life for his work than the pages of a popular magazine could have promised him.

The opening paper, which gives its title to the volume, is perhaps the best of the series, and consists of an attempt at a broad, general statement and defence of the Christian view of the world and human life in view of the difficulties raised for faith by modern scientific and agnostic thought. Written with full understanding of all that is to be urged on the other side it claims a superior reasonableness notwithstanding, under all the main heads, for the new Testament interpretation of existence, and may be commended as, within its limits, an admirably successful piece of argumentation. The chapter which follows, in the form of a review (mainly) of Mr Lilly's *Great Enigma*, deals with the same general topic, though less satisfactorily. In chapter iii., on "The Seat of Authority," Dr Davison has little difficulty in finding some of the more obviously weak places in the rendering of Christianity given by Dr Martineau in his well-known volume, or in disposing of the indefensible criticism on which he rests his case. Chapter iv., on "The Christian Philosophy of Religion," insists on the late revival of speculative interest in religion, and the fresh considerations that have been brought to bear in favour of the theistic position. Under the title "The Foundations of Christian Faith" we have a discussion of Mr Balfour's recent work, and of the posthumously published "Notes on Religion," by Mr Romanes, and under that of "Christianity and Greek Thought" a vigorous criticism of Hatch's Hibbert Lecture. "The Evidential Value of Christian Experience" deals, in a sympathetic and yet independent spirit, with the late Dr Stearns' lectures on that subject; "The Service of Man: Positivist and Christian"—the only chapter in the volume which has a rather belated look—with positivist morality as taught by the late Cotter Morison and Mr Morley; and "Problems in Christian Ethics," with Dr Newman Smith's meritorious contribution to this branch of theological science. Finally, in a chapter on "The Realisation of Christian Unity," written *à propos* of the Papal Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*,

as also of Canon Mason's "Principles of Ecclesiastical Unity," the author enters the lists against Romanist and High Anglican alike in defence of the New Testament idea of the Church as it is understood among evangelical Protestants.

It will be seen that the contents of the book are of a very varied character—too varied by far to permit of detailed criticism here. Treating, within limits so narrow, of half the burning religious and theological questions of the day, Professor Davison will not expect always to carry with him those even whose general sympathy he commands; and he would be the first to confess that the treatment he accords, vigorous as it is, to many of the themes he has touched on still leaves a great deal unsaid. At the same time, a volume of *aperçus* like this has its own excellent uses. It may be heartily recommended as a safe and instructive guide to the lay reader seriously interested in such matters. Thoroughly well-informed, catholic in temper, and earnestly reasoned it is admirably fitted to fulfil its purpose, namely, to "aid in commending Christian views of life to some who have not been disposed to accept them [and] in strengthening the hold of the Christian faith on others who may have been wondering and doubting rather than believing" (Preface). And no aim can be higher than this.

ALEX. MARTIN.

### **Die Zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus.**

*Eine kirchenhistorische und neutestamentliche Untersuchung, von lic. theol. Rudolf Steinmetz, Pastor zu Neuenkirchen im Lande Hadeln. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 244. Price, M.3.60.*

THIS book, the result of a German Pastor's work in his leisure hours, discusses St Paul's second imprisonment (a) without reference to the Pastoral Epistles, (b) with the additional evidence which these writings afford.

Originally the author had intended to treat the subject from the point of view of (a) alone, in the pursuit of his private studies, but the case is materially strengthened, we venture to think, by the examination of St Paul's own writings.

There are probably many who sympathize with the position of Dr B. Weiss, that the hypothesis of the spuriousness of the Pastoral Epistles involves incomparably greater difficulties than the view that they are what they profess to be. If we accept these Epistles the fact of St Paul's liberation and second imprisonment is practically established, for we cannot say that any of the attempts to fit

the Epistles in question into an earlier portion of the Apostle's life are likely to carry much weight, as Steinmetz abundantly proves (p. 122 ff.).

On the other hand, the publication of Spitta's inquiry, bearing the same title as the book before us, in 1893 (*Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, i.), shows us that a critic who in some respects is far removed from a conservative standpoint, holds that a strong case may be made out for an historical second imprisonment apart altogether from the Pastoral Epistles.

Herr Steinmetz reaches in the main the same conclusion as Spitta, but independently, as the latter's inquiry was not read by him until his own work was well on its way to completion.

In dealing with the evidence outside the New Testament Herr Steinmetz starts with the passage in Eusebius, *Hist.* ii. 22, according to which St Paul was released from his first imprisonment, continued to preach, and suffered martyrdom during a second imprisonment under Nero, pp. 17-28 having been previously occupied with attesting the undoubted fact that the Apostle died a martyr's death in Rome, whatever difficulties may arise as to the date and circumstances of his death. The examination of the passage in Eusebius is very discriminating. Herr Steinmetz, with many modern critics, believes that Eusebius was entirely mistaken in supposing that the expression *πρώτη ἀπολογία* in 2 Tim. iv. 16 refers to a former imprisonment of St Paul, and not to an earlier appearance (*actio prima*) before the Roman Court in the same imprisonment. But the mistake, if it be a mistake (and we must remember that Zahn, in his recent *Einleitung in das N.T.*, i., pp. 402, 403, sides with the interpretation of Eusebius) is due to the historian himself—the tradition that Paul died in a second imprisonment he found already in existence (p. 33). Certainly he uses the phrase *λόγος ἔχει*, but Steinmetz rightly declines to see in the expression anything else than an appeal to a current tradition (p. 34). In support of this view he might now appeal to the judgment of Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, i., note p. 240, who inclines to regard the phrase in the same light. The chronology of Eusebius Steinmetz rejects as entirely mistaken and unreliable (pp. 36 ff.). According to this Paul arrives in Rome about 56 A.D., and is put to death on the same day as St Peter in 67. But these mistakes afford no ground for ignoring the reference of Eusebius to St Paul's release, although the fact that the historian quotes no testimony in support of his statement obliges us to seek additional vouchers (pp. 42 ff.).

Here again Harnack's book, to which allusion has just been made,

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might have been quoted with some advantage. Harnack accepts the date of Eusebius, or perhaps a little later, the spring of 57, for St Paul's arrival in Rome, and although he places the Apostle's death not in 67, with Eusebius, but three years sooner, in 64, the important point for our present subject is his contention that even with the earlier date plenty of time is left for St Paul's visit, after his release, to the East, and also to Spain (*ubi supra*, pp. 233 ff.).

Two famous passages, to support the tradition of Eusebius, are discussed at length (pp. 46-81). The first is taken from St Clement's Epistle (93-97 A.D.) chapter v., where we read of St Paul: *δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών*. Steinmetz declines to follow Meyer, and to see in the expression *ὅλον τὸν κόσμον* undue exaggeration: it simply corresponds to the Latin expression *totus orbis terrarum*, i.e., the Roman Empire; and even if we admit that St Clement is writing in a rhetorical strain, this is a different thing from stating what is actually untrue. A very useful and careful examination of the different meanings assigned to the expression *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* follows (pp. 48 ff.), including the attempts of a whole series of critics, commencing with Baur, and embracing the names of Reuss and Hilgenfeld, to interpret the words figuratively and not geographically.

In answer to all these explanations Steinmetz presses the fact that we have not only *δύσις* but *τέρμα* to consider (p. 51). The former word alone might mean Rome and the West, but when we bear in mind that Strabo speaks of the columns of Hercules as the ends *τὰ πέρατα* of the earth towards the West, and that Philostratus speaks of Gades as situated *κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα*, the whole expression points beyond Rome, and Clement, living in Rome and writing there, evidently has Spain in his mind. Certainly, as Renan pointed out, *L'Antichrist*, p. 106, and as Spitta and Harnack, to say nothing of Zahn and Godet, have since urged, the whole phrase is unnatural as a designation of Rome by one writing in Rome.

Moreover, St Clement wrote only some thirty years or so after St Paul's death, and he must have known whether the journey purposed in Rom. xv. was accomplished or not. The further mention of St Paul in the same passage two or three lines previously as *ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας* (not *πολλάκις*, as Zahn reminds us) sufficiently shows that Clement had definite knowledge of Paul beyond the narrative of the Acts, and that he was following some independent tradition, p. 64 (so Spitta, *ubi supra*, p. 58). In the four following pages the difficulties connected with the words *μαρτυρήσας ἐν τῶν ἡγουμένων* are examined, but we can only refer our readers to these pages, or to the remarks of Godet, *Introduction on N. T.*, i. 633, 634; cf. Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 446; or Spitta, *ubi supra*, p.

56. A discussion follows in pp. 54-64 of the reasons why the Fathers do not refer to the passage in Clement, and one or two important points are justly emphasized, especially in relation to Origen and St Cyril.

The famous passage in the Canon Muratori next claims attention (pp. 65 ff.), and there are two points upon which Herr Steinmetz specially insists: (1) the writer of the Fragment regards the journey of St Paul to Spain as an historical fact equally with the martyrdom of St Peter, a point which has been forcibly insisted upon by Zahn in his recent *Einleitung in das N. T.* (see i. 440); (2) the difficulty in supposing that the tradition of a journey of St Paul to Spain is entirely based upon the Apostle's words in Rom. xv. Whatever may be the value of the apocryphal Acts, their statements are claimed by Steinmetz as showing us that the Muratorian Fragment may well have followed a tradition of St Paul's journey to Spain, which was quite independent of Rom. xv.—a position which is precisely the same as that recently maintained by Zahn (*ubi supra*, p. 440). It must be borne in mind that the last-named writer places the Fragment in question at a later date than many critics, possibly in the first decade of the 3rd century, although in this he is not followed by Spitta or Steinmetz. But even if we accept the later date, we have still to remember that the place of composition is probably Rome (see Dr Salmon's article in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iii. 1000).

We now come to what will appear to many the weakest part of the book—the attempt to prove (pp. 86 ff.) that traces may be found in Spain of St Paul's work in that country. It cannot be said that any tangible result is gained, and the inscription found in Spain, which records how Nero succeeded in extirpating the new superstition which had spread over the Empire (Gruter, *Inscr.*, p. 238, No. 9), is not only very far from being accepted as genuine, but also would not in itself afford any proof of St Paul's visit.

But quite apart from these later pages, there still remain one or two serious considerations, which in our judgment cannot fairly be ignored. The testimony of St Clement is that of a man writing in Rome; Dr B. Weiss, who attaches no weight to the evidence from the passages in St Clement and the Muratorian Fragment, admits that a reference to the extreme limits of the *orbis terrarum* is quite possible in St Clement's words (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 286). Dr J. Weiss (*Ueber die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der Apostelgeschichte*, 1897) has recently urged that the author of Acts regards Rome as *ἔσχατον τῆς γῆς* (i. 8) just as the author of St Clement's Epistle regards Rome as *τέρμα τῆς οὐρέως* (p. 54); the two expressions are practically synonymous. But surely it is one thing for anyone speaking in Jerusalem to refer to

the spread of the Gospel to Rome as a preaching "to the uttermost parts of the earth;" in the *Psalms of Solomon*, viii. 16, Rome is apparently so regarded, and in the same phrase as is used in Acts i. 8. But it is quite another thing for a man writing in Rome to speak of the city in such or similar terms. Rome was not the *τέρμα* either of the Empire or of civilisation: "Spain was by far the most thoroughly romanised district of the Empire, as was marked . . . by the act of Vespasian in 75, when he made the Latin status universal in Spain. From the centre of the Roman world Paul would go on to the chief seat of Roman civilisation in the West, and would thus complete a first survey, the intervals of which should be filled up by assistants, such as Timothy, Titus, etc." (Ramsay, *St Paul*, etc., p. 255). No doubt it still remains open for the opponents of the view that St Paul visited Spain to insist above all, as Dr M'Giffert has recently done, upon the fact that we have no trace of the Apostle's visit in the tradition of any Spanish Church (*History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 416), but on the other hand, the *persistency of any tradition* in the Roman Church that such a visit was made is certainly remarkable, cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral.* xxxi. 103, and Zahn, *ubi supra*, p. 450.

That tradition persisted (as we venture to think a fair interpretation of St Gregory's words plainly shows) in spite of the statements of Innocent I. and Gelasius, which may well have been made, as Zahn and Steinmetz (p. 81-83) maintain, in defence of papal claims. And this tradition rested, to say nothing of the Apocryphal Acts, not merely upon the passage in St Clement, but also upon the statement of the Muratorian Fragment, dating probably within the second century, either from Rome itself, or at least from a writer closely acquainted with the city.<sup>1</sup>

In the second part of his work, Herr Steinmetz considers at length the Pastoral Epistles as witnesses to St Paul's second imprisonment. The Patristic evidence in their favour is closely examined (p. 97 ff.), and the references contained in St Clement's Epistle are, we think, successfully proved against Holtzmann. The same ground has been covered by B. Weiss and Godet, to say

<sup>1</sup> In the very full and able article on "Chronology of N. T." lately contributed by Mr Turner to the new *Bible Dictionary*, i., p. 420, 421, we read, "That Paul after his release carried out the desire long before expressed by him to go on from Rome to Spain, is made more than probable by the testimony of St Clement, that the Apostle 'preached righteousness to the whole world, and reached the boundary of the West' *ad Cor.* v., and of the Muratorian Canon (c. A.D. 200), *profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis*. On the possibility that the *Galatia* to which Crescens was sent, 2 Tim. iv. 10, may have been the greater Gaul of the West, see the above article, and Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 2 and 31 (3rd edition).

nothing of other writers, and we need not follow the argument in detail. But in the review of the apocryphal literature of the second century, stress is justly laid upon the points of contact between the Acts of Paul and Thekla and 2 Tim., and here the writer might have further supported his case by a reference to Professor Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* (p. 417 ff.).

Space forbids us to enter at any length upon a review of the way in which Herr Steinmetz meets further plausible objections against the Pastoral Epistles. Probably for us in England, Dr Hort's *Judaistic Christianity*, ch. vii., has sufficiently proved that there is no necessity to see any references in these writings to the Gnostic heresies of the second century; and Steinmetz insists upon the strangeness of the fact that if a forger had been endeavouring, in his conflict with Gnosticism, to seek the authority of St Paul, he should have spoken with so much uncertainty, instead of indicating precisely the false teaching which he desired to refute; so vaguely indeed has the unknown writer stated his case that Steinmetz derives another argument for the genuineness of the letters from the fact that modern critics are so divided as to the precise heresies attacked (pp. 147, 168).

A third series of objections based upon the conditions of the Church as represented in the Pastoral Epistles is discussed at length (pp. 171 ff.) and with much care and perspicuity. Take as an instance the treatment of 1 Tim. iii. 13.

Two final objections receive careful consideration, and, we venture to think, refutation—viz., those based upon the teaching and language of the Pastoral Epistles. Here we traverse ground already successfully occupied by Dr B. Weiss in Germany, and by Dr Salmon (*Introduction to the New Testament*, ch. xx.), and Dr Wace (*Speaker's Commentary*, New Testament, vol. iii., pp. 749 ff.).

But it is worthy of note that Steinmetz differs from Godet in refusing to account for the style and language of our Epistles on the supposition that the old age of the Apostle betrays itself in these writings. We must remember, as Jülicher has so far rightly maintained, that St Paul had written Philippians and Philemon within the few preceding years, and that no one professes to find in these two Epistles the traces of an old man's style. Nor can we rest satisfied with the view that, as private letters, the Pastoral Epistles would naturally differ from public, since it is evident that they were meant for the Churches in which Timothy and Titus worked.

The true explanation Steinmetz finds in the aim of the letters. In his great Epistles St Paul seeks to develop and to defend the fundamental truths of the gospel. But we are here concerned with letters which insist upon the practical piety of the Christian life,



and even where they are directed against the errors of false teaching, they do not enter upon their refutation, but rather define the attitude which Timothy and Titus should assume with regard to them. They are thus simpler, and not so dialectical as the earlier letters, and especially, in accordance with their aim, are they concerned with advice and exhortation. The objection to the genuineness of the letters based upon the occurrence of so many *Hapaxlegomena* is considerably lessened when we compare the number found in other Epistles which claim St Paul's authorship—e.g., in 1 and 2 Corinthians Weiss counts 100 (Godet 92), in Ephesians and Colossians 140 (Godet, 153), whilst many of the *Hapaxlegomena* in our three Epistles may evidently be accounted for by the objects in view, and the false teaching under consideration. We venture to think that Steinmetz has omitted a point of value upon which Weiss specially insists, in that the Pastorals contain expressions only found elsewhere in the Epistle, which we may perhaps claim as nearest to them in time—e.g., *σεμνός, ἐν πᾶσι, ἐπέχειν, προκοπή* (cf. also Dr Gwynn, *Speaker's Commentary*, iii., p. 588, for several coincidences between 2 Timothy and Philippians). No doubt there are some expressions for the use of which we cannot fully account; but Steinmetz rightly refuses to accept this as any reason for the rejection of the Pastorals, and he fairly quotes Holtzmann as allowing, even when insisting upon their characteristic differences, that there still remains a rich province of language common to our three Epistles, and to all which bear the name of Paul (p. 235).

What, then, is our conclusion? If the liberation of St Paul and his second imprisonment are simply hypotheses to save the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, the latter must be ascribed to some unknown author. But this assumption is in reality an hypothesis still more improbable: "incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdin" (p. 237). On this hypothesis the manifold personal greetings, references, and observations become quite inexplicable unless one supposes in the *falsarius* an almost incredible *refinement*. There only remains, therefore, the supposition that the author, whoever he was, has used fragments of genuine Pauline letters. But this hypothesis, however much its meaning may be glossed over by Jülicher and recent critics, amounts to nothing less than the attribution to the author of a piece of conscious deception. To be consistent, as Steinmetz urges, we must reject the letters as a whole, if we reject them at all, and not accept some fragments as genuine, whilst the remnants are referred to some unknown writer, who boldly gives out his own thoughts with the inscription: "Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus, by the will of God."

But if we take up the position that the letters in question are

entirely or in part fictitious, does the hypothesis of their consequent late composition fulfil all that we expect from it? By no means (p. 239). We are not thereby enabled to put the finger upon any one distinctive form of heresy characteristic of the second century, nor can we prove that the Church organisation or doctrine, as presented to us in the Pastoral Epistles, belong to any later period which can be precisely defined; we have only to consider the strange variety of periods to which the letters are assigned by various writers (p. 239). Above all it is important to bear in mind that the supposed object and purpose of the letters, viz., to establish a monarchical episcopate, or at least to aim at it, as the best guarantee of purity of doctrine, is entirely inconsistent with the fact that in the Epistle, which is regarded by some extreme critics as the oldest of the three, the greater portion is occupied with general exhortations to Christian patience and faithful fulfilment of the Christian vocation, which have no connection with the supposed object in view (p. 240).

We miss in the book before us any reference to English writers; only one name occurs, that of Dr Tregelles. No reference is made, as in Spitta's treatment of the same question, to Bishop Lightfoot, and we should have welcomed some allusion to Professor Ramsay in the criticism of the conclusion of Acts, and of the expectancy of freedom in Philippians (pp. 9-14). But we have to thank Herr Steinmetz for a very careful and discriminating examination of the grounds upon which the Pastoral Epistles are accepted, and although we are again and again reminded of the powerful defence of these same Epistles by Dr B. Weiss, the pages before us contain much valuable and suggestive material. These Epistles, if we accept them, carry with them the facts of St Paul's release and of his subsequent second imprisonment, and for our part we should be content to find in their existence a sufficient and irrefutable attestation of these facts.

Since the above pages were written, a review of our book by Dr Carl Clemen has appeared in the *Theologische Rundschau* for June, marked by his usual acuteness and originality. Dr Clemen, of course, differs entirely from the conclusions of Herr Steinmetz, and we venture to demur to the parallel which he draws between the possible mistake of St Clement with regard to St Paul's visit to Spain and the possible and very probable confusion made by Polycrates of Ephesus (writing, it should be remembered, c. 190) between Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle. The two cases are by no means parallel, and the earlier Fragment of Papias, to which reference is also made, is not altogether to the point. But we gladly welcome Dr Clemen's judgment that the book before us is of no small value and significance, and the tribute which he pays to the care and diligence of the author.

R. J. KNOWLING.

**Notices.**

A NEW volume in the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* comes from the pen of the Rev. James Lilley, M.A., Arbroath. Mr Lilley has previously written an instructive book on *The Lord's Supper*. He writes now on *The Principles of Protestantism*.<sup>1</sup> It is intended to serve as a companion to Dr Lindsay's sketch of *The Reformation* in the same series, and it follows up the history of the origin of Protestantism in Europe, which is given in that volume, by exhibiting "its leading doctrines as they took shape in the Reformed Churches in opposition to those of the Church of Rome." It attempts, therefore, as its sub-title indicates, "an examination of the doctrinal differences between the Protestant Churches and the Church of Rome." The Material Principle is dealt with in Part i., the Formal Principle in Part ii., and the Polity of Protestantism in Part iii.

The main points of doctrine belonging to each of these general topics are carefully stated—the state of man as created, original sin, inability, repentance, faith, good works, &c., under the first; the Scripture, tradition, &c., under the second; the Church, Ministry, and Sacraments under the third. In each case the Protestant doctrine and the Roman Catholic are set over against each other, and an attempt is made to trace the differences between the two to their roots. This is all done in terse and forcible terms. The section which most interests us is that on Scripture—what the Word of God is to the Christian, its perspicuity, its perfection, the theory of development, &c. But we have much that is well considered and well put all through, especially in what is said of the radical difference between the Roman Catholic view of man in his original estate and the Protestant, and on the nature and ordinances of the Church.

There are some sections in which Mr Lilley is less successful. There is something to be desired, for example, in his discussion of the doctrine of Purgatory. But the book as a whole shows much insight into the spirit of the two systems, and is generally fair. So far as it is polemical, its polemic is not overdriven, and it gives in brief compass a great deal of valuable matter. The writer has read widely and thought seriously.

As an example of the author at his best we may refer to what he says on the *Source of certainty respecting the Authority of the Scriptures*. He points out very clearly that the matter at issue between Protestant and Roman Catholic on this subject is not the question "as to what it is that gives the Scriptures that claim on the assent and the obedience of men," nor the question of the

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 250. Price, 2s. 6d.

desirability of being "assured that the Scriptures wield divine authority," nor yet the question whether "the source of our firm persuasions concerning the divine origin and authority of Scripture should be human or divine." The point of difference is, that the Roman Catholic places the sole and sufficient source of a divine assurance respecting the authority of Scripture . . . in the testimony of the Church, while the Protestant holds that the divine testimony is given, "not through a so-called infallible Church, but directly to the individual believer in and with the word in his heart." Mr Lilley then proceeds to show that the Roman Catholic view means that the Church is the "divinely appointed organ of the Holy Spirit on earth, and, therefore, endowed with the gift of infallibility." He indicates how this is put by so competent a theologian as Dr J. A. Möhler, and admits that, if this position could be made good, the Roman Catholic doctrine could be entirely defensible. But he leads an able argument to prove that there is no such inerrable Church on earth as Möhler contends for, that least of all has the Church of Rome any claim to the attribute of infallibility, and that the "Church," whatever definition of it is taken, cannot be said to be the organ of the Spirit "in any sense, or to any extent, that warrants us in receiving her utterances as clothed with absolute truth."

Calvin's statement is then contrasted with Möhler's; the remarkable harmony of the great Reformers and the Reformed Confessions on this vital question is exhibited, and the consonance of the Protestant view with the whole teaching of the Bible on "the relation of the soul to the Spirit and the truth, as well as of these to one another," is very well brought out. The whole discussion of this great subject deserves to be carefully read.

The seventh volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*<sup>1</sup> is to hand. The magazine well maintains its reputation. Under Dr Robertson Nicoll's capable guidance, and with all the benefit of his editorial experience, it could not fail to be successful. Month after month it continues to provide a large variety of able and instructive articles. The present volume contains a number of papers of more than ordinary value. Among these we may specially notice two papers by Professor W. M. Ramsay on *The Authorship of Acts* (an acute but appreciative criticism of Professor M'Giffert's *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*), and on the *Epistle to the Galatians* (a criticism of Zahn's *Einleitung*, which puts *Galatians* chronologically first among the earlier Epistles of St Paul), and the series contributed by Professor Zahn on the Articles of the Apostles' Creed. There are some papers of a more popular kind by the late

<sup>1</sup> London : Hodder and Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

Dr Dale of Birmingham, Dr John Watson, Bishop Chadwick, and others. Professor B. W. Bacon of Yale University subjects the new Chronology of Paul as it is advocated by Harnack, O. Holtzmann, F. Blass, and with certain variations by Professors Ramsay, M'Giffert, and others, to an examination, in which he puts some points in a way that deserves consideration. His conclusion is a very absolute one. He is of opinion that "the foundation on which Holtzmann and M'Giffert have rested the entire weight of their chronologies, and Harnack fully half the weight of his, is a pure anachronism." His contention is that, in view of the testimony of Tacitus and other statements of Josephus himself as to "the continued activity of Felix under Nero," we can find nothing on the "casual, unsupported remark of Josephus," which would imply that the recall of Felix took place before the overthrow of Pallas. Mr Buchanan Gray gives searching criticism of Professor Sayce's "Early History of the Hebrews," and there are other articles of marked ability.

Mr Arthur S. Geden, M.A., tutor in the Wesleyan College, Richmond, contributes a volume on *Comparative Religion*<sup>1</sup> to the series of *Books for Bible Students*, edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. In an introductory chapter the question of Origins is dealt with, clear and able statements being given on Ancestor Worship, Nature Worship, Totemism, the classification of Religions, and similar topics. This is followed by particular studies of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Zoroastrianism, and Muhammadanism. The accounts which are given of the great religious systems are concise, readable, and in most things correct. Nothing is attempted beyond a broad, general statement. There is no room for details. But the whole is done in a simple, direct, and interesting way, so that the book will make a good popular introduction to the study of these ethnic faiths. On the subject of Zoroastrian dualism, the author's position is that the passages in the Gâthas which bear *prima facie* a dualistic interpretation are to be taken as giving only "the popular and superficial impression," and that even the later form of the faith is not dualistic in the sense of teaching the "existence of two equal independent powers of good and evil, alike eternal and omniscient, of equivalent authority, dignity, and rights."

The Rev. Duncan Campbell, B.D., minister of St Matthew's, Edinburgh, contributes a volume on *Hymns and Hymn Makers*<sup>2</sup> to *The Guild Library* of the Church of Scotland. After some good remarks on the definition and the uses of a hymn, the author gives

<sup>1</sup> Studies in Comparative Religion. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 312. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: A. & C. Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. 195. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

a short chapter to the three great hymns of antiquity, the *Ter Sanctus*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the *Te Deum*, for which he justly claims the first place for historical reasons and for intrinsic beauty. The best products of the Hymnologies of the great tongues and nationalities, Greek, Early and Later Latin, Early and Later English, German, and American, are considered, short accounts being given of the writers with estimates of their writings. This is all done in excellent taste, and in a modest, pleasing style. All interested in Hymnology will be glad to find a considerable list of living writers of hymns included in the work. The book deserves a large circulation.

We have additions also to the *Bible Class Primers* and the *Guild Text-Books*. The Rev. Ronald G. Macintyre, B.D., writes on *Elijah and Elisha, Prophets of Israel*.<sup>1</sup> The primer looks specially to the purposes of class-instruction. It follows the Old Testament narrative step by step, explaining it in a clear and careful way, and endeavouring to give what will help young persons to understand it and read it with interest.

Dr Norman Macleod of Inverness writes on *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments*.<sup>2</sup> It is a large and difficult subject, bristling with points provocative of controversy. It is handled with great good sense and in a liberal spirit. What is said on the ministry and offices of the Presbyterian Church, the validity of Presbyterian Orders, the Sacramental doctrine of the Reformed Church, and the nature and purposes of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, deserves particular attention. Those to whom it is specially addressed should find much to help and instruct them in the text-book.

A new quarterly magazine is published under the title of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*.<sup>3</sup> It is edited by Dr Achelis of Bremen. It begins well with an article by E. Hardy on the question *Was ist Religionswissenschaft?* Another by W. H. Roscher on the present position of enquiry in the department of Greek Mythology, a series of *Miscellen*, and an able review of Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*.

Mr Smellie, the editor of the very tasteful series of *Books for the Heart* gives us *The Journal of John Woolman*.<sup>4</sup> In addition to an admirable Introduction, we get an appreciation of Woolman by Whittier. The Journal is a remarkable book, full of life and insight. It will be no small service if it is brought under the notice of a wider circle of readers than it has hitherto commanded among us. The volume, so attractive in form and rich in contents, should make

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Pp. 112. Price, 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London : A. & C. Black. Pp. 120. Price, 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Freiburg i. B. : Mohr. 8vo, pp. 112. Price, M. 14 for the year.

<sup>4</sup> London : Melrose, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv. 324. Price, 2s. 6d.

the religious public better acquainted with one of the most notable products of the Quietest period of Quakerism.

Mr James Samuelson, the founder and former editor of *The Quarterly Journal of Science*, publishes a small volume under the title of *Footsteps in Human Progress, Secular and Religious*,<sup>1</sup> which contains some good things. In the form of a series of letters to a friend the author gives us his thoughts on such subjects as secular employments, progress in civilisation, teachers, religious teaching, worship and praise, war and other evils, views of the Deity to-day. The book contains many suggestive reflections on these themes. The conclusion to which it brings us after this large survey of the way in which the progress of mankind has been effected is that the teachings of nature and the Catholic religious beliefs are derived from the same Source; that the human race is still in "its early youth, and is at best only beginning to be educated"; and that it "must be evident to all who take a wide survey of Nature and Society," that instead of humanity being in the final stage of its history, the human mind is "just beginning to expand."

Mr Robinson's *A Study of the Saviour in the Newer Light* was noticed at length in this Journal<sup>2</sup> when it was first published. The book now appears in its second edition<sup>3</sup> and in a revised form. The difference between the two editions in point of substance is not great, and opinions will continue to be much as they were on the scientific merit of the work. In his preface, however, the author states how it became a "case" in the Courts of the Church in which he held a pastorate, and what the issue of that case was. He further explains his own attitude to the action of the General Assembly, the measure of freedom which he claimed, and his willingness to defer to the judgment of his brethren to the extent of "a very thorough-going revision" of the book. This he claims to have done in the present issue. He remains convinced of the importance of the task to which he has applied himself, and makes no essential change in his general argument. The points in which this edition differs from the former are mainly these: Statements showing "the mischievous element of bitterness" are removed; some minor alterations in opinion, as in the case of the "bridegroom" sayings of the Gospels, are made; certain expressions which were found fault with are amended; and among other improvements a critical introduction to the whole work is introduced in place of the former brief introductory note and short supplementary explanations. So far the book is better than it was, and,

<sup>1</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 113. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Review*, Vol. vi., pp. 22-31.

<sup>3</sup> London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xviii. 404. Price, 7s. 6d.

though the former critical methods and opinions are adhered to, the spirit of the entire work is more modest and restrained.

Messrs Macniven & Wallace send us a copy of *A New Directory for the Public Worship of God*.<sup>1</sup> The book is issued under no ecclesiastical authority, but by a private Association of Ministers and Elders of the Free Church of Scotland. This Association was formed at a Conference held in Edinburgh in May 1891. Its object was "to promote the ends of edification, order, and reverence in the public services of the Church, in accordance with Scripture principles, and in the light especially of the experience and practice of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system." It has been working quietly since that date, and is now able to give the public the results of its deliberations.

The President of the Association, the Rev. Dr. D. Douglas Bannerman of Perth, writes an interesting Preface, in which he gives an account of the origin of this movement and the method of procedure followed. The work is founded on the Service-books of the ancient Scottish Church, and aims at conserving their large, reverent spirit and choice, expressive language. Much use is naturally made of the Book of Common Order. Dr Bannerman gives a concise, well-written sketch of that notable Book—the way in which it arose "out of the form of service drawn up by John Knox, Whittingham, and others, for the use of the English exiles at Frankfort in 1554"; the modifications to which it was subjected; the circumstances of its publication and the injunction of the General Assembly regarding it. This new Directory follows the Book of Common Order in giving "specimen forms for certain parts of the ordinary service, *e.g.*, Prayers of Invocation, of Thanksgiving, and for all Estates," etc. It follows the Westminster Directory in giving a large amount of space to "materials and suggestions for Confession, Thanksgiving, Petition, and Intercession."

It should be specially noticed that the Committee have been much indebted to "*Hermann's Consultation*," the remarkable Service-book prepared in the first half of the sixteenth century by Bucer and Melancthon "at the request of Hermann, the Protestant Elector and Archbishop of Cologne." This interesting volume appeared, as the Preface states, first in German in 1543, then in Latin in 1545, and in English in 1547 and 1548. The Latin forms for Confession of Sins, the Prayer of Thanksgiving, the Litany, and the Marriage Service, have been translated for this book, and they are admirably suited to the purposes of public, devotional use. Much care has been spent on the preparation of the volume. It is the result of the reverent labours of years. It gives what should conduce to

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 238. Price, 2s. 6d. net.



seemliness and edification in the ordinary worship of the Lord's Day, the administration of the Sacraments, and the ordering of the services on special occasions. It comes with no recommendation but that of its own merits. It will make its own way, we hope, and be valued by many ministers as a discreet and welcome aid in a department of their work to which too much attention cannot be paid.

The second, third and fourth parts of the first volume of the new series of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte altchristlichen Literatur*, edited by Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack, are devoted to Hippolytus and Origen. Dr N. Bonwetch contributes a series of *Studies on the Commentaries of Hippolytus on the Book of Daniel and the Song of Solomon*,<sup>1</sup> and Dr H. Achelis gives a volume of *Studies on Hippolytus*.<sup>2</sup> In both cases the utmost is made of the subject, and the treatises are distinct contributions to the history of early Christian literature. Both authors have bestowed great pains upon their tasks, and have laid students interested in Hippolytus and his time under great obligation. Dr Achelis's studies extend over a wide range. Beginning with a chapter on Hippolytus as a writer, in which he examines the list of works ascribed to the Father on the statue, and deals with the statements made by Jerome, Eusebius and others. He takes up next the story of the life and death of Hippolytus and the various legends connected with his name. A second part of the work is devoted to special questions regarding the *De Antichristo*, the Greek Fragments on Genesis, and the various writings attributed to him. An Appendix furnishes the titles of the works discussed, those, too, of the different manuscripts, and a list of the ancient writers and their works cited or referred to. Klostermann has, for his subject, Origen's Jeremiah-Homilies.<sup>3</sup> It might seem as if he made more of the subject than it is worth. He presents a good case, however, for the interest of his work, and goes with characteristic thoroughness into the whole question, dealing at length with the original number of these Homilies, the place and time of their origin, the Greek manuscripts, the Latin translation of Jerome, the indirect tradition of the Greeks and the Latins. In an Appendix he gives the fragments which are wanting in Delarue and Lommatzsch, and Tables of all the fragments from the Jeremiah-Catenae ascribed to

<sup>1</sup> Studien zu den Kommentaren Hippolyts zum Buche Daniel und Hohen Liede. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. iv. 86. Price, M.3.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus Studien. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 233. Price, M.7.50.

<sup>3</sup> Die Ueberlieferung der Jeremiahomilien des Origenes. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 116. Price, M.3.50.

Origen. It is impossible to go into the details of these discussions. It is enough to say that these studies appear to exhaust their subjects. These three parts of this important series furnish material of which the Church historian must take account.

We are glad to see that Professor Schmiedel's new edition of Winer's New Testament Grammar<sup>1</sup> proceeds apace. The second section of the second part is to hand. It completes the Syntax of the Pronouns, and proceeds to that of the Noun, dealing mainly with the Nominative, Vocative, and Genitive cases. This revision of Winer's large and able work will be of the utmost use to students of the Greek New Testament. It is being so done as to leave little to be desired. It is being carried through with surprising dispatch, but also with extreme care.

*The Biblical Illustrator*, edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., reaches the Book of *Revelation*.<sup>2</sup> It is a large volume, but it covers the whole book. A brief Introduction gives a digest of the ordinary views regarding author, time and place of composition and interpretation. But this is all too meagre by far. It is beyond the professed purpose of the compilation, however, to go at length into these questions. On the other hand every verse, we might say every sentence, is illustrated by apt similes, choice extracts from the works of expositors, and a mass of homiletic matter. There are few preachers who may not find something in this vast repertory, if they have patience to examine it, and do not lose themselves in its abysses.

The Rev. John Stephen Flynn, B.D., Rector of St Mewan, publishes a series of *Studies on the Second Advent*.<sup>3</sup> The author avoids all minor questions, especially those of a controversial order, and limits himself to the task of establishing the doctrine of "a Corporal Advent as a great outstanding fact of the Christian revelation." He deals first with the reasonableness of this doctrine, and then expounds it as he conceives it to be set forth in the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Pauline writings, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Catholic Epistles. He is least successful, we think, in what he says of the Old Testament teaching. He is most successful in the New Testament section of his argument, and in the reasons which he gives for holding that the Scripture references were not fulfilled by the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, the destruction of Jerusalem, or any "Spiritual

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Winer's Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet. Von Dr Paul Wilh. Schmiedel. II. Theil: Syntax. Zweites Heft. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1898. 8vo, pp. 209-272. Price M.1.

<sup>2</sup> London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 787. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 181. Price, 3s. 6d.

coming to believing hearts." Chapters are added on the relation of the Second Advent to the kingdom of Israel, the evangelisation of the world, the resurrection and the judgment, the eucharist, the Holy Spirit, the Shekinah, and the dead in Christ. These are great themes. They are handled too briefly in this volume, which errs in attempting too much. It commits itself also to the position that the Second Advent is to precede the conversion of the Jews and the successful evangelisation of the world, as well as to the belief in a restoration of their temporal kingdom to the Jews. There is much to dissent from in this book, and much that will not stand the test of a rigorous historical exegesis. There is much in it at the same time that all may read with sympathy.

A collection of *Sermons*<sup>1</sup> by Canon Wilberforce is sure of a hearty welcome and a wide circulation. This volume contains a series of eighteen discourses preached in Westminster Abbey. Some of them are on great matters of Christian doctrine—the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Paradise, Hades, the Communion of Saints, and Propitiation. Others are on subjects of a different kind—the Impulse behind Origins, University and Toleration, Unbinding the Word, &c. There is a very solemn and searching discourse on the Unpardonable Sin. The opening Sermon, entitled Three Inspired Propositions, deals admirably with the great passage in Romans viii. on the subjection of the creature to vanity. The closing Sermon, on the topic "No Wastefulness with God," is a singularly beautiful one. Some of these Sermons show Canon Wilberforce at his best. There is not one in which the touch of his eloquence is not felt. There is nothing trivial, nothing strained in any of them. They are rich in lofty teaching, tastefully and powerfully expressed. It is only occasionally that the Canon commits himself to statements or opinions which are vague or of doubtful warrant from Scripture. Of this, however, there is one instance in the discourse on Hades, where he speaks of the characteristics of that "reign of Christ which is to last until He has brought all enemies under His feet," and describes these as "the winning of souls that are undergoing the aeonian remedial process, the preaching to the spirits in person, who in the discipline of the great darkness are slowly learning to find the Divine embodied in their nature." He plunges into the conjecture that there may be many of our own departed friends thus occupied. "Untrammelled by the flesh," he says, "freed from the limitations of bodily infirmity, in all the unwearied vigour of the spiritual body, they are carrying on the work pertain-

<sup>1</sup> By Basil Wilberforce, D.D., Canon of Westminster, Chaplain to the Speaker, Select Preacher before the University of Oxford. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price, 5s.

ing to them as a royal priesthood in the kingdom of the Divine Humanity, the perfect Elder Brother, until He shall have delivered up the kingdom to the Father." But this discourse, though it is written with something of a glow, is on the whole fanciful and far-fetched in its affirmations and inferences.

Dr Alexander Whyte, on whom his Church has bestowed this year the highest honour she has to confer, gives us another volume of *Bible Characters*,<sup>1</sup> which will be gratefully received by many readers. The series embraces Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Ruth, Hannah, Eli, Samuel, Saul, David, Jonathan, Nabal, Michal, Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, Shimei, Joab, and Absalom. In analysing the characters, tracking the motives of action, and gauging the evil and the good, which show themselves in the Bible stories of lives so full of living and most various interest, Dr Whyte has ample scope for his best faculty. And he has used his opportunity so well that this volume will be reckoned second to none that he has produced. It has the moral throb which is felt in all his writings, the direct appeal to personal duty and experience, and the strong, unaffected style, which gives his pulpit work and his books a character of their own.

A Manual of Christian doctrine, fairly representing the present position of theological inquiry and suitable for Academic purposes, is a thing that has been needed for a length of time. Attempts have been made to supply this want in the Anglican Communion, the Roman Catholic, the Wesleyan, and other Churches. Some of these have been considerable successes. The Germans, too, have more than one serviceable book of the kind. Those by Hase, Grimm, and Luthardt have proved particularly useful. The Churches that hold in the main by the Westminster Confession, however, have been very inadequately supplied. We are glad, therefore, to have in the Rev. John Macpherson's *Christian Dogmatics*<sup>2</sup> a book which better meets the case and brings the student more nearly abreast of theological thought as it is.

The object of the treatise is to give a "systematic presentation in methodical order of all the leading doctrines of the Christian faith," and to do this from the standpoint of a moderate Calvinism. The book aims, too, at preserving proper proportion in the statement of the different doctrines, and in this it is superior to most other books of the kind. It follows the usual plan in the distribution of topics. It takes the doctrine of God and the World first. Thereafter it deals in succession with the doctrines of Man and Sin, Redemption, the Application of Redemption, the Means of Grace,

<sup>1</sup> Gideon to Absalom. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 245. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Demy 8vo, pp. 467. Price, 9s.

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and the Last Things. This is not a very scientific order, and it fails to give a proper unity to the theological system. It is sufficiently convenient, however, for ordinary class-work and for the uses of students of theology in general. One great advantage of the book also is that it does not limit itself to the bare statement of doctrine in its logical form and order, but introduces both the Biblical element and the historical. The former is given so far as it is "needed to supply the foundation for the dogmas accepted and formulated by the Church." It might have been to the profit of students if a larger place had been allowed to the Scripture proof. But what is furnished is done with care and sound judgment, and will be of much service. The history of dogmas is given concisely in each case. This is one of the best features of the book. Much attention has been paid to the lists of literature. The preparation of these lists must have cost much labour and trouble. They do not undertake to be exhaustive. But they do what is far better. They give the books and articles which are best worth consulting and of most outstanding merit on each topic. We have tested these lists at various points and found them what they profess to be.

If we were to single out any part of Mr Macpherson's *Dogmatics* that seems to be particularly well done, we should point to the chapter on the *Doctrine of Redemption*, and especially to those sections of that chapter which deal with the more difficult questions of the person and work of Christ. The statements on the Sinlessness of our Lord, His pre-existence, the development of His consciousness, and His Divine-human personality, show that the author is familiar with the best discussions that belongs to those great topics, and that he can look at them himself and present them to others in a broad and liberal spirit. Not less to be commended are his paragraphs on the chief theories of the Atonement, the questions of Propitiation and Substitution, and the extent of the Atonement. In these he keeps by the old paths, and gives good reasons for doing so. We anticipate that the book will speedily make its way into the good graces of students of theology, especially those still engaged in class-work.

We wish the publishers all success with the new issue of Frederick Robertson of Brighton's *Sermons*.<sup>1</sup> A *People's Edition* is a happy idea and a timely one. In size, in price, and in print the volumes promise to be most that could be desired. This first volume contains some of the great preacher's noblest discourses—"Christian progress by Oblivion of the Past," the "Sympathy of Christ," the three Advent Lectures, the "Loveliness of Christ,"

<sup>1</sup> First Series. London : Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co., 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxviii. 323. Price, 1s 6d.

the "Principle of the Spiritual Harvest," &c. It gives the original Preface, and in addition to that both a new Preface by the author's son and an Introduction by Ian Maclaren. A book like this cannot fail to do good wherever it penetrates. The England of our time has had few preachers, if any, to match Frederick Robertson. His work is of the kind that will abide.

Professor W. Douglas Mackenzie of Chicago Theological Seminary gives us a volume on *Christianity and the Progress of Man as illustrated by Modern Missions*.<sup>1</sup> The subjects dealt with are such as these—the Universalism of Christianity; the Missionary as pioneer, translator; the Missionary in relation to Education, Self-Sacrifice, Civilisation, and the religions of the world. On all these subjects something useful is said, and it is all said in an unpretentious style. The ideas underlying the various chapters are those connected with the two changes which the author regards as the two greatest facts of the close of our century—"the unification of the race and the establishment of the Christian religion as a working force among nearly all nations." In his closing chapter Professor Mackenzie states the three elements or conditions of human progress, namely, increased complexity of social organisation, mastery over nature, and the unification of the race. He gives the main features of the influence of Christianity upon the progress of man, and shows finally that the root of all is in the experience of a present fellowship with God. The book is sensible and edifying. It touches a number of topics with a rapid but instructed hand. It gives a broad, popular view of some matters of great moment, and keeps a hopeful eye to the future.

The edition of the *Devotions of Bishop Andrewes* issued some time ago by the Rev. Henry Veale, B.A., of University College, Durham, has been already noticed in this Journal.<sup>2</sup> It is a very useful edition, arranged in sectional paragraphs, and giving both the Greek text and the Latin. It has been well received, and we are glad to see it so soon in another and cheaper issue.<sup>3</sup> The Introduction, the Notes, the Glossaries, the lists of various headings, and the observations on special subjects in the Prayers, are all of value.

The Rev. J. A. Carr, LL.D., Vicar of Whitechurch, and Canon of Christchurch, Dublin, is the author of a sketch of the career of the late *Archbishop Benson*.<sup>4</sup> He has already written the *Life and*

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 255. Price, 3s 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Review*, Vol. vi., p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 431.

<sup>4</sup> The Life-Work of Edward White Benson, D.D., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 273. Price, 6s.

*Times of Archbishop Usher* and other books. This new work is well done. It has grown out of a much slighter sketch which was prepared on the occasion of the Archbishop's visit to Ireland. It gives pretty full particulars of Dr Benson's early days, but devotes most of its space to his ecclesiastical career. Almost everything belonging to the latter is given at length. We feel that the details are sometimes too much for us, and that there is a not unnatural tendency to magnify the importance of things which are only of personal or provincial interest. But the book, on the whole, is a meritorious performance, and it is pleasantly written. It helps outsiders the better to understand what Dr Benson was as a Churchman. It shows us what he was, and what he aimed at as a scholar. Above all, it lets us see something of his inner life, and his many good qualities as a Christian man, as well as his courtly capacity and his administrative gifts. It gives us the picture of a laborious, strenuous, loyal, devout life.

The late Dr Walker of Carnwath was a man who deserved to be remembered. It was on the 5th July 1891 that he was removed by death from a wide circle of appreciative friends who had expected much from him in theological literature. It is only now that we get any *Memoir*<sup>1</sup> of his career in any sense worthy of him. Though it has been late of coming, we are glad to have it, and we are indebted to the Rev. Robert Logan, formerly of Abington, for it. Mr Logan has done his part well, and he will have the thanks of all who knew the worth and the capacity of Dr Walker.

The Memoir itself is comparatively brief, yet sufficient for its purpose. It tells the story of Dr Walker's early promise, his Academic training, his religious impressions and convictions, his quiet ministry in Carnwath, the part which he took in the affairs of his Church, and the circumstances of his too early death. The larger part of the volume, however, is occupied with his literary remains—papers on Sir William Lockhart of Lee, Tertullian, the Eastern Church, some Free Church Papers, and a selection of Sermons. These give proof of a strong, earnest, liberal mind, and a good pen. His most important contribution to literature, however, was his volume of Cunningham Lectures on *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. This is a book which has nothing to match it in its own line, and it is a matter of lasting regret that the author was not able to complete it as he might have done. As it is, it is a book which all must study who wish to understand the theological thought of Scotland. It makes us acquainted with not a few men

<sup>1</sup> James Walker, D.D., of Carnwath Free Church. *Essays, Papers, and Sermons*. With a Prefatory Memoir by the Rev. Robert Logan, late of Abington. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. lvi. 331. Price, 6s.

of rare gifts and great capacity, whose service to the religious life of Scotland was apt to be forgotten.

We have pleasure also in noticing a sketch of the career of *Dr J. L. Phillips*,<sup>1</sup> which has been prepared with modesty and good taste by his widow. It is the story of a laborious and self-denying life spent in missionary work in India. His letters, of which we get a good many in this volume, as well as the tale of his toils, show us how noble a man he was, and how well fitted to face the work and endure the trials to which he was called to put his hand. A remarkable tribute is paid to him by Senator Reed, late Speaker of the House of Representatives at Boston, and it is evidently nothing more than he deserved. "I always held him in my heart," says Senator Reed, "as the one man I knew who, faithful to his belief, and without a desire for reward in this world, gave up country and friends, health and comfort, for a life unknown alike to fame and pleasure. . . . My tribute to his memory is my sincere admiration for his unselfish life of self-sacrifice and devotion—a life of self-sacrifice and devotion so deep and full and rich that to his dying day he never had thought that he was doing anything nobler than the simple duty which created beings owe to their Creator."

We have to notice an interesting pamphlet on *Cyprian, His Life and Teaching*,<sup>2</sup> by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., which recognises the particular merits of Archbishop Benson's worth, but shows in a very telling way, by sufficient extracts from the writings of the great North African Father, how the Archbishop failed to exhibit the "strange and intolerant teaching of Cyprian in respect of the Church"; a lecture on *Unity in Religion*,<sup>3</sup> by Claud George, of which it is sufficient to say that it attempts to give a rapid survey of the great religions, decides to the writer's great satisfaction the most difficult questions like that of the meaning of Nirvana in a sentence, and in an off-hand way declares it to be now a "settled matter that the doctrine of the Trinity is an exploded theory; and the exclusion, from the sacred text of the Revised Version, of the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St John, utterly takes away the ground from under the feet of the manufacturers of that doctrine"; *Some Notes on the Vindication of the Bull "Apostolicae Curae,"*<sup>4</sup> by the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A., which will repay perusal; *Sermons*

<sup>1</sup> Dr J. L. Phillips, Missionary to the Children of India. A Biographical Sketch by his Widow, completed and edited by W. J. Wintle. London: The Sabbath School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 264. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 1s.

<sup>3</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 16. Price, 6d.



and Addresses delivered at the Close of the Jubilee Synod of the United Presbyterian Church,<sup>1</sup> admirable in contents, spirit, and style, by Dr John Hutchison, the Moderator; yet another edition, the eighth, of Carl Weizsäcker's much appreciated translation of the *New Testament*<sup>2</sup>; the first number of a new monthly journal, *Das Reich Gottes*,<sup>3</sup> under the editorship of Dr Johannes Lepsius, containing some good articles on *Evangelisation and the Church*, the question of *What the Koran teaches regarding Jesus*, and other subjects; four brief, unpretentious sermons, under the general title of *The Abiding Strength of the Church*,<sup>4</sup> by the Rev. R. S. Mylne, M.A., B.C.L., dealing with the desirability of unity with a view to the more effectual working of Christian institutions; the eighth volume, viz., *The Acts to Revelation*,<sup>5</sup> completes the beautiful Eversley edition of the *Holy Bible*—an edition which does the greatest credit alike to the good taste of the editor, Mr M'Kail, the enterprise of the publishers, the Messrs Macmillan, and the careful work of the Glasgow University Press; a short pamphlet by the Rev. Cuthbert Routh,<sup>6</sup> reprinted from *The Churchman* of April 1898, in which an attempt is made to rehabilitate the old hypothesis that Ahasuerus and Darius are to be identified with Astyages and his son Cyaxares II.; the *Sunday School Red Book*,<sup>7</sup> a manual of instruction and advice for superintendents, by Mr F. F. Belsey, Chairman of the Council of the Sunday School Union, giving much shrewd, sensible counsel in terse, pointed terms; a new and revised edition of A. Huck's very careful and useful *Synopsis of the first three Evangelists*,<sup>8</sup> which is provided with three appendices, giving the Old Testament Quotations in the Synopsis, the Johannine parallels, and a valuable table of Parallels and Doublets in the Synoptists; a story by Kate W. Hamilton, entitled *The Parson's P'roxy*,<sup>9</sup> simple in conception, healthsome in tone, and pleasantly told; a small volume on *The Great Secret*,<sup>10</sup> by Dr Francis Edward Clark, Pre-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1898. 8vo, pp. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Das Neue Testament übersetzt. Achte, Verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 471.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben. Price, M.4 per annum.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 65. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 408. Price, 5s.

<sup>6</sup> "Darius, Son of Ahasuerus of the Seed of the Medes." London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 8.

<sup>7</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. 116. Price, 1s. net.

<sup>8</sup> Synopse der drei Ersten Evangelien, Bearbeitet von A. Huck, Zweite, durch Einen Anhang vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. 191.

<sup>9</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>10</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 95. Price, 1s.

sident of the United Society of Christian Endeavour and of the World's Christian Endeavour Union, in which some plain, pointed, and discreet counsels are given on health, beauty, happiness, friend-making, common sense, success, and what it is to practise the presence of God—a good and useful book for the young; a pamphlet by the Rev. Dr Jamieson on *Nature and God*; *God and the Divine Personalities*,<sup>1</sup> in which an attempt is made not only to exhibit the God who is behind Nature, but to make “the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity less mysterious,” there being appendices also on Spencerism, Natural Selection, and Faustus Socinus on the Person of Christ, which are of some interest; a pamphlet also by the Rev. Robert Tuck, B.A., reprinted from the magazine *The New Orthodoxy*, dealing in a reverent and suggestive way with *The Supreme Scenes of our Lord's Life*,<sup>2</sup> viz., Gethsemane as Soul-Triumph Won, Calvary as Soul-Triumph Tested, and Olivet as Soul-Triumph acknowledged; a timely, sympathetic, and unambitious sketch of the noble life of *Frances E. Willard*,<sup>3</sup> by Florence Witts.

In the April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Professor Jacob Cooper, of New Brunswick, writes on *Creation; or, the Transmutation of Energy*. The position which he states is this:—“The act of Creation . . . is the change of spiritual energy into its equivalent mechanical force, and this is transmuted farther until it becomes embodied in matter for its phenomenal action. God was from all eternity all in all; the only substance, essence, power, intelligence, goodness, combined; The Many united in the absolute One. He contains within Himself potentially whatever was at any time, past, present, or future, in spiritual or material form. For whatever He could do by his almighty power was actually summed up in His being. Therefore, any change of form that this might be made to assume—and it could be made to assume any by His determination—was simply a transmutation, a change of form, a materialising and localising that which already existed in Him.” By this theory, Professor Cooper thinks the doctrines of revealed religion “come into complete harmony with the fundamental principles of science.” The same number contains an article on *The New Chronology of Paul's Life* by Professor George H. Gilbert of Chicago. It criticises Professor Ramsay's idea that a fixed point for the chronology of Paul's life may be found in Acts xx. 6-11, and examines at some length the views of Harnack, Holtzmann, and M'Giffert. It pronounces the narrative of Tacitus unworthy to be preferred to the testimony of Josephus. It aims

<sup>1</sup> Tracts for the Times. No. II. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 8vo, pp. 39.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 12. Price 2d.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sunday School Union, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143.

at showing the internal and the external evidence to be in favour of the "latter third of the sixth decade as the period in which Felix was succeeded by Festus," and the year 58 as more probable than the year 60. So it puts Paul's conversion at 32, his work in Ephesus at 52-55, his arrest in Jerusalem in the winter of 55-56, his arrival at Rome in the early part of 59. With regard to the death of Paul Professor Gilbert thinks that the evidence is against connecting it with the persecution of Nero in the summer of 64. The exact date cannot, he thinks, be determined. But he concludes that we may "with a high degree of probability" assign the Apostle's martyrdom to "the last three or four years of Nero's reign, that is, to the period between 65 or 66 and 68." An interesting feature of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* is the place given to critical and sociological notes. These are well done.

Under the able direction of Mr G. F. Stout, of the University of Aberdeen, *Mind* well maintains the high position which it won for itself years ago among Philosophical Quarterlies. The April number<sup>1</sup> is an excellent one. The Critical Notices are always done with incisive ability, and those in this number are no exception to the rule. There is a particularly good review of C. Lloyd Morgan's important book on *Habit and Instinct*. Professor James Seth reviews Ladd's *Philosophy of Knowledge*; George A. Coe takes Browne's *Theory of Thought and Knowledge* in hand. There are also reviews of Nettleship's *Philosophical Lectures and Remains*, and Émile Durkheim's *Le Suicide*. The digests of Philosophical Periodicals are very useful. In addition to articles of a severer order on the *Regulæ of Descartes*, the *Paradox of Logical Inference*, &c., and an important paper on *Freedom*, by G. F. Moore, we get another, of a less technical kind and of considerable interest, on *Mandeville's Place in English Thought*, by Norman Wilde.

The last number of *The New World* which has come to hand is that for March.<sup>2</sup> There are some excellent articles, and a large number of book notices. These last are done with much care, and help one to just judgments. Among the more notable books reviewed are Seth's *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, Crozier's *History of Intellectual Development*, M'Giffert's *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Moulton and Geden's *Concordance to the Greek New Testament*, De la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, and Moore's *Judges*. Mr Charles F. Dole writes on *Truth and how we come to know it*, in which he criticises specially the views of Dr John Fiske as given in his address upon "The Everlasting Reality of Religion." There is an incisive paper by Henry Copley Greene

<sup>1</sup> London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 288. Price, 3s.

<sup>2</sup> Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, 3s.

on Walt Whitman under the title of "A Satyr Aspires." M. Bonet-Maury gives a very interesting account of "The Protestant Faculty of Theology of the Paris University," with sketches of Pressensé, Bersier, Lichtenberger, Sabatier, Massebieau, Ménégoz, Stapfer, Vernes, and other teachers who have acquired some distinction. There is a frank and discriminating paper by J. T. Sutherland on *Christian Missions in India*, which takes on the whole a hopeful view. It concludes that the work of Christian missions will increase, but that the extent of the increase will depend largely on "the question whether or not the missions broaden their theological basis." The two articles, however, that will probably attract most notice among biblical students are those by Mr F. C. Conybeare on "The Place of Prophecy in Christianity" and Professor C. H. Toy on "Esther as a Babylonian Goddess." The former deals, among other things, with the Manichean movement in Carthage in the last years of the fourth century, the controversy between Faustus and Augustine, and the extent to which early Christianity, as Mr Conybeare phrases it, "hinged upon prophecy." Mr Conybeare overstates his case, as he is accustomed to do. But his paper is worth reading. Professor Toy's article, which is full of learning, and shows the true critical faculty, reviews the evidence for and against the idea that the Feast of Purim is the modification of a Babylonian festival, and that the story of Esther represents a Babylonian myth." He thinks there is much to favour the theory, and that there is no equally satisfactory explanation of the names of the chief personages. But he admits that there are serious gaps in the evidence. His general conclusion is sufficiently guarded. "The explanation of the Esther story above described," he says, "is hardly more than an hypothesis. It rests mainly on certain similarities in proper names, and on the accordance of the story of triumph over enemies in the Book of Esther, with a well-established mythical theme, and with the procedures in some ancient festivals. Certain features of the biblical narrative remain unaccounted for. It is possible that future investigations and discoveries may throw light on points now obscure, and, till additional information is forthcoming, we may reserve opinion on the origin of the story. The narrative, notwithstanding its improbabilities, may prove to be based on real history; but, in that case, its obvious embellishments will probably have to be traced to some such sources as are mentioned above."

The June number of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* contains a remarkably interesting paper by Hofprediger F. W. Schubart on *Johann Arndt*, giving important particulars, some of them little understood, of his life and work in Anhalt. Ober-Konsistorialrat Wiesinger contributes a very readable article on the *Preparation*

and *Delivery of the Sermon*. Among other things we have a study of our Lord's use of Scripture by Professor Engelhardt of Munich, and a short examination of the difficult paragraph in Ephesians iv. 8-10, in which Licentiate Bröse of Leipzig says some strong things on the interpretation of the "descent" as referring to the Incarnation.

The April number of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* has, as usual, a large number of careful and informing book reviews. Among the larger articles we may refer to one by Professor Gerhard Vos on *The Modern Hypothesis and Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*. The prophets dealt with are Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. The general drift of the paper is that, in the newest phase of prophetic criticism, "little or no objective evidence is adduced to show that the assumed redaction or expansion of the ancient prophecies actually took place"; that "too often the excisions from the prophetic text are not justified, nor is their justification seriously attempted on internal grounds"; and that "the treatment of the prophetic, which is fast growing fashionable, may be aptly characterised as *exegesis by means of criticism under the forced application of certain literary canons concerning the lucidity, straightforwardness, and general perfection of the prophetic style*." The more important material which Professor Vos regards as "affected by the new method of critical procedure" is examined at length. In the same number the Rev. John Macpherson gives a sympathetic estimate of the *Character of the Westminster Confession*. Professor Henry Dosker has an elaborate study of *John of Barneveldt*, in which he contests Motley's representation of the great Dutch statesman as a martyr for a great principle, and endeavours to show that "the Advocate would have established, had he been able, a *jus in sacra*, a Caesaropapism, a political papism, utterly at variance with the liberty of the Church." The same number contains a paper by Professor Orr on Dr M'Giffert's *Apostolic Christianity*, and a learned discussion of the *Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics* by Professor Wm. Brenton Greene.

In the third number of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* for the year the Abbé Loisy continues his interesting study of *John the Baptist* and his message. M. Alfred Boudrillart gives a first paper on the ideas prevalent in the fourteenth century on the Pope's right of intervention in political matters, and M. Paul Fournier writes on certain controversies on the Origins of the Decree of Gratian.

*The Biblical World* continues to prosper and to maintain its interest under the editorship of Professor W. R. Harper. Among the Notes and Opinions we find some sensible remarks on Goldwin

Smith's *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*, and on Van Manen's defence of himself and his party. There is a brief but appreciative article on the late Dr William F. Moulton. Dr Arthur Fairbanks also contributes an instructive paper on the *Influence of the Life and Teaching of Jesus on the Doctrine of God*. "The thoughts of Jesus in respect of God," he says, "may be gathered around the two words *King* and *father*." This he shows to be rendered antecedently probable by "a consideration drawn from the history of religion in general," and to be borne out by the history of the religion of Revelation in particular. Patristic and Scholastic Theology, he thinks, made God simply "thinking substance." But the Reformation was "a return to Paul, and a return to Paul is, on the whole, a return to Christ." So it is to the Reformation we are indebted for the richer and fuller doctrine of God. For the Reformation brought again into the light the true relation between the kingliness and the fatherliness of God which had been obscured for a thousand years.

In a volume bearing the general title of *Some Bible Problems*,<sup>1</sup> Dr D. W. Simon, Principal of the United College, Bradford, brings together a number of papers dealing mostly with Old Testament questions. These papers originally formed two courses of Lectures which were delivered, the one in 1896-97 in connection with a Church in Halifax, the other in June 1897 to the students of the Bala-Bangor Independent College. They will be welcome to many in this form. They are eight in number, and of these five are occupied directly with special questions of the Old Testament. Of the rest one discusses the "Philosophy of Revelation and Inspiration," in which an attempt is made to explain the *modus operandi* in *theopneustia* and *revelation* by applying the great biological law "to which man like all things, which are designed to grow and develop, is subject," and which "requires that he shall be acted on in a fitting way by a fitting environment, whilst he in turn reacts fittingly." Another takes up the question of the "Right way to approach the Bible." In this paper Dr Simon first states and examines two views which he contrasts as opposite extremes. One is the theory of Dr A. A. Hodge of Princeton, which holds by the absolute infallibility of the Scriptures in the original autographs. The other is the explanation given by Professor Sanday, who affirms that "inspiration is real and no fiction, a direct objective action of the Divine upon the human," but distinguishes sharply between three great degrees of inspiration—the primary inspiration of the prophets proper, and a kind of secondary and tertiary inspiration belonging

<sup>1</sup> London : Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 285. Price, 5s.

to the priests, psalmists, wise men, and historians. Both these views are criticised with much acuteness, though Dr Sanday's is admitted to come very much nearer the truth than the other. Dr Simon then takes the current description of the Bible as the *literature of the Israelites* for his starting point. He holds it necessary to a "right appreciation of the Bible and its strangely composite contents always to bear in mind that the life it records and reflects is the outcome of a prolonged, ever varying interaction between God and free men of the Semitic race, with all the passions, strengths, and weaknesses of Semites, and exposed to all the temptations and perils incident to the period during which they lived, and to the geographical position in which they were placed." He asks us further to remember that the Israelites never constituted, morally or religiously, a homogeneous whole; that God, in giving them laws and institutions, never treated them as a *tabula rasa*; that the agents employed by God were selected from the nation itself, and therefore were such as the nation itself provided; and that the entire Divine co-operation was adapted to their varying needs, circumstances, and conduct—all, of course, within the limits of Divine fitness, righteousness and truth." He also points out very justly that, if we accept the definition of the Bible as the literature of the Jews, it does not follow that we must suppose it to "comprise all the writings they ever produced, or that, taken as it stands, it fully reflects and enshrines every phase of their life." It is to be taken as a collection of writings which, now in one form then in another, reflect and exhibit the process of the making of Israel, considered from the double point of view, first, of the part taken therein by God and man; and then of the goal towards which it tended." He agrees so far with Dr Sanday in affirming different degrees of inspiration. He distinguishes between a central group of inspired personalities, and others from whom come books, such as Ruth, Chronicles, Ezra, &c., holding only a secondary place. The view which he presents here is in accordance with the position which he has stated at length in his suggestive volume on *The Bible an Outgrowth of Theocratic Life*.

There is a valuable paper on *Evolution and the Fall of Man*, the object of which is to show, that the account which the best science of the day gives of the actual course of man's history points to a *break* in the process of evolution. The Bible view of man, he contends, is not inconsistent, therefore, with the scientific, and the Bible tradition of the Fall "strictly speaking is not itself a problem, but the solution of a problem." This is a paper well worth reading.

The sections of Dr Simon's book which seem least satisfactory

are those in which he deals with "Criticism and Israelitish Literature," and "Criticism and Israelitish History." Here he gives a digest of the results of criticism, especially of the extremer order, which is useful. He also says some good and pointed things on certain of these results and their general effect on one's idea of the Bible. But the tone is strained, and there is too much of the spirit of fear and suspicion. One does not easily see how Dr Simon can accommodate the large view which he takes of the Bible as a literature with the attitude of jealousy and apprehension which he assumes towards the Higher Criticism as it appears in the writings of our best scholars.

A different kind of paper is the one with which the book opens. Its subject is *The Israelites and their Neighbours, with special Reference to Religious Thought and Life*. It deals with the period between 2000 B.C. and A.D. 100. It shows how important this period is, both because it is that of the "Rise, growth, culmination, decadence, and final overthrow of the Hebrew nation," and because it is probably the most stirring period in the general history of the world. He gives a vivid picture of the way in which four great races, the Turanian, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Hamitic, "inhabiting a huge irregular belt of the earth's surface," were engaged during these momentous centuries in "developing elaborate constitutions and religious systems, and expressing their varied life in manifold literary, artistic, and other forms." In this he makes good use of the most recent investigations, and shows himself in sympathy with Professor Hommel and M. J. de Morgan in the claims or concessions which they make in behalf of the supreme antiquity of the Babylonian civilisation. He then institutes a particular comparison between the thought and life of the Israelites on the one hand, and those of the Egyptians and the Babylonians on the other. This is done at some length and with much care. It leads up finally to the question—How is the exceptional career of Israel to be explained? The question is one for the philosophical historian as well as for the theologian. The problem, as Dr Simon puts it, is this—Why did the Israelites, starting where their neighbours the Egyptians and Babylonians, not to refer to others of their contemporaries, started, grow into an ever truer and intenser appreciation of sin on the one hand, and, on the other, into an ever fuller realisation of the divine love, whilst the rest of the world degenerated instead of advancing? The only adequate answer to this question, he argues, is the answer which the Israelites themselves have given. "They take no credit to themselves for the difference, although they clearly saw that it existed. They ascribe it to the saving action of God."



This is a paper that one has great satisfaction in reading. There is much else in the volume that is equally good. It has the stamp of a vigorous and independent mind. It is a book that sets one a thinking.

The series of *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie* has reached its second year. The editors, Professor Schlatter of Berlin and Professor Cremer of Greifswald, are to be congratulated on the success which has attended their efforts thus far. The series was introduced by Professor Schlatter's interesting contribution, *Der Dienst des Christen in der älteren Dogmatik*, to the merits of which we referred at the time of its publication. The first year included other publications of considerable interest, among which we may mention Professor Cremer's monograph on the "Christian Doctrine of the Attributes of God." The second year has also opened well. We have before us a treatise by Lic. Theol. Moritz Lauterburg on the *Begriff des Charisma*,<sup>1</sup> in which the whole question of "gifts" is carefully considered in its New Testament position, its relation to grace, and its meaning for practical theology. This *brochure* raises some questions which deserve consideration, and puts several things in a suggestive way. The second issue for 1898 is by the hand of Professor W. Schmidt. Its subject is the *Teaching of the Apostle Paul*.<sup>2</sup> It deals first and very briefly with the Sources of Paul's doctrine. It then takes up in order the particular teaching first of the four Primary Epistles, next that of the Thessalonian Epistles, and the Apostle's discourses on Mars Hill, then that of the Epistles of the Captivity, and finally that of the Pastorals. The topics to which most space is given are the righteousness of God, the Pauline view of sin, death, grace, the Person of Christ, and the fellowship which we have with God in Christ. The question of what Paul meant by "the righteousness of God" naturally receives the first attention of the writer. Professor Schmidt opposes the view expressed by Th. Häring in his pamphlet of 1896. He takes its presupposition to be the exclusion of every form of an *idia dikaiosynē*, its proper correlate to be *σωτηρία*, and its sense to be not God's "freisprechendes Richterwalten," as Häring holds, but a quality or disposition of man, a *human* righteousness which comes from God. We cannot say that he is very successful in the proof which he adduces for this interpretation. Neither is it much better with what he says of the Pauline doctrine of *death*. Here he is in antagonism with Weiss, Godet, Meyer, and others of our best exegetes, and commits himself

<sup>1</sup> Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Die Lehre des Apostels Paulus. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 125.

to a limited subjective sense which will not fit, we believe, the whole breadth of Paul's idea. But there are other discussions which are more satisfactory. This is especially the case with those on the Person of Christ,—the idea of his Lordship, his pre-existence, &c. In dealing with the Thessalonian Epistles he expresses the opinion that the notion of an ἀποκατάστασις is excluded by the paragraph in 2 Thess. i. 6-9. There are interesting remarks also on the question of a development in Paul's doctrine. There is something to be learnt from this acute treatise, even when it provokes dissent.

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## The Paulicians.

*The Key of Truth: a Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia. The Armenian text edited and translated, with illustrative documents and Introduction, by F. C. Conybeare, M.A. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1898. Pp. cxcvi. 204. Price, 15s. net.*

THIS is probably the most important theological publication of the year. Such an estimate, touching what at first sight would seem to be a book of rather obscure historical or antiquarian interest, may strike the reader as extravagant. Yet even within the compass of a scanty review a *prima facie* case for its justice may perhaps be made out. At any rate all must concede that it is far the most significant of the remarkable series of discoveries with which the editor's name is already associated. The *Key of Truth* has in fact a threefold claim on our attention. In it a vanished Church springs again to historical life. "The Paulicians are at last," as Gibbon hoped, "able to plead for themselves": and the effect is like that of the publication of Cromwell's *Letters* at the hands of Carlyle. Next, early Armenian Christianity for the first time emerges into something like the light of history and enters into definite historical relations—a result due to the sagacity and wide learning of our editor. Lastly, floods of light break forth in all directions upon that aspect of primitive Christendom which is sometimes called Adoptionist. And we have a most suggestive preliminary study of its many ramifications supplied to our hand in the exhaustive Introduction prefixed to the *Key* itself. Nor does Mr Conybeare leave us without the means of controlling his statements, derived from authorities many of which were before not even names to the bulk of historical scholars. With characteristic thoroughness and candour he gives us nine Appendices, covering some sixty pages, which contain extracts from Armenian and Greek sources between the eighth and twelfth centuries, as well as the Epistle to the Armenians by Macarius of Jerusalem (c. 330 A.D.) and the Provençal Ritual of the Albigeois, as extant in a thirteenth century MS. of Lyons. In fact this noble *editio princeps* of the Paulician Church-book is a very "Corpus Paulicianorum" in the widest sense, and a mine of information from which students of Christian thought, both ancient and mediaeval, may draw materials for many a day. The Introduction, both text and foot-notes, is replete both with valuable references and with *obiter dicta* of insight and much

acuteness, which, even though they may sometimes need modification on further scrutiny, yet suggest most fruitful lines of research, and always in a living way. We will now proceed to describe the contents of the *Key*, and then to summarise certain conclusions scattered up and down the Introduction, which is rather unmethodical in form and so not free from some diffuseness and repetition.

At first sight the unique MS. on which our knowledge of the *Key of Truth* depends does not seem to promise anything very primitive. It lies in the Edjmiatzin Library, having been seized during the Inquisition of 1837 among the Thonraki of Akhaltzik in Russian Armenia, and claims only to have been written in 1782, in the province of Taron, the ancient centre of the *Thonraketz*i or Armenian branch of the Paulicians. Mr Conybeare identifies its scribe with a certain Ohannes<sup>1</sup> (John), originally an abbot in the neighbourhood of Karin, who, besides missionizing in the Khanus region, had ordained fourteen priests in the closing decades of the last century. This being so, we are thrown back on internal evidence for the date of its real composition. The opening address, in which a great Paulician missionary claims in responsible tones to give his "new-born children of the universal and Apostolic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ the holy milk, whereby ye may be nourished in the faith," affords some clue. He feels that he is writing by special inspiration, after that "for a long time past the Spirit of deception had shut up the Truth; as our Lord saith, The tares had suffocated it." This leader Conybeare identifies with Smbat, a scion of the Bagratuni, the ruling house in Thonrak, which showed itself hostile to the Græcizing "orthodox" Catholicos John of Owaiq in the ninth century. If this be correct, the *Key* and the Sacramentary it once incorporated (though this has practically disappeared among the 38 pages torn out, as specially obnoxious to the Inquisitors of 1837, by the owner of our MS.) were reduced to writing not later than c. 850 A.D. (and possibly two centuries earlier), at a time of revival in the Paulician cause, which had "for a long time past" been under a cloud. But it is almost certain that the substance of the work, especially in its liturgical parts, goes back indefinitely farther—a view that is supported by the more archaic style in which they seem to be cast.

<sup>1</sup> In this he may be quite right. But I cannot agree with him in making the fragment of the long colophon, which follows the short one giving the date of our MS., to be his handiwork. I would rather assign it to a much older Paulician leader, to whom may be due also certain marginal notes and considerable supplementary matter; this is borne out by the fact that the name Vahaguni seems an ancient rather than a modern clan name. The last paragraph in the Armenian text, which is not translated, is simply Mr Conybeare's appeal to Armenian readers to let him know, should they happen to come on a complete copy of the *Key*.

Nor can the work be regarded as representing a late eclectic type of church. "Everything grows organically out of the conception of Jesus as a man, not divine but created, and yet not like other men, since he was the new Adam, without sin. Purely human, though free from sin, Jesus came to John to be baptized in the Jordan when he had reached his thirtieth year. Then his sinless nature, which had triumphed over all temptations and kept all the Father's commandments, received its reward.<sup>1</sup> The Spirit of the Father descends on him, fills him with the Godhead, and invests him with authority; and a voice from heaven proclaims him to be the chosen Son in whom God is well pleased, and who, according to the older (?) form of the text in Luke, is on that day begotten by the Father. Then it was that Jesus received all the high prerogatives which raised him above ordinary humanity, though always without making him God and Creator.<sup>2</sup> For till then he had been, except in respect of his sinlessness, in no wise higher than Moses or Enoch. Filled with the spirit of adoption, the elect Christ is forthwith led up on to the mountain to enjoy for forty days the mystery of intercourse with the Father<sup>3</sup>; and this feast of divine converse to which, after baptism, Christ was at once admitted, is the archetype of the sacramental meal for the reception of which baptism qualifies us" (Intro. p. lxxxvii).

In the light of this we are prepared to find that Baptism—its idea, conditions, and ritual—takes up a large number of the extant sections of the *Key*. By baptism it understands adult baptism (in mature years, on the model of the only-born Christ, to whose image all derivative Christs<sup>4</sup> are to conform); and this in so exclusive a way as to make its polemic against the so-called Orthodox or Greek Church depend thereon. Most of this criticism

<sup>1</sup> Our editor rightly sees that the fundamental Christological idea is that of the *Shepherd* of Hermas. But he quite fails to see that to Hermas the Resurrection and Exaltation are the moment of crisis and reward (as in Phil. ii. 9 and the N.T. in general), and not the Baptism.

<sup>2</sup> It suggests an extreme antiquity for this mode of thought, that it is unaffected by the counter emphasis on the Resurrection as determinative, marking the Pauline writings, which they held in such high honour. It is continuous with the liberal Judæo-Christian piety of the (Syrian) *Teaching of the Apostles*.

<sup>3</sup> "When therefore he had pleased his increate and loved Father, at once the Spirit led him on to the mountain of temptation and admitted him into the mystery (or sacrament) of holy Godship. For forty days and forty nights he feasted on contemplation, on fellow-converse, and on the commandments of the heavenly Father, as is plain to us from the holy Gospels; and when his [Maker] took away the feasting and the fellow-converse from him, then he hungered" (*Key*, ch. v.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Et ille Christus, et nos Christi*, the motto of the Spanish Adoptionists.

has been torn out of our MS., as already explained. But we know from its own words that the *Key* made prior repentance so essential that it counts Repentance as one of the three ineffable and essential mysteries or sacraments, co-ordinate with baptism and participation in "the precious body and blood" of the "Saviour and Intercessor." Apparently this last was conceived as tantamount to feasting on Christ's living words, as Jesus had feasted on his Father's; and accordingly they observed it in an ordinary house and sitting at a common table, on principle (so Isaac Catholicos, p. lxxviii). A somewhat difficult question indeed arises as to whether they thought the elements underwent "change" when blessed by their Elect ones. Mr Conybeare discusses it carefully, and with due allowance for the more realistic modes of ancient thought, even in the most ethical and spiritual circles. But the question is complicated by the fact that the Sacramentary itself has been torn out, and that what remains on the point may not be part of the original *Key*, but a supplement added by a much later scribe. One thing, however, is clear—that they attached much importance in this, as in all their sacred acts, to the person of the officiating minister. It was, strictly, Christ distributing His essential life through true Christs, His kindred representatives, and to immature Christs or men anointed of the Spirit by baptism. They had but one ministerial order, that of those who had reached the full stature of Christship, both in spirituality and in the vicarious spirit. By these, as occasion or gift determined, the different functions of spiritual priesthood or apostleship were performed, and *ipso facto* gave the Elect one a specific title *ad hoc*.

And now the question of the particular document merges in the larger historical problem of the history and origins of Paulicianism. Our editor has discussed it with great care, and his conclusions are as follows:—The *Key of Truth* represents the crystallization of the faith and usages of the "old believers" of south-eastern Armenia, whose presence in that Church (especially in certain more rugged and sequestered districts) can be traced back, side by side with Christianity of a Nicene type, up to the beginnings of the latter, and then behind it in the Adoptionism of Archelaus, Bishop of Karkhar, in his Dialogue with Mani (c. 275-277 A.D.). It is safest perhaps to put on one side the imperfect orthodoxy of Gregory the Illuminator—whose works in their original form the later Armenian fathers 'would not willingly let live.' But the evidence of so representative a work as that of Archelaus, showing no consciousness that there was any other alternative Christology to Mani's save his own—taken along with the Epistle of Macarius (c. 325-335) on Armenian Christianity, certain letters of Basil of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (the centre of

Græcizing orthodox influences in Armenia<sup>1</sup>), Proclus *Ep. ad Armenios* in 435 A.D., and the Canons of Sahak (400-450)—amply proves the prevalence of Adoptionist or Paulician views in the Armenian Church of the third century.

In the fourth century this tendency was vigorously opposed by Basil of Cæsarea, when Arianism brought the Christological issue to the surface everywhere; and from the fifth century, Constantinople became the inspiring centre of persecuting measures against such "old believers." The advent of Islam brought some respite to the Paulicians, as to other victims of orthodox intolerance; and yet later the Iconoclastic movement gave their cause a fresh impulse, especially as Constantine V., nicknamed by his foes Copronymus, was probably one of themselves. But it was seemingly not till the middle of the ninth century that Paulicianism, which at no time ceased to be an element lurking in the Armenian Church (favoured by the independent clan organization under feudal chieftains) definitely assumed an organization outside, and in reciprocal hostility to, the Græcizing, quasi-orthodox (Monophysite) Church which stood in closer relation with Constantinople. And of this crisis Mr Conybeare views the *Key of Truth* as the outcome. He supposes that Baptism was now made, at least by Smbat<sup>2</sup> and the Paulicians, the crucial point; so that in turning their backs on adult Baptism the opposite party were held to have departed hopelessly from Apostolic Christianity, and so forfeited sacraments and orders. For this at least is absolutely clear, namely, that the Paulicians claimed complete continuity with the "universal and Apostolic Church" of earlier days. The last charge they would have admitted was one of innovation, the very thing with which they taxed their rivals. "They were probably the remnant of an old Judæo-Christian Church, which had spread up through Edessa into Siuniq and Albania." The name "Paulicians" itself was a nickname, probably denoting "the wretched Paulians" or adherents of Paul of Samosata, whose Adoptionism—the prepared soil of the later Nestorianism of the Syrians—was the typical expression to the Græco-Roman world of a form of Christology to which it was becoming definitely hostile.

But it had not been so from the beginning. Here Mr Conybeare's Manual and his consequent researches into the early Armenian Church, as to whose pre-Gregorian days the later

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John of Otzun (c. 720), whose tone is the usual "orthodox" one in this connection: in primis, incestuosæ Paulicianorum gregis sordescens reliquæ oburgationem sane sustinuerunt a Nersete Catholico (probably Basil's ally).

<sup>2</sup> The reason why his name, and not that of the traditional Sergius (Tychicus of the Greek sources, figures in the present connection, is that we are here dealing with the Paulicianism of Eastern or non-Roman Armenia.

Armenian Fathers maintain a discreet silence or use most embarrassed language, give us new eyes to read between the lines of many old facts and to see their far-reaching significance as bearing out the Paulician claim that theirs was not a sectional but a universal Christianity. For from Syria (beginning with the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*), from Rome (notably in the *Shepherd of Hermas*), from North Africa (Tertullian, the pseudo-Cyprianic *De Montibus Sina et Zion* and *De Aleatoribus*, Lactantius, &c.), Spain (the Priscillianists and Adoptionists of the eighth century), the ancient British Church, the Rhine lands, certain parts of Asia Minor, as well as from Montanism in certain aspects—the Adoptionist type of Christology, with its characteristic emphasis on the Baptism as the true Birth-Day of the Christ, can make good its primitive standing. It is historically illegitimate to style an interpretation of the unique Sonship of Jesus the Christ so oecumenical and original, a heresy. To say that it is speculatively adequate is another thing. But to deny its historic status as an allowable Christian hypothesis is to shut one's eyes to Christian facts attested by Christian fruits. If two opinions on the point were possible before, they can hardly be so after the perusal of this work.

Much more remains to be said, both of the *Key* and its editor's Introduction. As regards the former we would only add, that the reader would do well to approach it through the admirably terse and clear summary of Paulicianism, on its side of usage rather than theology, furnished by the extracts from Isaac Catholicos, which our editor is justified in regarding as citations from some high Paulician authority. We may indeed regret that he has not put these extracts more into the forefront of his discussion. Their note is virtually this: "Christ did (not) do so and so, therefore Christians should (not) do the like." As to the Introduction, one can only name its serious contributions to the following topics: the history of Christmas and its date (originally January 6); the origin of the Forty Days of Lent (once the immediate sequel of the anniversary of January 6, the festival of Christ's Baptism); the origin and significance of the *Fish* as an ecclesiastical symbol; the spread of the ideas *Original* and *Actual* Sin; animal sacrifice in the Armenian Church; various superstitious practises of the same, as also of the Greek Church (*e.g.* the use of *myron* for making things holy in a realistic sense); the history of asceticism and "monkery"; the origin and diffusion of the so-called Western Text; the true history and tenets of the mediæval persecuted Churches akin to the Paulicians, especially the Cathars and the Bogomiles. In touching on so many points as he does in his Introduction, Mr Conybeare has not escaped making mistakes.<sup>1</sup> But both in tone and accuracy

this piece of work seems to show a great advance on anything of the kind from this keen and strenuous writer's pen. And he may justly doubt whether his "main conclusions in regard to the character of the Paulician Church can be touched." *E tenebris lux.*

VERNON BARTLET.

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### The Making of Religion.

By Andrew Lang, M.A., LL.D. London: Longmans & Co.  
8vo, pp. 380. Price, 12s.

IN the dedication to the Principal of the University of St Andrews with which the book opens, Mr Lang says that "these chapters may be taken as representing the Gifford Lectures delivered by me, though they contain very little that was spoken from Lord Gifford's chair." We are glad to receive them whether they were actually spoken or not, for a careful perusal of them has wrought in us the conviction that they are of great significance for the subject with which they deal. Ever since the publication of Dr Tylor's great work on *Primitive Culture*, it has been taken for granted that the earliest belief of man with regard to religion is animism. From Dr Tylor has proceeded the notion that worship of ancestors is one of the most ancient forms of religious belief. No doubt in his hands ancestor-worship is only a specialised form of animism. Mr Herbert Spencer parts company with Dr Tylor at this point, and maintains that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion. Mr Grant Allen has written a large book in support of the theory of Spencer. In truth we meet the theory everywhere, and it is assumed that the development of religious belief is on the lines indicated by Tylor.

It was pointed out by Mr Spencer that animism or the belief which endows everything in nature with the vitality and unruly affections of man was inconsistent with the fact that the higher animals were constrained by the struggle for existence to discriminate between the living and the non-living, and if man did not discriminate between these, some reason must be found for it. Men are wiser than animals, and if they do attribute the qualities of life to the non-living it is because some spirit is supposed by him to have taken possession of the non-living object. Evidently

<sup>1</sup> Among major matters of interpretation one may observe that he seems to mistake the significance of the *consolamentum*, following on *melioramentum*, among the Cathars, which may well be the rite of full Christian initiation following the *traditio symboli* (here the Lord's Prayer), itself the last stage in the qualification of catechumens (*cf.* Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures*).



this is a relevant observation, and neither Dr Tylor nor his followers have dealt with it adequately. As a matter of fact the lower races of men have discriminated between the living and the non-living, and if they worshipped stocks and stones, it was because they imagined stocks and stones—that is, those stocks and stones actually worshipped—to have some qualities beyond those patent to the senses. What is the origin of that belief? Clearly animism will not explain why some things are singled out from others, and regarded in a special way. Mr Spencer does endeavour to give an explanation, Dr Tylor gives none.

It is from another point of view that Mr Lang dissents from the current anthropological view. He is opposed to the view of Dr Tylor, and to the view of Spencer. He seeks to set the evidence in another light, and the evidence he uses is mainly derived from anthropological researches. A proper handling of anthropological evidence, he thinks, leads to the inference that among the earlier races of mankind there is a persistent belief in a Supreme Being, who created the world and is concerned in its moral government. He maintains that this fact has not been recognised by anthropologists, at all events it has not been treated with that respect which its importance demands. To us this is the most significant part of this treatise. He produces ample evidence of the existence, among the lower races, of the notion of a Supreme Being, who makes for righteousness. Waitz had laid stress on this fact, and traces of it are to be found in the testimonies of the beliefs of savage races collected by Dr Tylor, but the full significance of the belief was not recognised until it was signalled by Mr Lang. Mr Lang does not attempt to account for the existence of the belief, he does not advocate the theory of a primeval revelation, he leaves the question of the origin of the belief without discussion, and lays stress on the fact of its existence. He shows that the existence of this fact is inconsistent with the animistic account of the genesis of the conception of God, and also inconsistent with the view that the gods were non-moral. While he does not venture to account for the origin of these beliefs, he is careful to select them from sources which could not have been influenced by contact with higher races. However they may be explained, the hypothesis of contact with higher races is not tenable. We must refer the reader to the book for the evidence, and simply say that he has proved that the belief is there and that it is of native growth.

To this we shall return later, but our sense of the importance of the result has led us to dislocate the order of the treatise. It is the second part of the book which we have put first. In the first part of the book Mr Lang asks, Does animism really take account of the basis of fact which lies at the foundation of savage beliefs?

Is it true that dreams, waking visions, apparitions, hallucinations, and delusions of every kind, are the only source of the beliefs in the life after death, in wandering souls, haunting ghosts, spirits embodied and disembodied? Is it true that these animistic beliefs were gradually purified till they rose to the monotheistic creeds presently the belief of the most civilised portion of mankind? Mr Lang boldly challenges the accepted theory along the whole line. There is something more than delusion in these primitive beliefs. He contends that the primitive beliefs in sorcerers, witches, medicine men, soothsayers, and other wonder-workers, cannot be accounted for by assuming that the whole business was one of deception, delusion, and superstition. It is only lately that modern science has seriously turned its attention to the study of what he calls supernormal phenomena. Already there are some facts discovered that must make the man of science pause ere he sets the whole matter down as pure credulity. It would seem that the savage thaumaturgist was acquainted with certain faculties and qualities of human nature, to the existence of which science has been wilfully blind. In this connection Mr Lang has an amusing and incisive criticism of the attitude of David Hume, who is rightly taken as the typical sceptic. It is well worth reading, though on it we do not dwell. It is likely that the prodigies which have been regarded as tricks, or impostures, may have been feats of clairvoyance, telepathy, hypnotic suggestion; or the source of such feats may lie in that unexplored psychical region of which science is just becoming aware. At all events Mr Lang has made a good case for inquiry, and, ere we set these feats down as pure imposture, we ought to make an exhaustive study of similar phenomena in existence at the present time. To foretell events, to find lost property, to show in a crystal a far distant scene, are facts to be inquired into; the man who does such things may have a supernormal power. Why should not science investigate, without prejudice, such phenomena? If it is claimed that supernormal faculties are at work both in savage and civilised peoples, if the gates of distance are sometimes said to be opened, and people are aware of events taking place many miles away, if men looking into crystals say they see visions, well these are matters for dispassionate scientific investigation. The discoveries of the Psychical Society seem to have been anticipated long ago by primitive speculation.

Thus Mr Lang makes out a case for inquiry. A basis of fact may be found for supernormal phenomena, and as science is interested in all facts, it ought to be interested in this set of facts too. Apart from this part of the book, the main interest lies in that part in which the author comes into close conflict with the views of

Spencer and of Tylor. He shows that they have unduly simplified the problem they had to solve, by neglecting a number of relevant facts. "Anthropology has simplified her problem by neglecting or ignoring her facts. While the real problem is to account for the evolution out of ghosts of the eternal, creative moral god of the plain man, the existence of such a god or being in the creeds of the lowest savages is by anthropologists denied, or left out of sight, or accounted for by theories contradicted by facts, or at best, is explained away as a result of European or Islamite influences. Now, as the problem is to account for the evolution of the highest conception of God, as far as the conception exists among the most backward races, the problem can never be solved while that highest conception of God is practically ignored" (p. 175). Having examined in detail the attempts to evolve the idea of gods out of ghosts, Mr Lang concludes thus: "It would appear then, on the whole, that the question of the plain man to the anthropologist, 'Having got your idea of spirit into the savage mind, how does he develop out of it what I call God?' has not been answered. God cannot be a reflection from human kings where there are no kings; nor a president elected out of a polytheistic society of gods where there is, as yet, no polytheism; nor an ideal first ancestor where men do not worship their ancestors; while, again, the spirit of a man who died, real or ideal, does not answer to the usual savage conception of the Creator. All this will become much more obvious as we study in detail the highest gods of the lowest races" (p. 186.)

He proceeds to study in detail the highest gods of the lowest races. A most interesting study it is. He is careful to select his examples from races which have not come into close contact with higher races, and also from that part of savage experience which is least likely to have been influenced by the higher races, even if there has been contact with them. Savages are exceedingly conservative, and such things as sacred hymns, sacred institutions, and religious mysteries are not likely to have been touched by any foreign influence. Taking his illustrations from these, Mr Lang has no difficulty in showing that there are beliefs in a creative, moral God among the very lowest races. It is impossible for us to summarise the evidence, and we shall not attempt to do so. We give the conclusion. "It seems impossible to point out any method by which low, chiefless, non-polytheistic, non-metaphysical savages (if such there be) evolved out of ghosts the eternal beings who made the world, and watched over morality. As the people themselves unanimously distinguish such beings from ghost-gods, I take it that such beings were never ghosts. Yet these high gods of low savages preserve from dimmest ages of the meanest culture the sketch of a

God which our highest religious thought can but fill up to its ideal" (p. 208).

Two chapters with the titles "Savage Supreme Beings" and "More Savage Supreme Beings" strengthen his position by fresh and varied evidence, chiefly drawn from African sources, and another chapter places alongside of the African examples a number of American Creators. These are of great interest in themselves, and strengthen the main contention of the book not a little. A most important question arises in this connection. If there are such high beliefs among low races, if they believe in a creative, powerful, moral God, how does it come to pass that they also believe in evil gods, and how came they to sink into such base beliefs and such grovelling practices as we know exist among them? It is a most important question, and one that raises great issues. It raises the whole question of evolution in that sense of the word which identifies evolution with progress. It raises in a fresh form the adequacy of the animistic interpretation of the phenomena. Mr Lang is not afraid to mention the word degeneration. Nor is he afraid to call the evolution of the ghost theory a form of degeneration. He has the courage of his convictions, and when we look at the trend of present speculation on these matters, he has need of courage. For, while many admit the fact of degeneration in the abstract, they deny its existence in almost all its practical applications. We quote, as it is only right to let Mr Lang speak for himself. "While Anthropology holds the certainly erroneous idea that the religion of the most backward races is always non-moral, of course she cannot know that there has, in fact, been great degeneration in religion (if religion began on the Australian and Andamanese level) wherever religion is non-moral or immoral. Again, Anthropology, while fixing her gaze on totems, on worshipped mummies, adored ghosts, and treasured fetishes, has not, to my knowledge, made a comparative study of the higher and purer religious ideas of savages. These have been passed by, with a word about credulous missionaries and Christian influences, except in the brief summary for which Mr Tylor found room. In this work I only take a handful of cases of the higher religious opinions of savages, and set them side by side for purposes of comparison. Much more remains to be done in this field. But the area covered is wide, the evidence is the best attainable, and it seems proved beyond doubt that the savages have 'felt after' a conception of a Creator higher than that for which they commonly get credit. Now, if that conception is original, or is very early (and nothing in it suggests lateness of development), then the other elements of their faith and practice are degenerate." Again replying to a question of Professor Menzies of St Andrews, "How could

all mankind forget a pure religion?" he says: "That degeneration I would account for by the attractions which animism, when once developed, possessed for the naughty natural man, 'the old Adam.' A moral creator in need of no gifts, and opposed to lust and mischief, will not help a man with love-spells, or with malevolent sendings of disease by witchcraft; will not favour one man above his neighbours, or one tribe above its rivals, as a reward for sacrifice which he does not accept, or as constrained by charms which do not touch his omnipotence. Ghosts and ghost-gods, on the other hand, in need of food and blood, afraid of spells and binding charms, are a corrupt, but to man a useful constituency. Man, being what he is, was certain to 'go a-whoring' after other gods, practically useful gods, ghost-gods, and fetishes which he could keep in his wallet or medicine bag. For these he was sure, in the long run, first to neglect his idea of his Creator; next perhaps to reckon Him, as only one, if the highest, of the venal rabble of spirits or deities, and to sacrifice to Him, as to them. And this is exactly what happened. If we are not to call it 'degeneration,' what are we to call it? It may be an old theory, but facts 'winna ding,' and are on the side of an old theory. Meanwhile, on the material plane, culture kept advancing, the crafts and arts arose; departments arose, each needing a god; thought grew clearer; such admirable ethics as those of the Aztecs were developed, and while bleeding human hearts smoked on every altar, Nezahautl conceived and erected a bloodless fane to 'the Unknown God, Cause of Causes,' without altar or idol; and the Inca, Yupanqui, or another, declared that 'Our Father and Mother, the Sun, must have a Lord'" (pp. 280-2).

Shortly put, his view is this—Animism supplanted Theism. He seems to have made out his case and supported his thesis with large and varied evidence. He proves that among the most backward peoples known to us, among men just emerged from the palaeolithic stage of culture, men who are involved in dread of ghosts, a religious Idea which certainly is not born of ghost-worship, for by these men ancestral ghosts are not worshipped, is found. "In their hearts, on their lips, in their moral training we find (however blended with barbarous absurdities, and obscured by rites of another origin), the faith in a being who created or constructed the world; who was beyond memory or conjecture; who is eternal; who makes for righteousness, and who loves mankind" (p. 292).

This remarkable conclusion, remarkable in every way, is further illustrated and strengthened by an examination of what he calls "Theories of Jehovah." It is an instructive and an amusing chapter. A brief statement of the various theories of Jehovah is followed by an examination of certain forms of the animistic hypo-

thesis as applied to account for the religion of Israel. He almost apologises for dealing with such a subject as he has no special knowledge of Hebrew and other Oriental languages, but, as some Oriental scholars have borrowed from popular anthropologists without much discrimination, he ventures to set them right. He points out that, be the origin of the belief what it may, Israel had in an early age the conception of the moral Eternal; that also at an early age that conception was contaminated and anthropomorphised, and that it was rescued, in a great degree, from this corruption, while always retaining its original aspect and sanction. "Why matters went thus in Israel and not elsewhere we know not, except that such was the will of God in the mysterious education of the world." Then follows an amusing examination of one of Mr Huxley's many theological adventures, which that adventurous person was wont to undertake to the astonishment of those who knew the subject. "For my part," Huxley had written, "I see no reason to doubt that the Israelites had passed through a period of mere ghost-worship, and had advanced through ancestor-worship and fetishism and totemism to the theological level at which we find them in the book of Judges and Samuel." Into the details of the criticism of this statement we do not enter, but when the statement of Mr Lang is made, Huxley cuts a poor figure. Nor does Mr Spencer fare any better at his hands. We take one more statement to show what Mr Lang claims to have done. Having summarised his argument up to a certain point, he thus proceeds: "We then traced the idea of such a Supreme Being through the creeds of races rising in the scale of material culture, demonstrating that he was thrust aside by the competition of ravenous but serviceable ghosts, ghost-gods, and shades of kingly ancestors, with their magic and their bloody rites. These rites and the animistic conception behind them were next, in rare cases, reflected or refracted back on the Supreme Eternal. Aristocratic institutions fostered polytheism with the old Supreme Being obscured, or superseded, or enthroned as Emperor-God or King-God. We saw how, and in what sense the old degeneration theory could be defined and defended. We observed traces of degeneration in certain archaic aspects of the faith in Jehovah; and we proved that (given a tolerably pure low savage belief in a Supreme Being), that belief must degenerate, under social conditions, as civilisation advanced. Next, studying what we may call the restoration of Jehovah under the great prophets of Israel, we noted that they and Israel generally were strangely indifferent to that priceless aspect of animism, the care for future happiness as conditioned by the conduct of the individual soul. That aspect had been neglected neither by the popular instinct nor the priestly and philosophic reflection of

Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Christianity, last, combined what was good in Animism, the care for the individual soul as an immortal spirit under eternal responsibilities, with the One righteous Eternal of prophetic Israel, and so ends the long, intricate and mysterious theological education of humanity" (pp. 328-9).

Such is the outline of this remarkable book, the most important that has yet proceeded from the pen of its versatile and accomplished author. Many reflections arise out of its perusal, and much might be said both in criticism and also in emphatic approval of much that he has advanced, but our space is exhausted, and we can only recommend the book to the careful study of the anthropologist and the theologian, as well as to the man in the street.

JAMES IVERACH.

### Some New Testament Problems.

*By Arthur Wright, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1898.*  
Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 349. Price, 6s.

THE book before us commences with the invocation, "Veni, Creator Spiritus," and belongs to a series called "The Churchman's Library." It is prefaced with a statement that "the chief use of the New Testament is and should always be devotional. We approach it best in the sanctuary." The author is the Rev. Arthur Wright, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge, and author some years ago of a work entitled *Synopsis of the Gospels*, in which, as in the present volume, he essays to solve the synoptic problem by reviving the old hypothesis of oral tradition, and by theories quite new and original regarding the mail-bags which arrived at Philippi while S. Luke was there.

Before proceeding to describe the distinctive portion of Mr Wright's work, it may be as well to review the position at present occupied by the oral hypothesis, and explain how it is that Dr Westcott is the only English scholar of any repute who maintains it. That in past years the hypothesis offered considerable attraction is of course well known. There were not a few people, wearied with the intricate puzzle of documentary theories, to whom it was a relief to throw the whole business into chancery as it were; but, as Dr Sanday has pointed out at length in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, the oral hypothesis was found to fail when worked out in particular,—the textual divergencies between the gospels and especially the variation in chronological arrangement proving, as he says, to be artificial and not such as might be occasioned by tricks of memory. Then again there were other people to whom the idea,

involved in all documentary theories, that one evangelist chopped and changed the inspired work of another appeared irreverent. But later reflection has shown the unreason of presuming that contemporaries of Mark and Luke, who like them had heard Apostles, would immediately regard what Mark and Luke had written as inviolable.

Above all, it has been realised that the phenomenon of the oral hypothesis is quite unparalleled, the supposed parallel which had been found in Rabbinical custom resulting from a confusion of thought, which treated the case of our Lord's actions as similar to the case of His sayings. That both His sayings and traditions of His actions were for a time handed down orally nobody questions. But while in the case of sayings there was from the beginning a prototype to conform to, there was, of course, in the case of narrative, no prototype at all, and all analogy shows that in such a case verbal uniformity would establish itself only so far as the point of a narrative required some particular form of expression. Uniformity is never produced in such cases of prose by mere repetition, however continuous. Two schoolboys writing down the oft-told story of S. Gregory and the Slaves, would agree in nothing but "Non Angli sed Angeli." In the case of the immemorial story of "Jack the Giantkiller" they would not agree at all. In short, there is nothing in Rabbinical literature or elsewhere parallel to the amazing phenomenon imagined, that a fully detailed consecutive prose history of a series of events like our S. Mark was handed down orally in fixed form—a history of events the importance of which in no way depended on the exact terms of expression.

With regard to this last point, let us suppose for the moment that besides laying great stress on the general fact of our Lord's miraculous power, as the Apostles undoubtedly did, for it was a proof of divine favour (Acts ii. 22 ; x. 38), they did actually think it proper for some reason or other that believers should learn by heart certain exact accounts of the miracles with minute picturesque detail such as S. Mark gives so frequently. Supposing this, how would the Apostles proceed? Mr Wright all unconsciously supplies the answer, with his example of children in Ning-po, China, who can repeat the Gospels by heart. How did these children learn? From a book. And how did the early Christians learn? Mr Wright replies that they learnt from the catechists who had learnt from an Apostle. And how did the Apostle teach himself? To this Mr Wright returns no answer, for the only way in which a man can get by heart a verbally fixed statement of his own recollections as to a long series of events, is to start by taking up his pen and writing his recollections down.

Such are some of the initial difficulties in the way of the oral



hypothesis, conducing to the result which Mr Wright resents so strongly that his re-statement of the oral theory has hitherto received but scant consideration. It remains to speak of the new and original views with which he comes to the support of that theory; and here it will be better to describe than to criticise. Let us with Mr Wright throw ourselves into S. Luke's study at Philippi; for this description of S. Luke's study, already given in a previous volume, and here again and again repeated (see pp. 7, 19, 100, 105), forms the real centre-point of Mr Wright's system. Some of the *Matthæan Logia*, so we find, "reached S. Luke overland," and, existing only orally, had got slightly twisted during the transit. Other *Logia* "reached S. Luke by sea, enclosed in letters from Palestine," "some certainly in Aramaic"; and these, as S. Luke had no note as to their chronological position, were pasted into his work where he thought they would fit best. The remaining *Logia* never reached S. Luke at all. "This supposition accounts for all the facts." Similarly with regard to the so-called Petrine tradition, presented in our Second Gospel, of which about half is reproduced in our Third. This half reproduced represents, according to Mr Wright, a wave of oral tradition which set out towards S. Luke when only half completed. As some verses of this wave involve verses that are omitted, we are told that these compromising verses reached S. Luke fragmentarily enclosed in letters from Rome,—“these scraps were sent to him by his correspondents” (p. 260). If it is objected that some of the compromising verses and some of the omitted verses which they involve (as, *e.g.*, Luke xxiii. 35 and Mark xv. 27, 30) would naturally be enclosed in the same letter, the answer is ready that the letters which reached S. Luke were mutilated. The voracity of ship cockroaches is notorious.

Mr Wright is perfectly serious, and the immense amount of patient labour evident from his books is a guarantee of his good faith. It is therefore with some curiosity that one examines the problem of how he has reached such remarkable results. We have not to go far to seek. Owing, it would seem, to enthusiasm of temperament, he is not always able to distinguish things that are from things that are not.

For example, a man whom I knew seven years ago wrote as follows:—

“There are certain words and phrases unmistakably S. Luke's own in the earlier part of Acts, but there are at least four times as many in the later. The second half of Acts is mainly original work of S. Luke's . . . no later hand has gone over his.”

On which Mr Wright has commented:—

“Mr Badham says that S. Mark wrote the Acts.”

At the same time, I endeavoured to prove, reasonably or unreason-

of money which he does not own. And further, if this objection might be held to be met by Schleiermacher's distinct proviso, that the exponent of Christian doctrine must be a sincere member of the Church whose convictions he voices, there remained the further weighty criticism that Christianity was thus made a mutable quantity whose character altered from age to age under the pressure of new racial influences, and of new intellectual and even material conditions. And it is, Kaftan claims, the merit of Ritschl to have so corrected the standpoint of Schleiermacher as to safeguard the validity of Christian knowledge and the continuity of the Christian religion. This he accomplished, it is contended, by vindicating for the knowledge which comes by faith the character of real knowledge, and also by subordinating Christian doctrine to the objective and stable norm of the revelation of God which culminated in Christ. And to this position Kaftan gives his adherence, only urging more explicitly than Ritschl the trustworthiness of faith. "By faith, and especially Christian faith," he says, "is everywhere to be understood knowledge in the proper sense of the term. For knowing means the appropriation or formation of judgments with the accompanying presupposition that they are true, i.e. that they correspond to the reality given externally to the subject. But this the religious man assumes in respect of his faith, so that the latter has for him the validity of full and actual knowledge. If this assumption becomes precarious religion itself totters, and if it is abandoned religion is at an end" (p. 25). Elsewhere he modifies in the same sense a famous phrase of Ritschl. "His proposition that the religious view of the world embodies itself in judgments of value was at least liable to misapprehension. The religious view of the world really embodies itself in judgments of fact, is knowledge in the proper sense, following from the knowledge that God is and what God is. Only it stands in subjective relations other than those of theoretical knowledge. Not objective apprehension of the world and intellectual manipulation of the impressions so gained, but an inward experience embodying itself in judgments of value lies at the foundation" (p. 29).

It has seemed advisable to dwell somewhat fully on this point in consideration of the fact that the Ritschlian theology is widely supposed to stop short at the position of Schleiermacher, and even to satisfy itself in lieu of knowledge with agreeable fancies which it euphemistically describes as judgments of value. Or as it is even sometimes roughly put: it seems that on these principles belief is a matter of inclination. Although not new, Kaftan's emphatic protest is therefore to be noted, that by faith-knowledge is not meant knowledge of an inferior or less certain kind than theoretical knowledge, but only knowledge reached by a different path. A somewhat

similar case is that of the theist who believes in God, not on the ground of the theistic proofs, but on the ground that He is intuitively apprehended; and to discount the faith-knowledge of the Ritschlians as such is no more just than to maintain that the intuitionist cannot truly hold that God is known. A further question, and one in which it is more difficult to follow Kaftan, is whether the content of Christian knowledge is limited by the capacity of what he declares to be its mediating organ. To this organ is assigned a function similar to that which Kant claimed for the practical reason—viz., to grasp and certify certain truths as postulated in and guaranteed by the higher life; and the doubt that arises is whether this faith, which in the hands of the philosopher barely rescued the elements of Natural Theology, can be expected in the hands of the theologian to reach and authenticate in addition specific elements of a Revelation. It would, indeed, be incorrect to say that in the hands either of Ritschl or Kaftan the method issues in a merely rationalistic or ethical system. In their discussion of the essence (*Wesen*) of Christianity both find it of the nature of an ellipse, of which one focus is the ethical magnitude of the Kingdom of God, the other the religious magnitude of reconciliation to God or justification; and this co-ordination of the great evangelical principle with the ethical is of itself an immense advance, and, doubtless, a legitimate one, in the employment of the subjective method. It may even be granted that more might be made of the method, and that consciousness can be made to yield some corroborative response to more than one dogma declared by Kaftan to be indifferent to faith. But, on the other hand, there is no sufficient antecedent ground for deciding that Revelation could not contain and convey elements additional to those endorsed in experience. For there is an intellectual as well as a spiritual distress of humanity; and if God be assumed to put forth His power on man's behalf at all, it is arbitrary to require that it shall be brought into contact only with the practical side of his nature, and debarred from using the channel of intellectual illumination. At the same time the Ritschlian view serves to correct the ordinary theory which has greatly over-estimated the intellectual element in Revelation. It may usefully draw attention to the fact that the primary purpose of Revelation is not didactic but remedial; that the didactic elements are rigidly controlled by a law of parsimony; and that doctrinal aberrations, which do not bear upon the religious and moral life, may properly be treated among Christians as open questions.

In his attitude towards Scripture and Confession Kaftan occupies the common German position which perplexes so many an English-speaking Protestant. On the one hand Scripture is recognised as the source and standard of doctrine, on the other its teachings are

subjected to the most free and apparently subjective criticism. Similarly, the Confession is declared to be normative in the construction of the doctrinal system while yet a ruthless hand is laid upon the majority of doctrines which its framers regarded as fundamental. This procedure is, however, not inconsistent; and so far from being illegitimate, it is that which has in some form been forced upon theology. For Biblical Theology has made it impossible to regard the Bible as a storehouse of texts which may be confidently combined as furnishing supernatural information in regard to the whole range of doctrinal interests. The character and relations of the different portions of Scripture make it imperative to extract from it the system of redemption in which revelation culminated, and to employ this as the standard by which to control and value the remaining contents of the canonical writings. Next, if it be asked how we shall ascertain the outline of this system, which may be called the faith of the gospel, it is a natural and satisfactory course to follow the Reformers in the general interpretation of Christianity which was embodied in the Confessions. And working on these lines, the proof of a doctrine will be whether it is immediately given in faith, or follows by the logic of faith—or, as Kaftan expresses it, “whether it is necessary in the connection of faith and implied in the knowledge therein contained.” To use this source and norm is, no doubt, a far more difficult and precarious task than to collect and articulate the separate utterances of Scripture in regard to God and divine things. But, at least, it is not necessarily rationalistic, for it is not from reason but from Scripture, or rather from the perfect Revelation recorded in Scripture, that it derives the key to Scripture. Nor is the method an innovation in Protestantism, for the starting point of Protestant theology was the Gospel, not an abstract of the Bible.

For Kaftan, then, the source and norm of doctrine is Revelation as attested in Scripture and apprehended in the Reformation; and a profoundly important part of his work is the comparison and contrast of the Protestant conception of Christianity with the conception which governed the Greek and the Roman branches of the Church. In an interesting analysis he endeavours to show how they differed in their estimate of the chief good given in Christianity and in their view of its relation to our life in the world; and his argument goes in the direction of showing that various cardinal dogmas were bound up in their original form with an understanding of Christianity which was defective, and that with the clearer insight of Protestantism into the essence of Christianity and the means of attaining the *summum bonum* there necessarily follows a revolution in the region of Christological and sacramental dogma. No part of the work is more interesting, or of more far-reaching

importance, than this comparative study of the genius of the three great historical forms of Christianity, and it may be added that the estimate formed of Kaftan's system must largely depend on the judgment formed as to his analysis and exposition of Protestant principles. Here it may suffice to remark that if Kaftan exaggerates the distinction between the Greek and the Teutonic apprehensions of Christianity, his profound handling of principles is in refreshing contrast to the superficiality alike of the praise and the blame which we are accustomed to in discussion of the principles of the Reformation. He further takes up his position as a Lutheran Protestant, but makes the admission that, for scientific theology, the boundary-wall between Lutheranism and Calvinism has been broken down.

It is a common reproach that Ritschl, while professing to expel metaphysics from theology, did not keep his promise. Kaftan defines more accurately the limits within which reason is allowed to make its contribution. With the main task of Dogmatics, as has already been noticed, it has no concern: that task is simply to exhibit the knowledge possessed by faith in contact with Revelation. Where reason comes into play is in the fields of the apologetic and dogmatic problems. In the apologetic sphere it has to bring Christianity into relation with the other possessions of the intellectual life, and so vindicate its title to universal recognition. But it has also competency within the pale of the doctrinal system. When the content of faith has been exhibited and elucidated, there remain problems, such as the origin of evil and the grounds of the atonement, which faith merely raises, and in regard to which it allows the freest speculative treatment consistent with loyalty to the fundamental practical ideas of Christianity.

In the special part the traditional order of treatment is adhered to. Kaftan, it may be remarked, disclaims the ambition of rearing an "architectural" system, a task in which the æsthetic interest in symmetry is in danger of overbearing the love of truth; and he contents himself with what is in the main a reversion to the topical method. He treats the subject-matter under seven divisions: God, The World, Man and Sin, Jesus Christ—His Person and Work, The Church and the Means of Grace, Faith, The Christian Hope. In accordance also with the usual practice, he begins with an exposition of the Biblical material under each head, thereafter traces the development of the relative dogma or dogmas in the periods represented by the three great ecclesiastical divisions, next detaches the knowledge rooted in evangelical faith from the accretions due to pre-Reformation intellectualism or asceticism, and finally deals with the problem, if any, which results from or survives the analysis.

From this general account of Kaftan's principles and method, we next proceed to give some of his results in the field of Special Dogmatics.

The doctrine of God, and specially the doctrine of the divine attributes, is naturally a part of the system which is considerably modified in consequence of the Ritschlian protest against metaphysics. The most direct result of the principle is seen in the abandonment of the laboured classifications of the attributes, and especially of the attempt to describe and relate the so-called immanent attributes. Yet while deprecating the effort to describe the inner life of God he is careful to renew the claim that Christian knowledge "penetrates to the eternal being of God, and does not merely embrace his relations to the world" (p. 167). In His being, it is taught, God is known as a supermundane personal spirit, and His fundamental attributes are love, holiness and omnipotence. For the comparatively slight treatment of the attributes the further reason is given that a full discussion too readily anticipates what belongs to a later part of the doctrinal system. In the doctrine of the Trinity Kaftan finds an article which had points of attachment in the New Testament and which in the ancient Greek and in the western mediaeval Church was a vital part of the dominant conception of Christianity, but which in the Churches of the Reformation has become a mere speculative presupposition of faith, and which calls for revision in harmony with the evangelical conception of salvation (p. 198). The doctrine of the Trinity is thus transferred to the category of the problems which furnish matter for free speculation. His own construction, which of course does not transcend an economic Trinity, may be reproduced: "In its origin and continuance the knowledge of God given in Christian faith is dependent on this—that God has revealed Himself to men in Christ Jesus, and that to those who accept this His revelation He communicates His spirit and therewith Himself. Christian knowledge of God, accordingly, exists only as knowledge of Father, Son and Spirit; where it is a reality, it is knowledge of the triune God, and this comprehensive formula is above all indispensable in the interests of Monotheism. In the Evangelical Church, however, it must be understood in a sense agreeable to evangelical faith—that is to say, by associating with God Himself the historical life of the Lord as the self-revelation of God and the outpouring of the Spirit in the Christ-honouring Church as the self-communication of God, and by teaching the recognition in the historical data as such of the eternal being of God" (p. 211). From which words many will conclude that the new solution is an old heresy nearly related to Sabellianism.

Under the section dealing with the world reference might be made to the interesting chapter on miracles, which is fairly

positive. While granting with many moderns that they have no evidential value in relation to unbelievers, he asserts our good title to accept the evangelical miracles as they stand, and in that connection not merely miracles of healing. It is true that he is disposed to bring into the class of miracles the providential dealings of God with His people, and this extension of the idea might seem to level down the biblical miracle to the region of the more natural event; but that this would be a misconception is clear from the strong, express statement that "the living God is a God of miracles whose power has no limits" (p. 264).

In the treatment of the doctrine of man and of sin we meet with the deviations from the Augustinian analysis of sin which are already familiar in the liberal theology of Germany—viz., the denial of the imputation of Adam's guilt, the refusal to interpret hereditary corruption as personal guilt antecedently to self-determination, and the mitigation of the tenet of the total depravity of human nature. The special interest of Kaftan's exposition is, however, due to the fact that he develops the doctrine by reference to man's existing condition, and detaches it from all facts and speculations regarding the Original Condition and the Fall. The place of these last is in the region of problems, and the conclusions reached are not of vital moment to faith. While, however, he regards the problem of origins as one for free inquiry, his own speculations do not diverge widely from the received doctrine. The origin of evil he traces not to a necessity of nature, but to an abuse of free will on the part of our first parents, and human history, though we have no authentic report, is conceived to have begun somewhat as it is narrated in Genesis except that there the entrance of physical evil is post-dated—viz., in a condition of child-like innocence followed by a fall. To the doctrine of descent he attaches little importance. "Man is a creature of God—it matters not whether a new formation on a given basis, or a new form alongside of other forms. In both cases the gulf is, and remains identical. If we would know how it stood with mankind in the beginning (so far as we can frame ideas on the subject at all), we must have recourse to faith. To say that these modern theories contain aught to destroy faith and quench its thoughts is out of the question" (p. 357).

The doctrine of the Person of Christ is handled in a similar spirit with the Trinitarian dogma. The great Christological dogma which affirms the union of the divine and human natures in the person of the God-man is declared to have been valid from the defective standpoint of the Greek Church, but to have no use or significance for a purified evangelical faith. So strongly indeed does Kaftan hold the doctrine of the eternal sonship of Christ as

commonly understood to be obsolete and even harmful, that he has taken special pains to popularise his views on the subject. What he proposes to substitute for the Catholic dogma is summed up in "the divinity of Christ," which is expounded under three heads: He is the exalted Lord, the historical Saviour, the Eternal. More precisely he says: "The more exact definition of the proposition of the divinity of Jesus Christ, according to evangelical knowledge, is to the effect that He is the complete revelation of God, in His personal life the revelation of God, He himself God manifest in the flesh in human history" (p. 413). It is, however, to be noted that "it is the exalted Christ to whom faith in His divinity directly refers. Another kind of belief in the divinity of Christ than that which attaches to the exalted Christ has never existed in the Christian Church" (p. 416). The prominence thus given by Kaftan to the thought of the risen Christ as exalted to the throne of Divine majesty, and to the right hand of the Father, makes the impression of approximating more nearly to one of the most cherished beliefs of the spiritual type of piety than is found in the earlier utterances of the school. It must, however, remain surprising that Kaftan is unable to discover any other root for the belief in the eternal Sonship and all that is involved in the Logos doctrine than its connection with an oriental and antiquated conception of the chief good. The tenacity with which devout Christians cling, if not to the Chalcedonian formulae, at least to the clear idea of a true divinity and a personal pre-existence, clearly suggests that there is a permanent need which western as well as oriental feels that it satisfies. That need is assurance that the promises of the Gospel are trustworthy and that there is behind them adequate power, and the opposition to a Christology of the Socinian type is due to the fact that it is felt that with the disappearance of the Catholic dogma this assurance is weakened if not destroyed.

Under the rubric of the "Work of Christ," he combines with the usual topics others which are commonly treated under subjective soteriology, or the appropriation of the blessings of redemption. The doctrine of the Atonement is expounded on fairly familiar lines of modern theology—the causal connection of the death of Christ with the forgiveness of sins being affirmed, while the orthodox theory as to the mode of efficacy is discarded as at once self-contradictory and inconsistent with the Christian conception of God. The special feature of Kaftan's discussion is his study of the grounds of the necessity of Christ's death, which he is not content to discover merely on the human side—i.e., as the inevitable result of the revelation of divine love in a sinful world, and the indispensable means for reconciling man to God. The necessity he



traces back to God by observing that the purpose which the Redeemer's death served was one which was grounded in the nature of God Himself (p. 569).

In regard to the doctrine of the Church, Kaftan follows Ritschl in rejecting as misleading the distinction of the visible and the invisible Church. The distinction he thinks unfortunate as creating the impression that the Church which is the object of faith does not include the empirical church, whereas faith believes that the latter is a Church in the true sense of the word on the ground that the means of grace cannot be resultless. Its relation to the Kingdom of God is thus defined. "In it the Kingdom of God is realised. Yet the two conceptions, 'Kingdom of God' and 'Church,' are not to be identified. The Kingdom of God overlaps the Church behind and before. The Church is the Kingdom of God in the present *stadium* of its realisation. The period of the Church is the period between the exaltation of Jesus Christ and the future consummation" (p. 584). To the sacraments, the institution of which by our Lord he sees no reason to doubt, Kaftan attaches great importance—and this mainly on the ground that they furnish an objective guarantee of the destination to the individual of the blessings of salvation. "The importance of baptism," he says, "cannot be too highly appraised. It is a fact of experience that Christians require and seek after such a guarantee. This need is improperly met when the Christian comforts himself with the thought of his conversion or his faith." But under real trial we can find no real support by recurring to our own experience. Then it is that baptism proves a sheet-anchor; the Christian can, may and ought to plead his baptism with God (p. 607). The value of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is similarly traced in the main to its character as "a seal," inasmuch as "it conveys to the communicants an objective assurance of their personal participation in the blessings of salvation possessed by the Church" (p. 610). The specific Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, it need hardly be added, is dismissed as a Romanising excrescence on the evangelical faith.

The eschatology is meagre, being dismissed in twelve pages. The reason for this slight treatment is that, in Kaftan's view, a large body of the biblical material is not an integral part of Christian faith, but was simply taken over from the apocalyptic cycle of Jewish thought. What faith stands sponsor for refers only to the portion of believers, and is summed up as follows: "Christian hope expects the consummation of the Kingdom of God and eternal life in the same as the goal of human history and of the individual life. In both cases the goal is reached after a catastrophe involving the destruction here of the outer world there

of the outward man. Of the final judgment (*Entscheidung*) the principle is Christ, and to all who have become members of his body eternal life is assured" (p. 636). Into the problems connected with the intermediate state and the fate of unbelievers Kaftan declines to enter, except to declare that as there is an eternal life so there is an eternal death. The immense gulf between faith and unbelief has its counterpart in the antithesis of eternal life and death, and the doctrine of universal restoration is untenable. But over the nature of the death which is everlasting the veil is left drawn.

By many, Kaftan's *Dogmatik* will be emphatically and even contemptuously dismissed as a mere farrago of heresies ancient and modern—Sabellian, Pelagian, and Socinian—to which certain minds have reverted in the littleness of their faith. It may therefore be permitted in conclusion to point out one or two features which not only entitle this type of theology to toleration, but even exhibit it in the light of a useful instrument for the extension of the Kingdom of God. In the first place, if in one point of view it evidences a diminution of faith, in another it may be regarded as a triumph of faith; for it is hardly short of a triumph that thinkers for whom the doctrines of Natural Theology have broken down, the ordinary scheme of Christian Evidences is unconvincing, and the old conception of the inerrancy of Scripture has become untenable, nevertheless resolutely cling to many of the cardinal positions of Christianity. A further point which has been too little appreciated is the prominence which it gives to what is after all the most important element in any presentation of Christianity—viz., the evangelical idea. It cannot be denied that there is here an honest and consistent attempt to develop and press home the truth which Paul opposed to Jewish legalism—viz., that we are saved, not of works, but by grace on the ground of faith in Jesus Christ. And this being so, it may be strongly held that the Ritschlian theology renders a much-needed service in recalling other schools to a juster sense of the perspective of Christian doctrine. But the question of chief moment in this connection, though too seldom faced, is this: are the conditions of salvation as formulated by the school such that their fulfilment leads to reconciliation with God, sanctification, and eternal life? If a critic holds that the answer is in the negative, that the gospel in the Ritschlian setting of heresies and ignorances cannot be the power of God unto salvation, then he cannot show too great zeal in excommunicating and suppressing the soul-destroying error. But if his answer is to the opposite effect (and few Protestants at least will deny that it discloses sufficient for the salvation of them who believe and obey) then it may fairly be claimed that the school has an apologetic vocation to our time in

the service of God—possessed as it manifestly is of the power to re-awaken interest in divine things, and to enable some who have lost confidence in older teachers to look past the confusion and the turmoil to the things which cannot be shaken. That the Ritschlian theology has discarded elements of dogma which are of great value has already been indicated, and theology cannot be expected to acquiesce calmly in the impoverishment; but it seems more needful at present to do greater justice to its function as a missionary theology to the world of culture in an age of transition.

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### **Historisch-Comparative Syntax der Hebräischen Sprache.**

*Von Fr. Eduard König. Leip.: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. ix. 721. Price, 18s.*

WHILE the admirable Grammar of Olshausen and also that of Stade have remained without a syntax, König has been able to bring his great work to a conclusion. The third volume, the Syntax, a work of over 700 closely printed pages, has now appeared, and the author is to be congratulated on the completion of his very comprehensive undertaking. Of course this is not a book to learn Hebrew syntax from, the general principles of the language must be taken from simpler and less complicated manuals; the object of this work is to fill in the outline of principles with all the existing particulars. In one respect König differs from Stade and others of his school, and the difference is to his advantage: he accepts anomalies of diction and idiom, registers them, and makes an effort to account for them, while Stade as a rule obliterates them, substituting regular and usual forms in their stead. So far as principles are concerned there is perhaps not much new in the book, though an appearance of novelty is sometimes gained by disposing the principles under new categories. Some will think the terminology employed strained and even pedantic, but the straining arises from a desire to generalise and find a phraseology that will embrace or suggest what is common to the Shemitic languages in general. One moderately versed in general Shemitic grammar will readily appreciate such terms as *yaqtul elevatum* and *yaq gravatum* for the more familiar Juss. (subj.) and Cohort., and much else of the same kind.

The value of the book lies in its being a complete thesaurus of the syntactical facts, familiar and unfamiliar, regular and anomalous, though a great deal of the interest of it lies in the very frequent comparisons instituted with the usages of other Shemitic dialects and with those of the Mishna. These facts are marshalled,

discussed, and reasoned upon with much breadth of knowledge and with candour and courtesy towards other scholars. But though to offer as exhaustive a contribution as possible to the study of the language may have been the author's immediate purpose, his more general object has been to help forward the accurate interpretation of the Old Testament. His work, as he says himself, should serve as a commentary to the whole Hebrew literature, at least to all the obscure and anomalous passages in it. His judgment on such passages has not been formed without consultation of other grammatical works and all important commentaries, and his constant references to such works (chiefly in dissenting from them) give a better idea than anything else of the enormous labour the compilation of his work has cost him, and of his independence in forming his opinions. There may be those who think that König's collections of facts are more trustworthy than his reasoning on them; but, apart from all opinions of this sort, he has laid all students of the Old Testament under the greatest obligation by furnishing them with the materials in this work, and by the example of enthusiastic study which he has given.

The accuracy with which the book has been produced is extraordinary. The indices are very full, and the author draws attention to a new principle adopted by him in forming his index. Instead of enumerating in their arithmetical order the sections bearing on any passage, he cites the sections according as they illustrate the points in the passage as they successively arise. Thus in Isaiah vii. 14, The Lord himself will give you a sign, Behold a Virgin, &c., §§ 40, 340 *d*, illustrate *himself* (הוא); §§ 390 *o*, 357 *n*, bear on the question whether *behold* be conditional or affirmative; while §§ 237 *h*, 367 *v*, discuss whether הרה means "is with child" or "shall be with child." This arrangement may do something to save the time of one consulting the index. It may be taken as evidence that even the most complete work cannot contain everything that the most difficult grammatical point in the verse, the use of the Art. "the" virgin, is not alluded to in any of the sections cited by the author.

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### Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte; Textkritische Untersuchung.

Von Dr Bernhard Weiss. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. iv. 112. Price, M.3.50.

THIS essay forms the first part of the second volume in the new series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, edited by Gebhardt and Harnack. In it the veteran commentator and critic states his

inability to accept the theories of Blass respecting the text of the Acts, and gives the main reasons for his dissent—reasons which he believes that everyone, who is acquainted with current principles of textual criticism, will find convincing. That Blass has done immense service by his investigation of the text which underlies Codex Bezae, is warmly admitted. Before he wrote on the subject there were signs here and there that the old view of D, as being a disreputable collection of capricious corruptions, was giving place to a more reasonable estimate of its value: but no sure result could be obtained without a comprehensive survey such as Blass has supplied. But the truth of the hypothesis which he has put forth as the result of that survey is quite another question. He holds that the two forms of text, which are represented on the one hand by the oldest uncials ( $\alpha$ ), and on the other by D and its supporters ( $\beta$ ), are equally original, the latter representing the rough first draft made by S. Luke, the former the good copy specially prepared for Theophilus. The chief argument urged by Blass for this view is, that, since neither  $\alpha$  can be explained from  $\beta$ , nor  $\beta$  be explained from  $\alpha$ , both must be of about the same date and original. Nevertheless his theory imperatively requires that  $\alpha$  should be explained from  $\beta$ . What induced Luke to abbreviate and alter the  $\beta$  text in such a way as to produce the  $\alpha$  text? To this question Blass has thus far given but scanty materials for an answer. And yet there are so many instances in which the variations of  $\alpha$  from  $\beta$  cannot be regarded as improvements, that the hypothesis of  $\alpha$  being a fair copy made from  $\beta$  demands full explanation and defence. Weiss believes that the number of such instances is so great as to be fatal to the hypothesis; and he proposes to narrow the question down to that issue. All discussion as to the place and time at which the two texts originated may be set on one side. The problem to be discussed is, whether the phenomena of the texts allow us to believe that  $\beta$  is the first draught of which  $\alpha$  is the revised edition. And, in order to simplify this problem still further, Weiss rejects the attempt which has been made to get at the text which underlies D. For that enterprise our equipment is far too scanty. We must take the text of D as it stands, and compare it with that of the oldest uncials.

A study of D will convince us that the copyist who made it was a careless worker. It abounds in phenomena which, upon any theory of the origin of the text, must be blunders. The common mistakes made by transcribers, such as the putting in or leaving out of letters or syllables, and the interchange of similar letters, especially vowels, are very frequent. This copyist is specially given to substituting participles for finite verbs, as *ἐναγγελίζοντες*

for -ται (xvi. 17), ἀπηγγείλαντες for -λαν (xv. 4), without stopping to consider whether the change makes havoc of the construction or not. With similar thoughtlessness he often inserts a καί where it is grammatically impossible, as καθελόντες καὶ ἔθηκαν (xiii. 29), συμπεριλαβὼν καὶ εἶπεν (xx. 10), &c. And there are other kinds of blunders besides these two. Such phenomena do not enable us to judge whether the text of D is an original or a derived text; but they do tend to show that, if it is an emended text, it does not owe its emendations in any considerable degree to its transcriber. So careless and senseless a worker would be incapable of making well-considered emendations.

A large number of the instances of variations in single words are probably cases of mere carelessness, and supply no evidence of an older and independent text: *e.g.* Βαρνάβας and Βαραββῆς for Βαρσαββᾶς, Εὐτυχος for Τυχικός, ἔθνη for ἔθνη, προσευχή for εὐχή, ἱερεῖς for ἀρχιερεῖς, although the last is found in one or two Latin authorities (v. 27). But this feature comes out most strongly in the case of verbs. There are over a hundred cases in which the text of D has a different verb from the ordinary text: *e.g.* ἔλυσεν for ἔλουσεν (xvi. 33), ἀπέλυσεν for ἀπήλασεν (xviii. 16), διαμαρτυρούμενος for διαμαρτυρόμενος (xviii. 5, xx. 21), ἐδέξαντο for ἐδόξαζον (xiii. 48). Similarly εἶπεν and ἔφη are interchanged both ways (xvi. 30, xxii. 27, xix. 25), and ἀπεκρίθη is changed to εἶπεν (v. 8, x. 46). And there are upwards of a hundred variations in the matter of conjunctions, καί, δέ, τε, &c.

Omissions in D are very frequent. There are about eighty cases in which the article is omitted; and, although in some instances D is supported by the older uncials and in others by the group EHL<sup>P</sup>, yet half of these omissions of the article are probably mere mistakes in copying; *e.g.* vi. 1, x. 45, xiii. 42, xxi. 11, xxii. 5. On the other hand either the copyist of D or one of his predecessors seems to have had a fancy for omitting the article before κύριος (xvi. 32, xv. 40, xviii. 9, xix. 5). There are six places in which the negative is omitted in D. In two of these (iv. 20, v. 26) the omission of the μή or οὐ makes nonsense of the sentence. In two others (xx. 20, 27) the negative is pleonastic, and the omission may be deliberate. The remaining two (vii. 25, xix. 40) are probably cases of careless omission, although Blass regards that of xix. 40 (a well-known crux) as original. There are also six places in which ἐν is omitted in D. Five of these Blass recognizes as mistakes; and the omission of it between δεδομένον and ἀνθρώποις may be of the same character, although it has the support of Vulg., Iren. Cyp. And there are more considerable omissions in D, some of which must be mere oversights, for the omission is fatal to the sense. Such are προιδὼν ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς (ii. 31) and συνήλθον δὲ

καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν (xxi. 16). For other probable instances see ii. 19, iv. 13, x. 27, xi. 26, &c.

It is evident, Weiss holds, from the many instances which he cites (of which only a very few have been quoted above) that Codex D in all its parts is disfigured by careless mistakes and capricious alterations, such as are found in all MSS., and are in no way specially characteristic of D, except, perhaps, as regards the very large number of them. What he complains of in Blass is the arbitrary manner in which he sets aside some of these as manifest corruptions, while he adopts others, which are exactly similar, as parts of an original text. It is quite clear that these numerous variations do not come all from any one source, but have accumulated gradually, and that some of them have a very high antiquity, as their agreement with other ancient witnesses shows: and yet, according to Blass, this is no evidence of their originality.

But there is another kind of various readings in D which are very characteristic of this MS. They are such as affect the matter of the narrative, altering it and enlarging it; and they are not confined to mere changes of expression, but betray deliberate construction or alteration of the text. It is this class of various readings which can help us to answer the question whether D preserves an older text than that which is contained in the oldest uncials: and this question Weiss answers emphatically in the negative. He holds that in a number of cases the text of D can be explained only on the supposition that a text such as is found in the oldest uncials has preceded. We have several instances of such things at the very outset.

In the introduction (i. 2) D transposes ἀνέλημφθη from the end of the sentence to immediate connexion with ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας, and after ἐξελέξατο adds καὶ ἐκέλευσεν κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, in order to make the meaning of ἐντειλάμενος clearer. Again, in i. 4, the insertion of φησιν διὰ στόματος between ἠκούσατε and μου has obviously been made in order to smooth the transition from oblique to direct oration and to avoid the double construction of ἀκούειν with both acc. and gen. The insertions of ὁ μέλλετε λαμβάνειν and of ἕως τῆς πεντεκοστῆς in i. 5 are of a similar character. Blass himself admits that the reading σὺν ταῖς γυναῖξιν καὶ τέκνοις for σὺν γυναιξίν (i. 14) is a corruption, and that ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις τοῦ (ii. 1) is a later insertion: but they are of exactly the same character as variations which he regards as original. The same may be said of his rejection of κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστῆσαι τὸν χριστόν (ii. 30), which is in EP, and which Hilgenfeld regards as original.

In this way Weiss works through all the chief alterations and insertions which are characteristic of D, and maintains that the

motive for all of them is, as a rule, thoroughly intelligible, and that in most of them the editing scribe is working on (or under the influence of) the text which is found in our oldest uncials. It is impossible to suppose that this text, the brevity of which is sometimes difficult and harsh, can have been produced from the more full and smooth text of D. Weiss is quite unable to understand how Blass and Hilgenfeld can again and again maintain that the text of D is original, *because it is so much smoother and clearer*. That very fact justifies us in suspecting that it is the result of deliberate emendation; although, as the instances quoted show, the attempted emendation is often a failure. In some cases there is no real difficulty in the words which have been supposed to need emendation; and in others the alteration made is no real improvement. Nevertheless, it is a fundamental principle of textual criticism that the reading which can most easily be explained as being derived from another is secondary.

In the well-known example in xi. 27, 28, *συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν*, Weiss is inclined to admit that we may have the original text preserved. And he entirely agrees with Blass, that, if this reading is original, then beyond all question the author of the Acts was a member of the Church of Antioch, as Eusebius and others state. This reading gives us a fourth "we-section." But, it does not follow, because this passage is genuine, that therefore all the places in which D has a more full and clear reading are original.

In his recent work entitled *Philology of the Gospels* Blass objects to "the dust of minute textual criticism, which in Weiss's book is found from the very beginning, overspreading everything else, and overclouding the main problems, which, if they are to be rightly decided, must be kept clear from minute encumbrances, like the blunders of the copyists of D, or of those of its predecessors. Let these blunders be stated in any number, you will by that means not even touch or approach the problem; and Weiss, by using that method, has got nearly as far as the middle of his book before approaching it" (pp. 125, 126).

But it is only by detailed textual criticism that questions as to the priority of the  $\alpha$  text and the  $\beta$  text, or of their equal originality, can be solved. Whether or no Weiss's estimate of this or that instance is correct, it is by such comparisons as he has made, by the cumulative result of the comparisons, that a trustworthy solution of the problem will be reached. He may have gone to an excess in pressing minute details; but a wide induction made from an exhaustive survey of all kinds of instances is what we require. And similar instances must be judged on similar principles. It is not satisfactory to find exactly the same evidence treated as adequate in one case and as inadequate in another



simply because the reading which it supports in the one case seems to us to be a good one, while in the other case it does not. And yet this is what Blass would claim as a fundamental principle of criticism. We must have "entire liberty to select in each individual case that branch of the tradition for our guide which shall seem to us to be in this case most trustworthy, even if it be a heretical witness like Marcion" (*Philology of the Gospels*, p. 58). And mediaeval versions may suffice, if nothing else is to be had in support of the reading which we desire. "When a corruption has spread widely, you must go to the very remotest corner, if you wish to find the true reading preserved" (p. 69).

Such principles appear to open a very wide door for the entrance and dominance of purely subjective considerations. With regard to the issue between Blass and Weiss, there is agreement up to a certain point. Blass would probably not object to the conclusion which Weiss states in the last sentence of the treatise which we have been considering,—“that the preference for Codex D in the Acts of the Apostles as against our ancient uncials has no foundation.” For to this Blass might rejoin, that of course we have no right to prefer an author's rough draft of his work to a revised copy made by himself; but that that does not prove that the rough copy is not of equal value as an authority for the facts. Both copies may express his knowledge or convictions; and the rough draft may sometimes do this more clearly than the fair copy, because omissions made for the sake of brevity may in some cases have impaired the lucidity of the narrative.

The perplexing thing is that sometimes the  $\alpha$  text and sometimes the  $\beta$  text looks like the revised copy. Whatever one may think of the conclusion which Blass draws from the fact, he seems to have used a sound argument in contending that it is impossible satisfactorily to explain either  $\alpha$  from  $\beta$  or  $\beta$  from  $\alpha$ . We may say of him as Aristotle says of Eudoxus—*δοκεῖ καλῶς συνηγορῆσαι περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων*. But a good deal more will have to be done before it is securely established that both these texts come from the hand of Luke, and that  $\alpha$  represents his revision of  $\beta$ . One danger lies in the frequent temptation to suppose that what seems to be a satisfactory explanation of some of the variant readings is therefore the explanation of the remainder, or of most. The problem is a complex one, and there is probably no short cut to a right solution. Careful analysis of individual cases, such as Weiss has given us, is the method most likely to yield good results.

A. PLUMMER.

**Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament  
herausgegeben von K. Marti.**

*Das Buch Hesekiel erklärt von A. Bertholet. Freiburg und Leipzig: Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 1897. Pp. xxvi. 259. Subscription price, 4 Mk.; separate, 6 Mk.*

THAT the long despised and misunderstood seer of Tel-Abib has at last come to his own is not the least of our obligations to the newer criticism. From a *vox et præterea nihil*, Ezekiel has come to be regarded as "the father of Judaism," the great thinker who has stamped the impress of his thought upon the whole subsequent religious history of his countrymen. And not upon Judaism only, for Christianity also is the richer for what he taught as to the freedom and responsibility of the individual, and but for him we should scarcely have had the vision glorious of "the new heaven and the new earth," and of "the holy city, the new Jerusalem" (Apoc. xxi. 1, 2).

To entrust a commentary on so difficult a prophet to a young Privat-Docent was an experiment not without risk, but the editor's confidence in Dr Bertholet has not been misplaced. The commentary before us is an exceedingly painstaking and conscientious piece of work, more "modern" than the commentaries of Smend and Davidson, that of the last-named scholar, however, being strongest where we venture to think Bertholet's is weakest; but of this later. It follows the plan of the series to which it belongs, Marti's Kurzer Hand-Commentar series, which differs from Nowack's series mainly in the absence of a continuous translation. The table of contents occupies six pages, so that it not only gives a summary view of the contents proper, but also serves to bring out the methodical arrangement of the book and the mutual relation of its various parts. The usual introduction follows (pp. xi.-xxv.), the larger part of which is devoted to "the person of the prophet" and "the prophet's book."

With the former topic we at once enter debatable territory. The injustice of Smend's dictum that Ezekiel is not strictly speaking a prophet at all is easily shown, while stress is laid on the novel elements, particularly on the marked individualism, in Ezekiel's prophetic work. A few lines further on, Dr Bertholet refers to "what is perhaps the most important trait in his prophecy—the legislative (*cf., e.g., on* xlili. 10 f.)." To this statement, even as qualified, we must demur. It can be maintained only by exalting the last nine chapters of Ezekiel's book at the expense of all the rest. But these chapters were written many years after the author

had apparently exhausted his message to the exiles and received, so to speak, his discharge from the office of "watchman" to which he had been called. Besides, after all that has been written on this subject, including Bertholet's own *Verfassungsentwurf des Hesekiel* (1896), it still remains far from clear whether Ezekiel intended these chapters to be an actual programme for the restored community, or whether they represent merely an old man's ideal of the future. So thorough a student of Ezekiel as Professor A. B. Davidson declares that the former "was not the prophet's idea, and never came into his mind."

As regards the second of the topics above mentioned, the prophet's book, Bertholet approves of the division into two equal parts (chaps. i.-xxiv. ; xxv.-xlvi.), which he styles respectively the "*pars destruens*" and the "*pars construens*," discusses the literary characteristics of the book, noting the influence of Jeremiah, and subscribes finally to Cornill's conclusion "that Ezekiel wrote and arranged his book as a whole in the twenty-fifth year [of his captivity, i.e. 573 B.C.], but made use for this purpose of earlier . . . compositions which he left essentially unaltered." We are glad to note, however, that he adds thereto a caveat against those modern extremists who would reduce some of the prophet's most striking passages to *vaticinia ex eventu*, a position which he further upholds in various parts of his commentary. With regard to the state of the text, a well-merited tribute is paid to the labours of Cornill, notwithstanding his exaggerated view of the value of the Septuagint, and approval expressed of the *via media* adopted by Siegfried (in Kautzsch's Bible) and by Toy (in Haupt's S.B.O.T.), the proof sheets of the latter's Ezekiel having been kindly placed at Bertholet's disposal.

From the commentary, which is one of the fullest which has yet appeared in this series, we select at random a few points that seem to call for remark. At the very commencement we meet with a novel attempt to solve the enigma of "the thirtieth year" with which the book opens (chap. i. 1). The unsatisfactory nature of the current solutions is easily shown and the suggestion, due originally to Professor Duhm, brought forward that the present text is from the hand of a later student who had noted that Jeremiah specifies seventy years as the duration of the exile (xxv. 11), while Ezekiel speaks of only forty (iv. 6), and consequently had drawn the inference that Ezekiel began his prophetic career *in the thirtieth year of the exile*. The new solution is at least as good as any of the old.

On ii. 1 a fuller discussion of the characteristic term "son of man" would have been in place particularly with reference to its use in Jewish Apocalyptic and in the New Testament. With

regard to the frequent symbolical actions of our prophet, we seem to be no nearer agreement than before. Bertholet is an uncompromising realist, his reviewer is a pure symbolist, and there the matter ends. Even the remarkable feat of iv. 4-8, according to our author, is to be taken literally—although the period is reduced by the help of the Greek text to 190 + 40 days—for Bertholet holds with Klostermann that we have to do with a cataleptic subject, who in some unexplained way may have been the victim of "Autohypnose"!

An interesting and suggestive note deserves mention on v. 6 "as the forerunner of Romans ii. 14 ff.," tracing this idea of a non-Hebrew conscience to its roots in the older prophecy. One of the many obscurities of Ezekiel occurs, it will be remembered, in viii. 17, "lo, they put the branch to their nose." These words are generally understood by modern scholars to refer to the *bareqma*, or bundle of aromatic twigs, which the Persian sun-worshippers held to the mouth to prevent their breath contaminating the Deity. But, as Bertholet points out, it is strange that a mere detail of the sun-worship, which has already been condemned in v. 16, should receive such prominence and such severe condemnation (see v. 18). His suggestion is certainly tempting, to retain the old pointing *appi* (of which the present text is a "correction of the scribes"), and to see a reference to phallus-worship, to which Isaiah lvii. 8 also most probably refers. We miss, however, in the discussion a reference to Ezek. xvi. 17. Under ix. 4, referring to the "sign of the cross," it should have been stated that the letter *Taw* had in Ezekiel's time the form of a cross.

The whole of the last section of the commentary, chapters xl.-xlviii. (pp. 190-252) is particularly well done, judicious emendations being freely resorted to, as the necessary means of overcoming obscurities; a number of detailed plans of the temple, &c., afford welcome aid in understanding the text. On the other hand we do not think that Dr Bertholet does full justice to such chapters as xviii., xxii., and xxxvi., which is equivalent to saying that he fails to do full justice to Ezekiel as a moral and religious teacher. To Bertholet Ezekiel is rather the father of the rabbins than the son of the earlier preachers of righteousness. He never fails to insist on the prophet's doctrine of sin, and its correlate holiness, as external and purely physical entities (*äusserlich, rein physisch*), and on his conception of religion as not ethical but ceremonial. That this is too one-sided a view of the teaching of the great prophet-thinker of the exile might, we venture to think, be proved without much difficulty.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

**Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben von Dr Karl Marti.**

*Das Buch der Richter erklärt von Dr Karl Budde. Leipzig und Tübingen: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. xxiv. 147. Subscription price, Mk.2.50; otherwise, Mk.3.60.*

FEW living scholars, it will be admitted, are more competent to write a commentary on the Book of Judges than the author of *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (1890). Since the appearance of the standard work just named, the critical problems of the Book of Judges have engaged the attention of a number of scholars, among whom Moore and Kittel are pre-eminent. It is needless to say that Budde in the work before us takes account of every serious contribution that has been made in the intervening years to the solution of these problems. He has also had placed at his disposal a valuable work in manuscript by Dr H. Holzinger, whose elaborate "Introduction to the Hexateuch" is well known to all Old Testament students. In the present commentary, therefore, we have the latest results of international scholarship as regards the critical and exegetical difficulties of the Book of Judges.

From these results it would seem as if two hitherto unsolved problems of some importance were now in a fair way to a final solution. The first of these has reference to the extent of the early prophetic narratives, known to Pentateuch critics as J and E. It has long been held that these sources extend not merely to the Book of Joshua, but to the first two chapters at least of the Book of Judges. The question, however, remained: Did they close with the conquest or did they continue to give the history of the period of the Judges and of the establishment of the monarchy? In other words, can we trace these sources throughout Judges and Samuel? To this latter question Budde in his previous work replied in the affirmative, while Kittel may be taken as the most strenuous representative of the negative view. It now appears, however, that the controversy narrows itself, as is often the case with such controversies, to a question of terms and their significance. What is meant by the symbols J and E? Do they represent individuals or schools? If the former, then not even Budde would ask us to believe that the same hand that wrote, let us say, the creation-narrative of Genesis, chap. ii., also wrote the stories of Gideon and Samson. But if the symbols are to be understood in a wider sense, as convenient designations of schools, or as Budde would now prefer to say, of two groups of "kindred spirits" (*Commentary*, p. xiv.), then it follows that he and Kittel are in practical agreement.

Budde's only stipulation is that he be allowed to hold that J and E, as found in Judges, were already united with the other productions of the two "schools," forming one great continuous history from the creation downwards, before the date of the Deuteronomic redaction.

The second of the two critical problems to which reference was made above will be best understood by recalling the course of Pentateuch criticism. There, it will be remembered, the so-called "supplementary hypothesis" has been displaced for at least a generation by the dominant "documentary hypothesis." In the case of Judges, however, the prevailing view hitherto has been that each of the narratives of the book was made up of its *Grundstock* (to borrow once more a familiar Pentateuchal term), supplemented by literary additions of various dates and tendencies. But the careful and minute analytical studies of Kittel, Moore, Holzinger, Winckler and, not least, of Budde himself, have gone far to secure the final triumph of the documentary hypothesis for the narratives of Judges as well as for those of Genesis. For the evidence of this statement we must refer the reader to the book under review.

In his excellent introduction (pp. ix.-xiv.) Professor Budde discusses such topics as the following: (1) The structure (Aufbau) of the Book of Judges, regarding which he observes that "no other historical book of the Old Testament presents on the whole so simple and transparent a structure." (2) The various redactional stages through which the book has passed; this section is supplemented by an analytical table on pp. xxii.-xxiii., where the materials are arranged in no fewer than nine columns, the great mass of the contents, however, falling to J, E, and the post-Deuteronomic redaction D<sub>2</sub>. (3) The history of the text, calling attention once more to the two early Greek translations represented by existing MSS. of the LXX (the Cambridge edition of the texts of A and B, we may remark, appeared after the publication of the commentary). Finally (4), we have a short discussion of the chronology of the Judges, regarding which, however, Budde has nothing heroic to propose.

Passing to the commentary proper, we find, as in all Budde's work, many subtle hints as to the analysis of the narratives (some of them too subtle to command universal assent), many points of Hebrew philology treated with the firm touch that is characteristic of the best Hebrew scholarship, and not a few fruitful suggestions on difficult questions of early Hebrew history. The numerous geographical notes are also valuable, and in connection therewith we are glad to note the frequent references to Professor Buhl's compendious *Geographie*, the completeness and systematic arrangement of which make it an excellent companion to Professor Smith's more popular and picturesque work.

While thus ready to appreciate the many excellencies of the commentary, we cannot conceal the conviction that, limited as it is to 150 pages, it is over-weighted by the amount of purely critical matter. The value of the book for those for whom it is intended, the student of Hebrew, and the busy pastor and layman, would undoubtedly have been increased had there been less minute analysis and more of what we may call exegesis proper. With regard, finally, to the religious teaching of the book, it is true, no doubt, that the authors of these early narratives are not so morally or spiritually "intense" as an Amos or an Isaiah, yet there is an amount of religious and moral earnestness to which Budde has scarcely done justice. Thus at the close of the history of Abimelech (to take but a single instance), where the Hebrew writer is careful to emphasise the doctrine of Divine retribution (ix. 56, 57), the following is the only comment: "56 f. is plainly the conclusion of E, cf. on ch. 9."

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

**Haller, Wilhelm.** *Jovinianus, die Fragmente seiner Schriften, die Quellen zu seiner Geschichte, sein Leben und seine Lehre.*

*Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Price, M.5.50. Pp. 159.*

**Klette, E. Theodor.** *Der Process und die Acta S. Apollonii.*

*Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Price, M.4.50. Pp. 136.*

THESE two monographs, which appear in the series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, are interesting both in themselves and as striking specimens of the process by which the true history and the personalities of the first four centuries are being steadily recovered and re-constituted. Till within a few years, Jovinian has been little more than a name in the Church Histories, the name of one of the targets for Jerome's envenomed invective. One page in the first edition of Herzog sufficed for the *omne scibile* concerning him. Gauged by the same rough standard, Apollonius appeared of even less importance, as he is dismissed both by Herzog and by Smith with eight or ten lines. Now, however, these two dim figures have recovered flesh and blood, weight and force. In the one case by the collection and analysis of all the available evidence, in the other by the discovery of a lost document, we are made acquainted with men

and forces of no inconsiderable importance in the development of the early Church.

Some of our readers may remember a striking article by Professor Harnack in the second number of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (1891). The subject was the history of the doctrine of salvation by faith alone in the early Church, and in the series of witnesses for the Pauline doctrine of justification and evangelical conception of the Gospel, the writer adduced Jovinian, devoting some twenty pages to the discussion of his views. Having previously (*Dogmengeschichte*, iii. 51) spoken somewhat hesitatingly of the possibility of constructing Jovinian's scheme of thought from the scanty material, he now claimed him as undoubtedly a champion of purer Christianity. He summed up thus: "In the whole history of Paulinism in the early Church there is no other who has done justice to Grace and Faith as Jovinian has done; and in the whole history of the attempts to resist the prevailing tendency and derive salvation as a unity from faith alone, excluding all work-righteousness, the monk Jovinian deserves the first place." On these grounds, Harnack ventures to call him "a Protestant of his period" (compare also Emilio Comba, *I. Nostri Protestantii*, pp. 83-114).

Dr Haller, whose attention was drawn to Jovinian by this article, has devoted the interval to a careful study of all available material, and now publishes it with notes and criticisms, followed by an appreciation.

The material divides itself into two classes. Of Jovinian's own work no copy has come down to us. Jerome and Julian the Pelagian are the only men into whose hands we know that his *commentarioli* fell. To Jerome in Bethlehem these tracts were sent by "holy brethren from the city of Rome." He read them, and promptly set to work to controvert the doctrines they contained. And for our knowledge of Jovinian's actual views we depend almost entirely on the copious quotations which Jerome introduces into his reply. These quotations have been collected and re-printed by Dr Haller with variations of type to distinguish direct from indirect citation and with notes which embody the greater part of Jerome's criticism. Apart from these citations from Jovinian himself, we have further the testimony and judgment of others, e.g. Jerome in his letters to Pammachius, &c.; a letter of Siricius to the Church at Milan, "adversus Jovinianum haereticum, ejusque socios ab ecclesiae unitate removendos," the reply of Ambrose and other Bishops, together with references in Augustine, Vincent of Lerins and others.

On the basis of these materials, Dr Haller proceeds to discuss Jovinian's life, writings and doctrines. Though himself a monk,



he is best understood as the determined critic and opponent of those monkish theories and practices, whose appearance in the West coincides with Jerome's first journey to the East (373), with which they are not unnaturally connected. Jovinian represents a powerful reaction on the part of sound Christian judgment against the Oriental innovation. And it is easy to understand how Jerome's indignation against the heretic was whetted by personal annoyance against the presumptuous opponent of his favourite scheme.

Jovinian must have had a keen moral perception and a vigorous intellect to enable him to recognise so easily and combat so efficiently the certain issues of the new theory of righteousness involved in the monastic institution. His leading thought is the necessity of protesting against the intrusion of the monkish theory of salvation by works. He saw grace and faith disappearing in the Christian consciousness behind rewards and works. While others were protesting against the exaltation of asceticism, because it was a challenge to their own easy-going and self-indulgent standard of Christian ethics, Jovinian (followed by Vigilantius and others) protested in the name of a more common-sense and yet more truly spiritual interpretation of the way of salvation.

His opposition, first expressed in conversation in pastoral intercourse and in public addresses, finally took shape in four tracts or booklets (*commentarioli*), in each of which he set forth and defended a proposition which contradicted the doctrine then beginning to claim the acceptance of the Church.

In the first place, he asserted the undifferentiated blessedness of all the regenerate. He stoutly denied the theory of a "double morality" conditioning different degrees of blessedness or salvation. He saw the danger and the falsity of the suggestion which first makes its appearance in *Hermas*, that a man can do good over and above the requirements of God (*ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ*), and so obtain superior fame or merit (*σεαυτῷ περιποιήσῃ δόξαν περισσotέραν*). For him there were only two classes of men—the righteous and the sinners. Intermediate stages there were none. All depends on the fundamental attitude of soul, and that is conditioned by the indwelling of God and Christ. This is complete. Not a part of Christ, but the whole Christ enters into the soul of the new-born and there abides.

A somewhat one-sided emphasis on the results of this indwelling led Jovinian in the second place to state a doctrine of the perseverance of the saints in a way which invited criticism: "eos qui plena fide in baptisate renati sunt, a Diabolo non posse subverti," which is readily paraphrased (by Julian of Eclanum), "Jovinianistas condemnamus qui docent hominem post baptis-

mum nullo modo posse peccare." But Dr Haller thinks it clear that he drew the distinction between sinful acts and the habit of sin, and held the Pauline doctrine as set forth in Romans v. 33 f.

In the third proposition this heretic deprecated the great religious value assigned to fasting: "Inter abstinentiam ciborum et cum gratiarum actione perceptionem eorum nullam esse distantiam." Abstinence is not in itself higher, holier, or more pleasing to God than accepting and enjoying with thanksgiving. This teaching exposed him to Jerome's most unscrupulous misrepresentation. He was the "Epicurus of the Christians," framing his doctrines as cloaks and excuses for his own gluttony and vice. But the crowning heresy, in Jerome's opinion, was the assertion of the religious equality of celibacy and marriage: "virgines, viduas et maritatas, quæ semel in Christo lotæ sunt, si non discrepent cæteris operibus, ejusdem esse meriti." Along with this went, as a concrete example of indifference and celibacy, Jovinian's denial of the perpetual virginity of Mary, the mother of Jesus.

The fate of this bold defender of Paulinism is lost in obscurity. His views appear to have met with considerable support, especially in Rome. Jerome says: "That many subscribe to your opinions is a sign of their viciousness." But none of the priests appear to have joined him. Jerome's attack overreached itself in its virulence, and in its depreciation of the marriage state. His friends found themselves greatly embarrassed. Pammachius sought to withdraw the offending writings, for there was danger lest the Saint of Bethlehem himself should come under suspicion of heresy. But Jovinian was already condemned. Driven out from Rome he fled to Milan, where his presence led to a correspondence between Pope Siricius and Ambrose. In spite of the opposition of Ambrose and other bishops the teaching met with much success both in Milan and in Vercellæ; and it seems to be represented by Vigilantius in Spain and in Gaul. But Jovinian himself disappears at the end of the fourth century, and was certainly dead in 406.

Jerome's part in this controversy ought not to be overlooked or forgotten. It puts him for ever out of court as a witness against anyone he regards as a heretic. The violence and unscrupulousness of his attacks are almost beyond belief. It goes without saying that he makes no attempt to understand his victim. He wilfully shuts his eyes to all distinctions which are based on spiritual perception or on realisation of true ethical values. For him, to advocate "eating with thanks" is identical with advocating abandonment to gluttony and debauchery. As Harnack says, it is impossible to characterise his books against Jovinian. They are an "abyss of vulgarity." And though it be a small consolation it is at least some, that even *pede claudo* justice has overtaken this

arrogant defamer and given his due at the same time to one who for all these centuries has suffered the weight of his malice.

A few words must suffice to indicate the character of the second of these monographs. Our former authorities for the character and martyrdom of Apollonius (of Rome) resolve themselves practically into the testimony of Eusebius from whom Rufinus and Jerome (de vir. ill.) derive their information, though adding a few details of their own. But the discovery of the *Acta S. Apollonii*, first in an Armenian version (F. C. Conybeare in the *Guardian*, 1893) and now in a Greek version (published by the Bollandists, Brussels, 1895), enlarges our knowledge, enhances his importance, and raises several difficult and complicated problems. The problems are chiefly concerned with the provisions of Roman law in their application to the trial and punishment of Christians, for which these *Acta*, when their bearing is ascertained, will provide valuable evidence. Apollonius was certainly a man of rank and learning. But was he a senator? Why did punishment fall first and with such severity upon his accuser? And why, after the accuser had been condemned to death, was Apollonius put upon his trial apparently for the second time, and then convicted and executed? These and other similar questions have been discussed already by Th. Mommsen, by Harnack and by Neumann, and Klette admits that in some of his findings he has the great weight of these authorities against him. But he supports his views with much ingenuity and learning, and his essay on "Apollonius and the process against him" is a distinct contribution to the discussion. Apart, however, from the questions raised and discussed here, we have in a convenient form the Greek text of the *Acta* with a translation of the Armenian version in parallel columns. The course of the trial is related with great fulness, and in Apollonius' defence or apology we have valuable indications of the line adopted by the Christians in regard to idolatry, and the exposition of their faith.

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**Sabatier Paul: Speculum Perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima.**

*Auctore Fratre Leone, nunc primum edidit P.S. Paris: Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898.*

THE bibliography of the Lives of S. Francis is in itself a study both curious and instructive. No other biography became so promptly the battle-field of warring interests. Not one of the

early biographies is free from "tendency." In most of them the tendency hardens into a set and even an acknowledged purpose. The Order being sharply divided from the very beginning as to the most essential questions of what Francis was and did, taught and willed, each party sought to buttress their own cause by a carefully edited life of the Founder. The climax of the struggle between rival "legends" was reached soon after Bonaventura had been elected General of the Order. At the first Chapter over which he presided in 1260, he was instructed to prepare a new life of Francis. The Life by Bonaventura corresponds to his policy as General. A reformer over against the party of extreme relaxation, he treated with great severity the opposite party of extreme rigour. Thus, in the official Life of the Saint he produced a compilation and a compromise. Francis, the man, disappears. His place is taken by a somewhat common-place but very pious worker of miracles. As M. Sabatier says: "When we reach the end of these long pages, we have but a very vague impression of S. Francis. We see that he was a saint, and a very great saint, inasmuch as he performed a countless number of miracles, great and small. But we experience not a little of the same impression as in passing through a booth of '*Objets de piété*.' All these statues, whether they represent S. Antony or S. Dominic, S. Teresa or S. Vincent de Paul, have the same expression of insipid humility, of somewhat stupid ecstasy. They are saints if you will have it so, miracle workers. But they are not men." Such is the figure of S. Francis as depicted by Bonaventura. And his biography became the official one. A determined and only too successful attempt was made to suppress all previous lives and legends. At the Chapter held in Paris in 1266 it was ordained that these should be destroyed wherever they could be found either within or outside the convents of the Order. The result is that while the Franciscan libraries are abundantly stocked with copies of Bonaventura's work, it is vain to search them for any copy of the other lives.

Nevertheless these other and earlier lives did not wholly disappear. In private hands and in libraries, remote from Franciscan influence, they were preserved, some by accident, some doubtless with appreciation of their intrinsic value. Their authors and their several characters are familiar to all students of S. Francis. The one which has hitherto been regarded as the earliest, the First Life by Thomas of Celano, was written at the suggestion of Gregory IX., who, as Cardinal Ugolino, had taken Francis and his idea under his protection, but had proved a doubtful friend to both. It was composed very rapidly, probably between the Canonization of Francis in July 1228 and February 1229. In the latter month it received the pontifical approval of Gregory ("*confirmavit et censuit fure*

*tenendum* "). It is the work of a sincere and honest admirer of Francis, who was at the same time unconsciously influenced by the views and the wishes of living authorities. He was the Pope's man. And it was doubtless Gregory's desire that Elias, who was then in his favour, should appear as designated by S. Francis to be his successor. Thus every opportunity is taken to lay emphasis on Elias' position in the Order and his close and intimate relation with the Founder. On the other hand many facts and figures which would have tended to obscure this emphasis are quietly omitted. "One must not expect to find here such details as might have given support to the pretensions of the adversaries of Elias, those intractable enthusiasts who were already proudly assuming the title of Companions of the Saint, and trying to establish within the Order a sort of spiritual aristocracy. Among them were four of whom it might be said that during his last two years they had never left S. Francis. We may imagine how difficult it was to avoid speaking of them. Celano carefully buries their names in silence, under the pretext of respecting their modesty. But by the praises heaped upon Gregory, upon Elias, upon S. Clara, and even upon persons of quite secondary importance, he shows that his discretion was far from being always as vigilant."

A biography issued under such auspices and inspired by such a tendency, naturally called forth another which should do justice to the omitted details and incarnate the opposite spirit. The famous legend of the Three Companions proceeded from the convent of Greccio, the headquarters of the Observantines, the party who clung tenaciously to Francis' ideal of poverty. It was finished in August 1246. In it Leo, Angelus, and Rufinus, three of those closest intimates of Francis, who had been ignored by Thomas, essay to give a portrait of their master more in accordance with their knowledge of him. But neither could they escape from the influence of tendency both in selection and in treatment. The legend of the Three Companions, with all its naïveté and charm, is a manifesto of those friars who remained faithful to the letter of the Rule. "It is at least as much a panegyric of poverty as a life of S. Francis."

The third and last of the Lives which have any claim to original authority as the work of eyewitnesses and companions is the second of Thomas of Celano. But its value is comparatively slight. It is little else than a revision of the Three Companions, with additions and excisions clearly governed by the dispute, which had now grown very bitter, on the obligation of poverty, its force and its meaning.

All three of these "lives" or "legends" were superseded, as has been said, by the life produced by S. Bonaventura, which was declared to be the only canonical one, and is the main source of all the popular and uncritical lives of the Saint which have since

appeared. It represents the climax of the process through which the simple and manly character of Francis became obscured by the heavy drapery of an official saint. Many of the sections of the narrative are, of course, common to this and the earlier biographies, but they have been edited with a steady desire to magnify the marvellous, and to enhance the conventional saintliness of the hero. The subject of the Stigmata is treated at great length, but no mention is made either of the Three Companions or of Elias, while the will or *Testamentum* of S. Francis is passed over with equal silence. It is plain that we have here the work of a determined manipulator, the champion of compromise, who having sternly repressed both extremes in the Order seeks to obliterate in its Founder's biography all trace of dissension in the past and all material for dispute in the future.

Modern critical study of Bonaventura's Life and of later contributions to the subject collected by the Bollandists naturally led to a severe analysis of their material. The undeniable tendency of each of the earlier lives also was recognised and discounted, perhaps too largely, with the result that as under the hand of the ecclesiastics the man had disappeared in the sanctified worker of miracles, so the critics have destroyed the thaumaturge without being able satisfactorily to restore the man, his true conception and ideals.

M. Sabatier represents to some extent a reaction from extreme criticism. In the critical study of the sources prefixed to his *Vie de S. François* he established with great care the relation between the documents referred to above, and by patient weighing of their history and character arrived at a number of criteria by which he has been able to distinguish the original features underlying the garniture of tendency and the overgrowth of myth. It is due to this laborious examination and comparison of the sources, together with a remarkable knowledge of the psychological phenomena of the period, that M. Sabatier has been able to recover a picture of S. Francis so simple and so convincing. Other qualities in himself and his book give to his biography its colour and warmth, in a word its wonderful charm. But it is to this that it owes its scholarly value.

Two positions of equal boldness and originality were taken up by M. Sabatier, and these deserve especial attention, inasmuch as they formed the steps which have led in the course of a few years to the remarkable discovery of this long-lost contemporary life of S. Francis. In the first place he pointed out that the Legend of the Three Companions was incomplete, that in fact the greater part of it had disappeared. It broke off abruptly at the very point at which its authors became most closely connected with the daily life of the Saint. This is all the more remarkable in a work which is

plainly a reply or a supplement to the First Life of Thomas of Celano, which gives only a very brief account of the closing years. The last two chapters of the Legend are in a different style from the rest, and prove to be nothing but a compilation from Celano. These and other reasons advanced by M. Sabatier provide a probability amounting to a certainty that we have at present only the beginning of this legend. And he earnestly invites that search may be made, especially in Italy and the Netherlands, for the missing chapters.

It was in searching for them that the biographer himself made the discovery we are now recording. He was guided by a second theory put forth in his introduction to *La Vie*. Amongst later documents too hastily rejected by modern students of Franciscan history is the *Speculum Vitae S. Francisci*, first printed in 1504. As a whole, this work still waits for thorough investigation. For reasons which are plain on the surface the most accomplished historians, such as Suyskene, Papini, and Hase, have deliberately laid it aside. It is a miscellaneous collection of pieces of very various origin. Bits from Bonaventura, fragments of the Fioretti, some chapters from S. Bernard—nothing could look more unpromising as an authority. Nevertheless, M. Sabatier, thinking he detected here many fragments of an early legend, submitted the whole to a patient analysis, and after laying aside everything whose character was foreign to the earliest stage of the Order, found himself left with a residue of remarkable homogeneity, in which the style and the inspiration remain constant for many pages, while there is nothing to suggest subsequent working up of the legend. For this document comprising 118 chapters he claimed an authority only second to that of the two earliest Lives, and accordingly made full and free use of it in his own Life of S. Francis. It naturally occurred to him to identify the document thus recovered with the missing portion of the Legend of the Three Companions. But this suggestion he set aside for various reasons as untenable.

M. Sabatier's skill, patience, and reserve have now met with an abundant reward in the discovery in the Mazarin Library in Paris of a MS. containing 124 chapters, 116 of which are identical with those he had previously disentangled from the *Speculum Vitae*. And, further, this MS. bears evidence that it is the work of Brother Leo himself, and that it was begun and completed within a year of S. Francis' death. We have here therefore a Life written by his most intimate friend, begun immediately after his death, and anterior even to the first Life by Thomas of Celano. It has now been published with copious prolegomena and notes by M. Sabatier, and we may well congratulate the editor on his good fortune, richly deserved and prepared for by years of scholarly research.

All lovers of S. Francis will turn with eagerness and expectation to so promising a find. And they will not be disappointed. There may not be a great deal that is new in Fra Leone's narrative. Plainly it has served as a mine of material for many a later biographer, even for some who suppressed all reference to its author. And M. Sabatier himself has already drawn upon it for many of the most living touches in his biography. But here it is as it was written by Francis' devoted friend and disciple, companion and nurse, full of the poetry of affection, throbbing with emotion, one of the most interesting documents of the Middle Ages. Its general characteristics are thus summed up by the Editor:—

"It is not only the most ancient in date, it is also the life in which the physiognomy of the Poverello is displayed with greatest vigour, originality and poetry. Thomas of Celano wrote a few months later, but his work, though of a purer latinity, is that of a disciple and not that of a companion. He draws less upon his own memories than upon the accounts given by others, and is always thinking of the saint whom he salutes in glory. Fra Leone, on the other hand, relates the life of a man whose life he shared, to whom he was friend and confessor, secretary and attendant. Better than anyone else he knew the inner life of his hero; never were two lives more truly united or two souls more wholly intermingled."

Hence arise the special characteristics of this "legend." It is like those letters written during nights of bereavement to relate to the absent the decease of those who have just departed, without whom one thinks one cannot live. . . . One recalls his words, his gestures, his smiles, and strives to fix their memory for ever. A few years elapse and our remembrances are transformed. We see better the life of those we have loved, but we recall less clearly their last sufferings, and if we happen to relate their life, we should think ourselves guilty towards their memory if we dwelt upon their physical pain. This is perhaps the only document of the Middle Ages in which we perceive a similar intensity of feeling. It lets us hear S. Francis' sighs and groans, it lets us see the man in his physical nature at the same time that it allows us to penetrate the heart of his spiritual being. The Letters and Testament of Francis have found their true setting. The works of the master and this of his pupil are complementary and henceforth inseparable.

Hence the special value attaching to Fra Leone's biography in that he provides us with a mass of indications of time, place and circumstance. By an infinity of small touches he betrays the spectator, or rather the interested participator in the events he records, and justifies the refrain which he re-



peats with pathetic frequency "*Nos qui cum ipso fuimus.*" He shows us the dying saint stopping his bearers at the hospital "which is half way as one goes from Assisi to S. Maria" that he might turn and give his benediction to the town. And this is characteristic of the way in which events are localised with a precision which can be fully appreciated only by those who know the haunts of Francis as well as Fra Leone or M. Sabatier himself. There is a like precision and vivacity in the characterisation of Francis himself. If he is less of the conventional saint, he is all the more plainly the love-compelling man. Here he is before us full of gaiety, quickly moved to tears of compassion, of manly independence that can abase itself before God, but before God alone, and of tenacity which deceives the onlooker by the humility in which it is robed. He who, in his worldly youth, had aspired after the rank and fame of a *grand seigneur*, set himself to reform the life of the ordinary churchman as to a task of religious knight-errantry. His followers were to be paladins of Poverty. His affection and admiration for the great heroes of romance is as evident as his close and humble study of the Bible. In the fourth chapter, for example, we find an incident recorded which is among the most charming as well as the most original. A novice who could read the Psalter "though not well," had obtained leave from the General to possess a copy, but sought also the permission of Francis. "Father," he said, "it would be a great comfort to me to have a Psalter, but though the General has given me permission, I should like to have yours too." Francis replied: "Charlemagne and Roland and Oliver, and all the paladins and strong men who were mighty in battle against the infidels, won memorable victories over them, and in the end they died in battle as holy martyrs for the faith of Christ. Now, however, there are many men who seek to win honour and human praise by the mere narrative of what they did. And so among ourselves there are many who seek honour and praise merely by reciting and preaching about what the saints have done." Some days later, when S. Francis "was sitting by the fire," the same novice came in and began again about the Psalter. But Francis said to him: "After you have got a Psalter, you will fall a-coveting and want to have a breviary; and after you have got a breviary, you will sit in a great chair like a prelate, and say to your brother, 'Fetch me my breviary.'" The novice being thus rebuked, Francis explained his own practice as follows: "Brother, I also was once tempted to possess books, but, not knowing the will of God in the matter, I took a volume in which the Gospels of the Lord were written, and after praying that He would show me His will, at the first opening I found these words: 'To you it is given

to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but to others in parables.'"

The little touch about Francis sitting beside the fire is as welcome as the corresponding one in the autobiography of Thomas Boston of Ettrick, where, in the midst of his Puritan self-analysis and distress of soul, he says: "As I was filling a pipe, I gave a glance at the Bible lying open on the table before me, and met with that word, Isaiah xl. 27."

Certain features in the Founder's life and method which have been increasingly obscured in the later "legends" are emphasised in this. Of special importance is the positive side of his conception of the life of poverty. Francis had as little intention of establishing an idle or mendicant Order as of founding the learned school of literature which the Bollandists subsequently developed within the Order. His idea is misrepresented as the merely negative conception of poverty, the duty of stripping oneself of all, and distributing one's goods to the poor. That was for Francis, after all, only the condition necessary for carrying out the positive side of his ideal life, which consisted in labour and ministry, the care of the sick, and specially of the lepers. And it was only when the requirements of this higher service of others had prevented them labouring for their daily bread that his friars were to cast themselves on the charity of their neighbours. Almost from the beginning of the community we see him engaged in a daily and, as it proved, hopeless struggle to defend his ideal of poverty. The moment his wattle cell is spoken of as "his," he quits it. There is at one time only one book in the settlement at the Portiuncula, a New Testament, and that he gives away to a beggar-woman. Neither in private nor in common were they to possess anything beyond the clothes they stood in and the straw on which they lay. The ideal may have been an impossible one, but it was the inspiration of S. Francis, and he gave his life in its cause.

His last days are described here with a fulness and tenderness which later legends lack. Fra Leone, being the only one to know all the treasures of S. Francis' heart, was necessarily the only one who could call attention to certain aspects very human, and very humble, of the life of his master. In history, as elsewhere, perfect love casts out fear. It is because he had not perfectly known and perfectly loved his spiritual father, that S. Bonaventura eliminated from his legend with such care so many touching memories which he must have read in the works of his predecessors. It seemed to him that the glory of the Saint was not concerned with these things. Leo shows us Francis asking for a particular kind of fish, enjoying "a couple of crayfish," longing for "that kind of

dainty which the Romans call *mostaccioli* made of sugar and other things." We see him taking a sick friar into a vineyard to eat grapes, and "himself sitting down beside the vine to eat, lest the friar should be ashamed to eat alone." When he saw a brother making a garden, he instructed him not to cultivate the whole space with vegetables alone, but to leave a portion to produce flowers "for the love of Him who is called 'the flower of the field and the lily of the valley.'" In fact, he made it a rule that the gardener should always cultivate fragrant herbs and lovely flowers, "for every creature speaks and calls 'God made me for thee, O man.'" Such things as these may not be those which lead to canonisation, but they are those which help to explain the love and admiration which Francis inspired in so many humble hearts.

Of the ordinary arguments for canonisation there are but few recorded in the *Speculum Perfectionis*. The miracles which abound in the later legends, and increase in number and sensationalism from stage to stage of their development, are almost wholly absent here. That this element is not wholly absent is important. For it might have been argued that Fra Leone was indifferent to such manifestations of sanctity in his master. But he does record one or two occasions (*e.g.* chapters 88 and 104), where miraculous results seemed to follow upon the action or prayer of the Saint. And he is further careful to note as many occasions as possible, when some real or fancied prediction of Francis found fulfilment, even those which it would be quite pardonable to interpret as mere coincidences. It is clear that Leo is no rationalist. And it may be fairly argued that if, as other legends represent, Francis had wrought more sensational miracles than these, they would have been surely recorded here, and these simple stories would have been forgotten.

From the day that Francis retired to the hermitage at Fonte Colombo to compose a definite rule up till the date of his death Fra Leone was constantly at his side. From that time forward he depicts the moral anguish and the physical suffering of his master almost day by day and hour by hour. There is only one hiatus, but that is a remarkable one. Leo gives us no details about the strange experience at Alverna, the trance and the impression of the *stigmata*. It is not because he is either ignorant or incredulous of the story. His one allusion to it precludes any such inference. "*Similiter in sacro monte Alvernae tempore quo recepit stigmata Domini in corpore suo tentationes et tribulationes passus fuit.*" Leo believed in the *stigmata* but they had not yet attained that importance in the legend which was afterwards assigned to them. When these memoirs were written the appeal was still made to the living impression left by the Saint upon his followers. The appeal to miracles, even to real events in his life to

which supernatural significance would most readily be ascribed, was quite unnecessary. Leo's object was not to persuade men to believe and love, but to persuade those who already believed and loved that Francis' idea was this and not that. He was striving to save the spiritual heritage of the Order, carrying on in fact the pathetic struggle of his master's later years.

At the same time his indirect evidence to the *stigmata* is of great importance. He was certainly with S. Francis in the Alpine solitude of Alvernus. We are assured of that by an interesting document which M. Sabatier rescues from the suspicion long resting on it—the autograph benediction given to Leo by Francis. The Saint first dictated the words of the blessing and then added in his own large and somewhat childish handwriting “*Dominus benedicat f. Leo. te,*” and made his signature by tracing a cross in the form of a Greek Tau. This memorial, guarded with the greatest care by Leo, and endorsed by him with an account of the occasion and the circumstances, has been the subject of endless controversy. It was revived again after M. Sabatier in his *Vie de Saint François* asserted anew its authenticity. Professor Kraus of Fribourg, writing in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1895), challenged this claim, asserting that the benediction was written in handwriting of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Photographs of the original have since been submitted to several distinguished palaeographers, including Wattenbach of Berlin and Meyer of Göttingen, and their judgment is that, while it is quite impossible to ascribe the writing to the fifteenth or sixteenth century there is no palaeographical reason for suspecting the authenticity of the relic. If this authenticity be now, as M. Sabatier thinks, established beyond doubt, we have a document of capital importance, both for the witness it bears to the reality of the *stigmata* and for the light it throws on the relations between Francis and Leo. And Leo's reticence in regard to the *stigmata* in this *Speculum Perfectionis* is evidence not against their reality, but for the comparative value which he set upon such miraculous phenomena and upon the character and teaching of his master.

In proportion as the latter “legends” emphasise and expand the miraculous and especially lay stress on the *Stigmata*, do they at the same time minimise and even obliterate such products of natural effort as the Song of the Sun and the Last Testament of S. Francis. From the Legend of S. Bonaventura the Song of the Sun has wholly disappeared. It is still recorded with the circumstances of its composition by Thomas of Celano. But nothing could show better than a comparison between Thomas and Leo in this matter the way in which the Franciscan legend gradually evolved. “The fact that it was destined to become a sort of manual of piety pro-

duced a tendency to eliminate all such details as were picturesque or local, and to develop on the contrary all such features as were regarded as having an edifying value. More a man of letters than Leo, Thomas of Celano was able to conform much better than he to the rules of hagiography as they were understood at that time, and it was due to this fact that from a historical point of view his work must to-day give precedence to that of the companion of S. Francis."

It is this work of a companion of S. Francis that M. Sabatier has recovered, first by a brilliant conjecture based on analysis of the *Speculum Vitae* and now by the discovery of the document in its original form. He may well say that "it is not without a lively joy that he offers the book to the public." Even were the subject a less fascinating one, these memoirs inspired by deep devotion, fresh and fragrant as spring-time in Umbria from which they come, would have a rare value. But how greatly is this value enhanced when they bring to us a living portrait of S. Francis of Assisi, in which we see him freed from the mists of controversy and disburdened of the artificial garments of myth, living, speaking and suffering, as they knew him who "were with him" to the end, and drank most deeply of his spirit.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### **Ahmed Ibn Hanbal and the Mihna**

*A biography of the Imam including an account of the Mohammedan Inquisition called the Mihna, 218-234 A.H. By Walter M. Patton, B.D., Ph.D., Professor in the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. Leide: E. J. Brill, 1897: London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 209. Price, 7s.*

DR PATTON'S book is not a very large one, but it has a special interest for these two reasons at least. (a) The life of Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, the outstanding figure in the book, belongs to a period of Mohammedan history which has been set as in the light of a fairy tale by the "Thousand and one Nights." Ahmed Ibn Hanbal was born in 781 A.D.—five years before the accession of Harun Al Raschid of immortal fame. (b) The policy of the Caliphate discussed in this volume is a persecution which, in several respects, resembles the persecution of the Covenanters in Scotland immediately before the Revolution of 1688.

During the "Killing Times" in Scotland certain test questions<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such as—"Was the rising at Bothwell Bridge rebellion?" "Was the killing of Archbishop Sharp murder?" "Was it lawful to rise against the king in support of the Covenant?"

were put to the Covenanters, on the answer to which the life of the person under examination not infrequently depended. Dr Patton's monograph deals with a period of Mohammedan history during which the question, "Is the Coran created or uncreated?" became as grave for orthodox Mohammedans as the question, "Was the killing of Archbishop Sharp murder?" was for Covenanting Presbyterians in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The truth is that, in its measure, Islam is like Christianity in the matter of theological controversy, and in the use made of theological differences to further personal and party ambitions. The great prophet was scarcely in his grave when Sunnites and Shyites (roughly = Orthodox and Heterodox), divided the faithful, and these parties remain unto this day. Green, white, and black flags waved over hostile camps of Moslems long before the strength of England was wasted in the wars of the Roses, or Florence was distracted by the quarrels of the Bianchi and the Neri. The black Abbassides secured the Caliphate about the middle of the eighth century (say 750 A.D.). The second of the dynasty, surnamed Mansur (the Victorious), founded the city of Bagdad and made it the capital. About the middle of the reign of his successor, in the year 781 A.D., Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, the subject of Dr Patton's monograph, was born in the new capital. Ahmed was a Sunnite (traditionist) of the Sunnites. He began the study of tradition at the age of fifteen, and in a comparatively short period he was regarded as the most famous traditionist, in other words, the most conspicuous orthodox theologian throughout Islam. Orthodoxy was at a discount during the reigns of the Caliphs immediately succeeding the famous Harun. The Persians were, and are, to this day Shyites, and the early Abbasside Caliphs were largely under Persian influence. This influence became supreme in the days of Mamun who was proclaimed Caliph in the year 813 A.D., five years after the death of his father Harun. Mamun appears to have been captured by the liberal theologians of the time. But he was cautious. The test-question was (as already indicated), "Is the Coran created or uncreated?" The orthodox held that it was uncreated, the liberal school maintained that it was created. Till the last year of his reign (he reigned some twenty years) Mamun refrained from publishing his views. He dreaded the influence of the orthodox party, especially of a theologian named Yazid Ibn Harun. "If it were not for Yazid Ibn Harun," said the Caliph, "I would assuredly make public declaration of the doctrine that the Coran is created." At last under the influence of a new chief Cadi, Ibn Abi Dowad, a zealous supporter of the new views, the Caliph issued a letter in which he avowed his belief that the Coran was created, and called upon the teachers of the faithful to support

that opinion. The Mihna<sup>1</sup> was brought into operation with the whole authority of the Caliph to support those who conducted the Inquisition: the commander of the faithful was publicly committed to heterodoxy.

For the course of events Dr Patton's volume must be consulted. The Inquisition began four months before the death of Mamun, and lasted to the second or third year of the Caliphate of Mutawakkil—the third in succession from Mamun. In the third year of his reign, Mutawakkil reverted to the old orthodox opinion, and issued a proclamation forbidding the *faithful*, on pain of death, to hold that the Coran was created. With the promulgation of this decree the Mihna ended. The whole period between the issue of Mamun's letter and Mutawakkil's proclamation was only about sixteen or seventeen years. The persecution was short lived.

The central figure in the history of this brief period, as depicted by Dr Patton, is Ahmed Ibn Hanbal. Ahmed was a religious devotee. His time was spent in the study of religious questions, in teaching the doctrine of the Coran as opportunity offered, and in the rigid performance of the duties enjoined on the *faithful*. His manner of life was strictly ascetic. His food and raiment were of the simplest kind. He took no thought as to what he should eat or drink, or wherewithal he should be clothed. On one occasion, in comparatively early life, when prosecuting his studies in Mecca, he found that, during his absence with his teacher, a thief had entered his lodgings, and carried off his clothes and other property. "Has he taken the writing-tables?" was the anxious question of Ibn Hanbal, and when he learned that these were safe, he was content. "Still, owing to the torn state of his clothes, he was forced to remain away for several days from the lecture-room, until the anxiety of his fellow-students led them to seek him out and put him in the way of earning a little money to procure a change of garments. Their proffered gifts or loans he would not on any account accept" (pp. 14, 15). So it was throughout his life. When brought before his persecutors in Bagdad he carried his provisions in a little basket; when the basket was examined, his food was found "to consist of two pieces of bread, a piece of cucumber, and some salt." (p. 178). He declined for himself and his family the bountiful provision assigned to them by the Caliph; and when he found that his sons received the gifts of the court he held himself aloof from them. This was the very man to go to Martyrdom, and Ibn Abi Dowad knew it.

When Mamun resolved to support the Inquisition, he desired to

<sup>1</sup> The term Mihna (محنة) from محن, cf. Heb. *בחן* means a *test*. [N.B. The ordinary English scription of such words as Coran, Caliph, Mohammedan, has been adopted in this notice, and this has determined the scription of other words containing peculiar Arabic letters, e.g. Mihna.]

bring the inevitable controversy to as speedy an issue as possible. With a view to this, he ordered seven of the leading traditionalists of Bagdad to be summoned to his presence. Like other emperors or kings, he seems to have hoped—perhaps expected—that the sword would prove too powerful for conscience. If, by force, or flattery, or any other means, he could prevail on the leaders and teachers of the people to support him, his task would be comparatively easy. Apparently Ibn Hanbal's name was in the list as first proposed. And if the most distinguished theologians were really desired, his name would have held the first place. But men were wanted who would be likely to yield to the influence of the court. Ibn Hanbal was not such a man. Ibn Abi Dowad knew that. A persistent "non possumus" was to be expected from Ibn Hanbal. Successful resistance on his part would have encouraged his colleagues to withstand the pressure of the court. The Caliph's purpose would have been frustrated. The Mihna would have received a serious check at the beginning, and the consequence would be simply disastrous. Accordingly, the name of Ibn Hanbal was, through the influence of the Cadi, withdrawn. The seven who actually appeared before the Caliph were overawed or won over; and the Mihna was successfully launched.

Ibn Hanbal manfully withstood all the influences brought to bear on him. He was sent in chains to the Caliph, but the latter died in Asia Minor before the captive reached him. Brought back to Bagdad, he was cast into prison, and remained there more than two years. The Caliph Mutasim then summoned him to his presence. On three successive occasions the pious Imam defied his persecutors. Then the Caliph, though apparently his heart was not in work of this kind, ordered him to be flogged. According to the report, 150 lictors were told off to carry out the sentence. Each of them advanced in turn, and as he passed the post to which the Imam was bound he struck the victim twice with his scourge. Under this brutal treatment Ibn Hanbal sank into unconsciousness, and in this condition was removed from the place of torture. Meantime the people were indignant at the treatment their venerated Imam was receiving. An insurrection was possible at any moment, and appears to have been prevented by an expedient unworthy of the head of a great religious community. The Caliph presented himself to the people, accompanied by an uncle of Ahmed, and asserted that the popular Imam had received no bodily injury—and to this assertion, according to Dr Patton, the uncle "nodded assent."

The truth is that the persecution of a man like Ibn Hanbal would not pay. He was set at liberty after his flogging. And though the Mihna was continued during the reign of Wathik and the beginning of the reign of Mutawakkil, and the strictly orthodox



party had to endure a good deal of suffering, Ibn Hanbal appears to have been left alone. He was about seventy-seven years of age when he died. The manifestation of sorrow on the occasion of his death, both in Bagdad and in regions beyond, was striking and unfeigned. "Some say 600,000 were present on the spot where the prayers were held over him; others say 2,500,000, and other figures fall between those two" (p. 172). Such an expression of feeling was a tribute to the character and piety of this Mohammedan Saint. Ibn Hanbal belongs to the long list of those who have shown that religious principle is stronger than expediency, and that physical force is of no avail against a simple faith in God.

The test-question during the Inquisition was, as we have seen, "Is the Coran created or uncreated?" There were other points of difference, but this was the chief. In the discussion of this question the Christian Schoolmen of the Middle Ages were anticipated, in mental acumen and subtilty, by the Mohammedan Theologians of Bagdad and other places. "What dost thou say about the Coran?" Ahmed was asked when he was brought before the Caliph. The prisoner replied like a Scotsman: "What dost thou say about the knowledge of God?" The point is that "the Coran is declared to be knowledge from God, and Ahmed and such as he regarded this as equivalent to its being inseparable from the knowledge of God. 'If this knowledge,' say they, 'be uncreated, then the Coran must be uncreated.'" But, the inquisitor urged, "God existed when a Coran did not exist"; to which Ahmed replied, "... Did God exist and not his knowledge?"<sup>1</sup> Another was asked: "What dost thou say respecting the Coran?" The answer was, "The Coran is the Word of God." "I did not ask thee for that," replied the Inquisitor. "Is it created?" "God is the creator of everything," was the answer. "Is not the Coran a thing?" was the next question. "It is a thing." "And therefore created?" "It is not a Creator." "I did not ask for this. Is it created?" No answer was given. That is a specimen of the argument employed. For details readers are referred to Dr Patton's work, and to histories of this period of Mohammedanism.

Dr Patton gives full references to his authorities, but he does more; on important questions he quotes at considerable length—a matter of some importance, as the original documents are accessible to comparatively few.

Ibn Hanbal's great work was a sort of Encyclopaedia of Mohammedan tradition. Its name (*Musnad* = tradition) indicates its character. "It comprised the testimonies of more than 700 companions of the prophet, and was selected and compiled from 700,000 traditions (or, according to another account, from 750,000), and contained

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 101, 2.

30,000 (in some accounts 40,000) traditions.”<sup>1</sup> It was regarded by Ahmed himself as an authority on all sound tradition, and “has always had the greatest reputation in Mohammedan theological circles.”

As time is specially precious in these days Dr Patton might have made his volume more acceptable if he had given his dates in years A.D. as well as A.H. But he has done a valuable service in opening up so interesting a period of Mohammedan history. He writes in an easy style, with full knowledge of his subject.

Englishmen, who stand in so close relations to Mohammedans in important parts of our Empire, should welcome the appearance of such a work as Dr Patton's. It helps us to understand the religious temperament of the followers of the Prophet, their mental attitude to questions touching the faith, and the influences most likely to sway them. Without such an understanding no one is likely to rule peacefully and successfully the children of Islam.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

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### **All's Right with the World.**

*By Charles B. Newcomb. Boston : The Philosophical Publishing Co.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 261. \$1.50.*

### **Citizenship and Salvation, or Greek and Jew: a Study in the Philosophy of History.**

*By A. H. Lloyd, Ph.D. Boston : Little, Brown & Co.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 142.*

### **The Power of Silence.**

*By H. W. Dresser. Boston : Ellis. Pp. 254. \$1.50.*

### **The Perfect Whole.**

*By H. W. Dresser. Boston : Ellis. Cr. 8vo, pp. 219. \$1.50.*

1. THE first of these volumes has the appearance of a collection of proverbs rather than of a continuous treatise. Many paragraphs consist of single brief sentences, and many do not run beyond a fourth line. The form appears the deliberate choice of the author. It is indeed exaggerated by the appending to the short chapters which make up the book disconnected sentences after the manner of citations at the beginning.

The effect on the reader is not pleasing. It disturbs one like monotonous staccato playing on some neighbouring piano.

<sup>1</sup> P. 19.

Hardly any writer can afford thus to create prejudice in his readers at the very outset, and few will be reconciled unless the matter of the treatise prove very interesting and valuable.

There is no doubt as to the author's earnest purpose. The whole work is testimony to the practical end he has in view. There is ability also: ability certainly to state directly and plainly the thought in the writer's mind. One cannot help feeling respect for the idea most urgent with himself that life now transcends in present importance any future state, and that the disparaging of the manifold duties of to-day is a temptation destructive of else noble character.

"We may play truant for awhile and spend our time on the playground. But Dame Nature will surely bring us back to our tasks. Death will usher us, not into the fool's paradise we have ignorantly fancied, but into the truant's court" (p. 129).

"What right or reason have we," he asks, "to suppose a 'Paradise Lost' or anticipate a 'Paradise Regained'?"

"It is a shuffling evasion of the truth."

"The promise of a millennium in the infinite perspective is a moral anæsthetic with which we hush the clamour of our souls demanding better things of us in the present" (p. 32).

This strenuousness in his thought leads him to cross-examine much of the popular Christian belief of the time. Such chapter-headings as "Christian Atheism," "Emotional Bankruptcy," "Sympathy as a Vice," "The Selfishness of Sorrow," &c., reveal it to some extent.

His practical drift appears in quoting Hugo:—

"Be like the bird, pausing in its flight  
Awhile on bough too light  
Feels it give way beneath it, and yet sings  
Knowing that it hath wings."

The author writes a Pilgrim's Progress for himself. From Dan to Beersheba he styles it. Ecclesiasticism, Materialism, Psychism, and the higher Spiritualism are its stages. This will show the drift of the book. He makes use of the expression "The New Thought," and adopts it as descriptive of his aim.

"The new thought may be truly called a pivotal philosophy. It changes all the old bearings of life and brings everything to a centre within the individual himself. . . . God exists within; and as a fountain cannot rise higher than its source, the only conception of God possible to each life is limited, its own experience of Divine impulses. . . . The new thought teaches that all heredity, environment, and interior conditions are controlled by the soul, and that man's life is not governed in the least degree by any outside circumstances. . . . It finds in the story of Christ a revelation of one's

own subjective experience upon the higher spiritual plane" (pp. 44-46).

The following is a fair specimen of the style—

"We must be polarized to principle and not to theories and dogmas.

"When we are thus in equilibrium, we can take our compass into any waters, and it will always show us the true North."

"When magnetised by ideas and prejudices we cannot voyage beyond the length of our cable chain" (p. 28).

2. It is exceedingly difficult to characterise the small book which stands second in the list. It is a study of history by one thoroughly conversant with the facts. The writer succeeds in investing his problem with interest, and sometimes is very happy in illustrating the immediate aspect of his theme; occasionally illuminating sentences occur: "A people's conflict is never really with another people but rather with itself; the basis of an outer danger is always an inner danger." "Cherished ideals have nothing to fear from the study of life's deepest concerns."

But just as often we think there are sentences which puzzle and perplex. "In the human family the State was a means unto itself as end." "Church and Bank, as institutions in which Heaven (or the abstracted future) and money (or the abstracted past) were treasured or even hoarded, were naturally identified with the State, until division set in, since upon their abstractions imperialism depended."

It is indeed due to the author to say that he has done something to make the terms more explicit by the context; but the sentence remains needlessly perplexing. Of this the author seems to be himself aware. "You fail to catch my meaning?" he asks. "I seem to be using most sacred words idly and even irreverently."

Just here we find the complaint we have to make in regard to the work. He is apt to empty words of all accepted meaning and ascribe to them significance which is not merely arbitrary but certain to give offence. Take these instances:—

(a) "We talk of the conflict of good and evil, but we might call it the conflict of democracy and monarchy. The criminal is by nature a monarchical leader, revealing the sins of those who condemn him, and the judges at the moment of his crime are but so many soldiers marshalled in his cause." This is nonsense as it stands. But who can pass it when the criminal is understood to be Socrates or Christ?

(b) "Real prayer must be the earnest, honest, trusting definition of the sphere of one's activity; it must be the completest possible knowledge becoming motive. . . . Anything else is not prayer."

But in modern science lies the completest possible knowledge of the whole self's sphere of action . . . (Prayer) is addressed to the life in which one 'lives and moves and has his being'; and by as much as man himself is personal, by at least so much is the life to which he belongs and to which he prays personal too. . . ." Definition of one's sphere!

This is the conclusion to which he seeks to lead the reader. "Socrates, in whom Greek anticipated Roman in the conquest of Greece, sanctioned militarism and monarchism. Christ at his death interpreted to itself the activity that Socrates sanctioned. And as a result of the interpretation organism began its struggle for liberation from the shackles of mechanism; and this struggle beginning so long ago and continuing to the present day has been a repetition in the life of human society of the career of Christ, a repetition of his struggle and a repetition of his death. And in our own day the rising again" (p. 142).

Now, is this the philosophy of History?

3. "But the best and most lasting self help . . . is that wiser habit of thought, that larger helpfulness, for which this whole volume pleads; for it is what we think and dwell upon habitually that moulds character and sheds its influence on the people about us. Our inquiry has taught us to look beneath matter to its underlying Reality, and behind physical sensation to the mind where it is perceived. We have found the origin of man first in the immanent Life of which he is a part, and of which he is an individual expression; and, secondly, in the World of Mind, where his beliefs and impressions gather to form his superficial self. To know the one self from the other, to be adjusted to its resistless tendency, to do nothing contrary to it, as far as one knows, is the highest righteousness, the most useful life, and the truest religion. Here is the one essential, the life that is most worthy of the man aware of his own origin and of his own duty" (pp. 216, 217).

The above quotation may be taken as a good specimen of the volume on "The Power of Silence." The author's deepest interest is in the actual conduct of life; and through nearly 300 well-written and sometimes felicitous pages he carries this practical discussion. Philosophically the author tries the reconciliation of divine immanence and transcendence; he argues for either Pantheism or Oversoulism: practically the treatise becomes an urgent plea for reconciliation to the laws of life. The sub-title, "an interpretation of life in relation to health and happiness," might have exchanged places with the headline, and the scope of the work would have been more readily recognised.

An anonymous correspondent (Rusticus) writing lately to the

*Times* in support of the movement for a national memorial of Mr Gladstone, suggested that no more beneficent memorial of that great man's career could be raised than "a resolute effort on behalf of simplicity of life."

What "Rusticus" there urged upon the public is here dealt with in full and impressive detail. That the impressiveness of the work has been felt, and its practical urgency, is evidenced to some degree in this being the fourth edition that has been called for in the United States.

4. "The Conduct and Meaning of Life" is given as the scope of the later volume by Mr Dresser. It is an eloquent address, extending to 250 pages. The title is derived from Emerson's couplet—

"Beauty through my senses stole,  
I yielded myself to the perfect whole."

And this truly represents the attitude of the writer. "By putting an end to this constant reaching out for something that we do not deserve, by reducing all desires to a few commendable ideals, and by becoming quietly contented, the Real worth of life has an opportunity for the first time to make itself perceived" (p. 245). And more positively, "I must feel a higher impulse than that of mere argument, for even the selfish man can justify his conduct by argument. I must feel that spirit which uses all these as instruments, where at last self-scrutiny itself gives place to a *positive* expression of the divine ideal, where the right guidance comes, the means of rendering service and the right opportunities for doing good, *if the heart is right*. This, in a word, is the essence of the moral doctrine which this book has to offer . . ." (p. 219).

The author follows Fiske in defining good and evil as the higher and the lower. Evil, he says, is slavery. "The evils of intemperance in all its forms and all the corruptions of government and society in our large cities are the mud and mire of a civilisation not yet emerged from the earth" (p. 199).

"The chief value," he explains, "of any idea of God lies in a frank acknowledgment of its limitations, its utter inadequacy" (p. 88). It is possible to accept this as the language of sincere and profound belief. But there is a formidable obstacle in such teaching as follows. "What we mean by saying God is Spirit is evidently that profoundest of all truths for which the world's greatest thinkers have ever contended—viz., that nothing visible or material is final: it is variety, it is appearance, while in contrast to it reality is spiritual, it is a mind." Well, if we offer any criticism on this we appear to cross that for which all the greatest thinkers have contended; yet we may safely say that the great minds of the

world in affirming that God is Spirit meant vastly more ; and that the truth on the lips of Jesus Christ in particular revealed the nature of God which we are only now exploring when using such words as the divine Immanence along with the thought of the awful sovereignty of God.

Still criticism is ungrateful, because the aim and spirit of the work are excellent ; and if the author provokes vehement dissent it is but an incidental evidence of his own strenuous thought.

W. B. COOPER.

### **The Documents of the Hexateuch.**

*Translated and arranged in chronological order, with Introduction and Notes, by W. E. Addis, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. Vol. II.: The Deuteronomical Writers and the Priestly Documents. London: D. Nutt. 8vo, pp. x. and 485. Price, 10s. 6d.*

It is six years since the publication of the first part <sup>1</sup> of this work, of which an appreciative notice by Professor G. A. Smith appeared in the *Critical Review* for July 1893. The long delay in the issue of the second and concluding volume is referred to and partially explained by the author in his preface. No doubt a good many possessors of the first volume, particularly those whose Old Testament studies are confined to works in English, have had their patience tried by this delay, but there are compensating advantages on the other side, for the author has been able to take cognisance in the present volume of some very important work that has been done in the interval. Six years is a long period in the history of Old Testament criticism, and the last six years in particular have witnessed the publication of more than one epoch-making book, they have seen the realm of investigation extended and many important conclusions tested by new methods and established more firmly than ever. If on the appearance of Mr Addis's first volume some were inclined to pronounce such a work premature, scarcely anyone will be of that opinion now.

It comes almost as a shock to the reader to be reminded that in Part i. of his work Mr Addis had not been able to take cognisance even of Driver's *Introduction*, which reached him only after his book was in type. During the same interval have appeared such works as Robertson's *Early History of Israel* (1893), which, with all its defects, cannot be ignored by the Old Testament scholar; Bacon's *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* (1894), with its bold and at times brilliant essays at an analysis of JE into its constituent elements ; Kautzsch's *Das Alte Testament* (1894), whose analysis

<sup>1</sup> *The Documents of the Hexateuch, &c.* Part I. The oldest book of Hebrew history. London: D. Nutt, 1892. Price, 10s. 6d.

corresponds so closely with Addis's own ; Koster's *Herstel van Israel* (1894), of such supreme importance for the history of the post-exilic period, and which caused such a stream of controversy to flow (alas that the premature death of Professor Koster has removed one of our chief hopes of arriving at comparatively certain results in that difficult field) ; also the *Heb. Archæologie* of Benzinger and of Nowack, which are both so serviceable for the elucidation of the Old Testament.

The present position of Old Testament criticism can be better appreciated and the finality of many of its results more clearly seen in the light of those attacks which have been made upon it during the last few years by a certain school of archaeologists. These attacks are a matter of sincere regret to not a few Old Testament scholars, who perceive without difficulty that the only possible result they can have is to make experts in literary criticism suspicious of archaeology and lead them to turn away from its proffered aid in its legitimate sphere. It may be said, without any fear of contradiction, that the day is past when attacks upon the criticism of the Hexateuch from the side of natural science (e.g. in the works of Sir W. J. Dawson) could hope for success or even command attention. But in stating, as we did a little ago, that the critical position, as tested by archaeology, has been established more firmly than ever, we lay ourselves open to some measure of contradiction. What, it may be asked, about the effect of that work from which so much was expected, Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*? Did not the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis receive therein its death-blow? Has not Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, followed up by his *Early History of the Hebrews*, covered the critics with confusion? We do not think any competent judge who has followed the course of recent controversies will affirm that there are any tokens of such a result. It is not only a critic like Wellhausen but an Assyriologist like Zimmern who points out how Hommel's book, in spite of all its erudition and wealth of archaeological research, is full of irrelevant matter, and that it frequently offers to us bold conjectures where demonstration is what is needed. It is a book from which no one can fail to learn much, but as a refutation of Wellhausen it cannot be seriously taken.

Sayce, while a far weaker, is in some ways a more difficult opponent to meet. Without either the courtesy or the scholarship of Hommel, he cultivates the language of invective which gains him popularity in certain quarters, and he is apt to rush into print with ill-informed hasty statements, whose fallaciousness is no sooner exposed than with singular skill and agility he shifts his ground (let the reader recall, for instance, the egregious blunder he recently made about the Deluge tablet discovered by Scheil, and the very



unhandsome apology he offered when taken to task). Hence, although perhaps no name commands less weight with his fellow-Assyriologists, Sayce's confident assertions and persevering reiterations enable him to impose upon readers who have no independent knowledge of the matters in question. There are not wanting, however, tokens that he is beginning to lose the confidence even of this class, who have been considerably staggered by reason of the inconsistency exhibited by Sayce in his *Early History of the Hebrews*, where he resorts to methods and adopts results precisely analogous to those of the critics, whenever the exigences of his argument demand it. Of the failure of Sayce (and, in a much smaller measure, even Hommel) to state correctly the views of those whom he without differentiation styles "higher critics," we could say much, but we forbear. Mr Addis in his preface states the case fairly when he says, "Every Old Testament scholar worthy of the name will welcome, as such scholars always have welcomed, the assured results of archaeological research. But archaeologists as well as critics must be tried by the old test, *Tantum valet quantum probat*. And if critics should acquaint themselves (as they do) with the results of archaeology, may we not remind certain archaeologists that they are bound to know what the methods and theories of Old Testament critics really are before they set themselves to the work of refutation?"

In view of the circumstance that Sayce's assaults on O. T. criticism have produced not the smallest impression upon scholars (this is the testimony of so unimpeachable a witness as Père Lagrange in a recent number of the *Revue Biblique*), in view of the notable success of Driver's *Introduction* which has been translated into German and has gone through six editions in English, in view of the constant stream of books belonging to the same school, which find eager readers, it is truly surprising to read that the "higher criticism" has "ceased to be predominant in the higher latitudes of scholarship" (Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, Preface, p. vi). Surely the wish is here father to the thought. In the same passage Sayce appears to view it as a matter of reproach and a token of decay that critical results are being taken cognisance of in current popular literature. This appears to us, on the contrary, one of the surest indications that the "higher criticism" has come to stay. If a work like that of Mr Addis was sorely needed, as Professor G. A. Smith declared it was, even six years ago, its need is more widely felt and will be more readily acknowledged now.

The plan of the work before us, we need scarcely remind our readers, is to separate from each other the documents of which the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua are composed, and to print each of these as a continuous whole by itself. The advantages of

this course are obvious. Probably a good many of our readers have for years had, like ourselves, a Bible (either the Hebrew or the English) with the text underlined in different colours to indicate the different sources, and they know the demonstrative effect produced by reading the narratives separately and continuously. This is what Mr Addis seeks to accomplish for the English reader. In the former volume the work of JE from Genesis down to Joshua was dealt with, a variation of type indicating the two sources J and E, while the additions made by compilers were marked by the use of brackets. A similar method is followed in the present volume which embraces the Deuteronomical Writers and the Priestly Documents. As before, Mr Addis gives his own translation of the text, which appears to deserve all that was said in its favour by Professor Smith on the former volume.

Throughout his work Mr Addis shows the fullest acquaintance with the literature of his subject, and writes with a clearness which is not the least conspicuous merit of these two volumes. Finally it may reassure some timid readers to learn that Mr Addis, while following closely in the wake of critics like Kuenen and Wellhausen, yet expresses his "deepening conviction that Israel was the subject of a divine guidance, in the strictest sense supernatural and unique, till He came to whom the law and the prophets alike bear witness, and who is the 'express image of His Father's glory.'"

We now proceed to give some account of the contents of the volume before us. The section entitled "Special Introduction to Deuteronomy" deals with four main points. (1) Is it possible within the code of chaps. xii.-xxvi. to distinguish the law in its simpler and earlier form from subsequent interpretations and expansion? (2) When and how did the historical and hortatory introductions contained in the first eleven chapters come to occupy their present position? (3) Mr Addis considers the chapters which are appended to the law in the strict sense of the word, and which partly enforce its observation by promises and threats, partly explain the way in which it was transmitted by Moses to the Levites. (4) He investigates the question of the work done by writers of the Deuteronomic school who edited older historic works and inserted remarks of their own, criticising the history of the past from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic reform.

Before proceeding to deal with the first of the above questions, Mr Addis finds it necessary to meet briefly the objections that have been taken by Horst to the view that has hitherto gained almost the unanimous suffrages of critics, namely that the Deuteronomic code formed the basis of Josiah's reform in B.C. 621. Horst does not deny that Josiah instituted a great religious reform, but he believes that instead of Deuteronomy having formed the programme

of this reform, the reverse was the case, Deuteronomy being the precipitate of this reform. Upon this theory the narrative of 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. must be regarded as to a large extent fiction. Mr Addis's examination of Horst's arguments leads him to a conclusion in which we believe most Old Testament scholars will acquiesce, although it is expressed in such strong terms as these, "This ingenious but uncritical theory . . . is improbable on the face of it, has no evidence in its favour, and is refuted by such evidence as we have" (p. 5). At the same time he is not concerned to deny that the narrative in 2 Kings has been altered in some important points by a later hand. In particular the prophecy of Huldah is not in its pristine form, nor can Mr Addis regard the account of Josiah's proceedings at Bethel as otherwise than largely unhistorical.

As to the date of the *composition* as distinguished from the *publication* of Deuteronomy, Mr Addis hesitates. In his first volume he spoke of the year 621, the year of the publication, as the "approximate" date for the composition as well. He is now inclined to push back the authorship to Manasseh's reign, i.e. between 686 and 641. The *terminus a quo* he finds in the reform of Hezekiah (somewhere before 701), the *terminus ad quem* in the reform of Josiah, in 621. He cannot agree with Oettli that Hezekiah's reform was caused by the teaching of Deuteronomy. Of course the opinion that the latter book was composed at least a generation prior to its discovery (which could thus be with more plausibility viewed as *bona fide*) in the temple, has to some an initial prejudice in its favour, but we suspect the opinion that composition and publication were practically simultaneous will in the end gain the day. Of course Mr Addis is right in his remark that the author of Deuteronomy used material much older than his own day. Nor should there be any difficulty nowadays in assenting to his statement that the author "honestly believed that he was writing (which after all was the case) in the Mosaic spirit, and he was therefore entitled by the literary etiquette of the ancient world to use the name of Moses. He was in fact carrying out and developing the intention of the primeval legislator, for worship in the high places imperilled the purity of Mosaic religion, and led to disastrous confusion of Jehovah with the nature deities of Canaan" (p. 10).

Coming now to the kernel of the law in Deut. xii.-xxvi., Mr Addis examines the unity of this code, and gives a useful summary of the hypotheses of Stärk and Steuernagel, who both found largely upon the interchange of the singular and plural form of address, but reach very different conclusions as to authorship. While not disposed to deny the presence of additions and interpolations he is justifiably sceptical as to the "possibility of tracing these various elements in a document which like Deut. xii.-xxvi. is

written in one spirit and in a style which, with two exceptions, is uniform almost to monotony." (We may note in passing that in the October issue of the *Expository Times* Professor Ed. König will commence a searching examination of the hypothesis of Steuernagel.)

The historical introduction contained in Deut. i.—iv. 40 has been the subject of considerable difference of opinion. Driver, after the most careful consideration, finds no decisive reason for rejecting its authenticity, but Mr Addis, in spite of his willingness to allow the greatest weight to this decision, feels constrained to adhere to the opinion expressed in his first volume that this section is a later addition by a writer of the Deuteronomistic school. He is quite clear, too, that Deut. iv. 9-40 is of later date than the preceding chapters. "It seems to have been written by one who had accustomed himself to the Deuteronomistic style, but was at the same time familiar with the style and language which appears in Ezekiel and the 'Priestly School'" (p. 21 f.).

Upon the other hand, Mr Addis agrees with Driver that the hortatory introduction, iv. 45—xi., is from the same hand which wrote with the help of older sources the Deuteronomistic code, i.e. xii.-xxvi. Wellhausen, on the contrary, will have it that originally xii.-xxvi. stood alone; then two independent editions appeared, namely, i.-iv. 44, xii.-xxvi., xxvii., and iv. 45—xi., xii.-xxvi., xxviii.-xxx.; and that finally these two enlarged editions were united so as to form Deut. i.-xxx. Amongst other reasons which plead in favour of the more conservative view, Mr Addis gives the following:—(a) The law in its original form *must have had some preface*, it cannot have begun with xii. 1. If so, what became of it? Why was it dropped? (b) Kuenen's careful comparison between the language of v.-xi. and that of xii.-xxvi. almost demonstrates that the same author wrote both. (c) There are only two objections that tell with any weight against the belief that v.-xi. formed part of Deuteronomy in its original form. In xi. 26 the people are warned that life or death are the consequences of obedience or disobedience to the law, yet this law upon Mr Addis's view had not yet been promulgated. But surely there is nothing in this. Why should not the author have begun by drawing up the code, and have added the long introduction afterwards? Again, the contention that, if the primitive Deuteronomy had already contained an introduction, the author or authors of i.-iv. 44 would not have felt compelled to supply another, is robbed of force when it is noted that v.-xi. is mainly *hortatory* and left room for a *historical* introduction.

The passage x. 1-10<sup>a</sup> is upon any theory confused, and even the excision of vv. 6, 7 as an interpolation still leaves difficulties.

Regarding the chapters of Deuteronomy subsequent to ch. xxvi., Mr Addis agrees with Dillmann, Kuenen, Driver, &c., against Wellhausen, Cornill, and others, that ch. xxviii. formed an original part of Deuteronomy. But for the very reason that this chapter is authentic, ch. xxvii. cannot be so, for it breaks the connection between xxvi. and xxviii., although vv. 9, 10 are probably authentic. The chapter is of very composite origin, embracing some very old as well as some very recent material. Chapters xxix. and xxx., it is generally admitted, are by a later writer of the Deuteronomistic school; xxxi. 1-8 presupposes chs. i.-iii., and is probably by the same hand; vv. 9-13 may be, and according to Kuenen are, a part of the primitive Deuteronomy, while vv. 24-29 are by a writer of the Deuteronomical school later than the writer of chs. i.-iii.

Mr Addis deals finally with the question of traces of the Deuteronomistic school outside of Deuteronomy itself. He finds these to be very rare down to the legislation at Horeb, *e.g.* in Gen. xxvi. 1-5, Ex. xv. 26. Readers of Mr Addis's first volume will remember how large a Deuteronomistic influence he recognizes in the Decalogue, while in the Book of the Covenant he detects also many additions and changes in the Deuteronomistic style, although these changes affect the manner rather than the substance of the older code. He does not agree with Wellhausen that the older narratives in Numbers have undergone Deuteronomistic retouching. Mr Addis's views regarding traces of Deuteronomistic influence on the books from Joshua to 2 Kings are those generally accepted by modern scholars. In the first twelve chapters of Joshua great and constant alterations have been made; Judges and Kings have been thoroughly, Samuel much more sparingly, edited from the standpoint of Deuteronomy. Mr Addis, however, justly makes the very important remark that upon the whole the Deuteronomical editors treated the older documents in a conservative spirit. "*They inserted edifying remarks, but they abstained from altering the main facts of the history with the free hand of the Chronicler*" (p. 31). Finally, we are reminded that the work of the Deuteronomistic school did not cease entirely with the dominance of the Priestly Code. The twentieth chapter of Joshua affords an example of writing in the Deuteronomistic style which is posterior to the Priestly writer—nay, perhaps even to the LXX translation.

Such is a summary of the main contents of the Introduction to Deuteronomy, which is marked by all the erudition that characterised the first volume, and, if we may venture to say so, exhibits a superior ability in the way of sifting evidence and arriving at an independent conclusion. The following pages give the translation and are enriched with footnotes on all important questions, either

of literary analysis or exegesis. The English reader will find these extremely helpful, although they will by no means (and Mr Addis would be the last to make any such claim) enable him to dispense with what ought to be at the elbow of every student—Driver's *Commentary on Deuteronomy*.

We may select a few of these notes for reference. Deut. xvii. 14 ff. contains the law concerning the king. Mr Addis rightly points out that the *early* Hebrews regarded the kingly power as (which it was) a chief blessing of their national life. The story of its origin, credible and faithful upon the whole, is contained in 1 Sam. ix.—x. 16, xi., with the omission of vv. 12-14. To early conceptions there was no opposition between the kingly power and the Divine rule. At the same time the author of Deut. xvii. 14 ff. saw the abuses of royal power, and upon the whole he looks on royalty as permissible rather than positively good. But he does not, like a *later* writer in 1 Sam. vii.-viii., represent it as apostasy from the theocratic rule. Mr Addis finds no sufficient reason for assigning (with Wellhausen, Stade, Cornill, Benzinger) the law concerning the king to a later writer of the Deuteronomical school. The only admonition that sounds strange, if given before the exile, is the one not to make a foreigner king, which, however, our author regards as susceptible of explanation without postulating a post-exilic date.

In the account of Moses' death Mr Addis translates Deut. xxxiv. 6,—“And they buried him,” which, of course, is grammatically as possible as Driver's,—“And he (*i.e.* Jahweh) buried him,” but we venture to think that the latter is the only rendering that fully suits the context. If “they” buried him, why such mystery about the locality of Moses' grave? It may be an anthropomorphism, which we scarcely expect from the Deuteronomist, to represent Jahweh as burying Moses, but nothing else seems to be his meaning.

We have not space to do more than mention the notes on the expression “beyond Jordan,” the meaning of the word *gér*, and the privileges and responsibilities of the latter, the difficulties connected with the mention of Kadesh and the stay of the Israelites there, &c., &c., all of which are well worth consulting.

Turning now to the Priestly Documents we are upon ground where in some ways there is less controversy. About the constituents of P there is little difference of opinion, although its date relatively to that of Deuteronomy is still disputed. While Wellhausen, and the great majority of Old Testament scholars, have no difficulty in making P the latest document in the Hexateuch, there are reputable critics who still hold with the late Dr Dillmann that P precedes Deuteronomy. Mr Addis naturally accepts of

the first of these views. He also distinguishes with most critics three stages by which the Priestly Code reached its full and final form. These are (1) the Law of Holiness; (2) the main body of the legislation introduced and followed by a history of Israel down to the conquest; (3) supplementary matter added from time to time and by different hands in subsequent editions of the Priestly narrative and code. On all these points there is nothing calling for special remark in Mr Addis's handling of the theme, his views being those which are common to Old Testament scholars.

The final redaction of the Hexateuch took place when the oldest documents (JE) and the Deuteronomical code and history were united with the Priestly narrative and code. This is familiar ground to our readers, hence we will devote the rest of our space to an examination of some of the questions which Mr Addis discusses in the footnotes to his translation of the Priestly documents.

We naturally turn with some curiosity to see how he treats Gen. xiv., of which we have lately heard so much, and we find that he has not failed to do justice to the arguments alike of the critics and the archaeologists. No better field than this chapter could be desired to illustrate the true historical method, which takes cognisance of linguistic, literary, and archaeological data. Without seeking to reproduce Mr Addis's sentiments, we may be excused if we go into this matter in some detail, especially seeing that not a few misrepresentations and misunderstandings prevail regarding what critics hold and what archaeologists have proved regarding the narrative of Gen. xiv. Sayce (and we regret exceedingly to add that Hommel countenances him) is never weary of telling the public what a reverse criticism has sustained here at the hands of archaeology. Well, the position of affairs is this. At one time *some* critics were sceptical about campaigns from the East having been directed against Palestine so early as the time of Abraham, and they suggested that in the 14th of Genesis we had simply a projecting into the past of such campaigns as those of Sargon and Sennacherib. There have been hypercritics, we admit, just as there have been, and still are, inaccurate Assyriologists. But even before the recent discoveries which give Sayce such a vantage ground, critics like Dillmann were disposed to admit a substratum of history in the narrative. *And nothing more than this has even yet been proved.* We have certainly learned that at a very early date expeditions from Babylonia to the Westland were undertaken, and it is probable enough that Chedorlaomer may be the Kudur-lagamar or Kudur-dagmal of the inscriptions, and that some of the other kings whose names have been deciphered may be identical with those named in Genesis. But the most that all this

implies (here the Assyriologist Zimmern is at one with the critics; see his review of Hommel's book in the *Theol. Rundschau* for May 1898) is that the author of Gen. xiv. had at his disposal genuine names of Eastern kings, that the historical situation he presupposes is, to a large extent at least, quite credible, nay that he may even have had before him a cuneiform account of such an expedition as he describes (this last is probably more than we are justified in conceding to Professor Sayce). Now it so happens that long before any of the recent discoveries the literary analysis of the Old Testament had assigned Gen. xiv. to a category by itself, ascribing it neither to J, E, nor P, but to some unknown source. Was that not a proof, Sayce himself being witness, of critical sagacity? But on the other hand we have to be on our guard, lest in our eagerness to vindicate the historicity of Genesis we go too fast and too far. *As yet nothing whatever has been discovered which has the slightest bearing upon the historicity of the part played by Abraham in the campaign.* We may accept or we may reject the story, but we lay upon archaeology a burden it cannot bear if we base our acceptance on any data supplied by it. Nothing has been adduced as yet to make it impossible or even unlikely that in Gen. xiv. we have an example of Jewish *midrash* or *haggada* attached to the name of Abraham, such as is generally supposed (and here, by the way, Sayce is at one with the critics) to be present in the Books of Esther and Daniel. Should further discoveries recover for us firmer historical ground, the critics (who have not a monomania for destruction, as Sayce appears to think) will gladly accept any addition to our store of knowledge regarding these far-off days. Our attitude meanwhile is that of waiting.

We may note as rather remarkable that Mr Addis in discussing the Passover, makes no allusion to the explanation of the sprinkling of the blood contended for by Trumbull in his *Threshold Covenant*. If this silence is intentional, it may be due to a persuasion (in which Mr Addis would not be singular) that here as in some other instances Trumbull has discovered a mare's nest. In view, however, of the attention awakened by the *Threshold Covenant*, one would have welcomed an expression of opinion from so competent a judge.

Some difference of opinion (although he has weighty supporters) will be excited by Mr Addis's opinions about the "sin-offering." He contends strongly that the victim did not die vicariously, i.e. in the sinner's stead. On the contrary the sin-offering was reserved for unintentional transgression, he who sinned "with a high hand" must pay the penalty in his own person. He objects too that the important thing was not the slaughter but the offering of the blood on the altar. "The blood which held the life, was a gift by which Yahwè was appeased" (p. 265 n.).



Mr Addis's remarks on the place of incense in the ritual and the late introduction of the prescription for "an altar of incense" are well founded and will commend themselves to most who have studied the subject. We are disposed to agree with him also on the difficult question of whether the word "ephod" has a single or a twofold sense. It appears to be impossible to explain all the usages of the word in the Old Testament unless we postulate two meanings, (1) an *image*, which, judging from the probable sense of the root, was overlaid with precious metal. Such was the "ephod" of Gideon (Judges viii. 27) and probably of Judges xvii. 5 ; xviii. 14, 17, 20 ; 1 Sam. xxi. 10 ; xxiii. 6, 9 ; xxx. 7 ; Hos. iii. 4 ; (2) a priestly vestment, distinguished by early writers as the "linen ephod" (1 Sam. ii. 18 ; xxii. 18 ; 2 Sam. vi. 14).

Enough has been said to show the thoroughness of Mr Addis's work, which we have the fullest confidence in recommending to all English-speaking students. There is nothing in our language that can exactly take its place to those who are unable to study the sources of the Old Testament at first hand, while even the expert will find these volumes extremely useful for reference. The time has now come when it is alike a duty and a necessity for the intelligent Bible student to familiarise himself with the documents that make up the Hexateuch, and he is fortunate in being able to do this under the guidance of Mr Addis. The latter will have rendered no small service alike to scholarship and to religion if the study of his volumes leads many to perceive that, as Professor Sanday has said, the adoption of a critical position, so far from robbing the Old Testament of its value, removes stumbling-blocks, brings with it a more vivid and real appreciation of the Old Testament both as history and religion, and not only leaves unimpaired the old conviction that we have in it a revelation from God to man but places it upon firmer foundations.

J. A. SELBIE.

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### **David Brown, D.D., LL.D.: Memoir of a Life Spanning the Century.**

*By W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

By his fertile and diligent pen Dr Blaikie has from time to time laid the Christian community under deep obligations. Perhaps none of these services is more welcomed, and more likely to prove permanent than his contributions to Christian biography in the "Lives" of several of his contemporaries. His *Personal Life of David Livingstone* is already a classic ; and the series stretches from his sketch of young Andrew Crichton of Edinburgh and Dundee down to his recent contribution to the "Eminent Scotsmen" Library in

the memoir of the Father and Founder of the Free Church—Dr Chalmers. It may well be questioned, however, whether the task he has here undertaken is not the boldest of all in this kind. To those who were personally acquainted with the subject, it will appear an almost unsurmountable undertaking to condense into one recognisable outline, the portrait of a character so richly various as that of Principal Brown, to tell a story so long and complex as that of a Life extending almost over the whole century which is just closing—and to do all this in a modest volume of 364 pages.

The topics suggested in this volume embrace really all the leading points of interest in the history of the Scottish Churches during the period specified. Here is a Life which in youth had the friendship of Edward Irving and of Dr John Duncan, a ministry which opens in the thick of the "Ten Years' Conflict," and in the region of Strathbogie, which in its second stage runs into a Glasgow pastorate, in its third into an Aberdeen Professorship, and culminates in the Moderator's Chair of the F.C. General Assembly. The causes in which Dr Brown's long and busy career gave him a prominent place, were such as the modern critical reconstruction of the Old Testament, in the Robertson-Smith case, the application of modern scholarship to the text of the New Testament, as a member of the N.T. Revision Company. His correspondents up till a late period of his life were such as Cardinal Newman, Dr Martineau, Dr Warfield of Princeton, Professor Salmon of Dublin, and Principal Moule of Cambridge.

That the biographer steers his way through this mass of interests with the result of producing a clear and intelligible portrait is, in no small degree, creditable to Dr Blaikie's command of his subject and to his felicity and skill in the use of his material. The variety of points of view which Principal Brown's character presented was one of the difficulties which the writer of his *Life* had to encounter. Nimble-witted, amiable, simple, learned, humorous, but above all devout, the many friends whom he drew around him must have had in their minds a dozen or twenty different conceptions of him, but Dr Blaikie has managed to do a measure of justice to almost every aspect of this kaleidoscopic nature. The main paradox in Dr Brown's character, which struck almost every observer, was the combination of conservatism in opinion with liberalism of soul. He used to say to his friends that in his youth he had made it his prayer that God would give him a mind candid and fresh, open to truth from whatever quarter it might come; and he believed that God had answered that prayer. His determination to be young and fresh characterised him to the close. In his own homely phrase he must be 'on the front of the wave'—and for the most part he was. Another feature was his pre-eminent sympathy with the prac-

tical and evangelistic side of Christian work. He constantly put it in the front of his exhortations to his students that they must be 'soul-winners.' This Professor of one of the most engrossing departments of Biblical Scholarship was in the heart of every revival movement and at the head of every meeting for united prayer to which he had access. And with all this devotion to evangelical religion, Dr Brown had the highest appreciation—partly from natural gift and temperament—for the aesthetic side of things religious, the keenest interest in Hymnology and Church music.

Among these fertile topics there are many that suggest remark, but one or two must suffice. On the Old Testament question Dr Brown had to take a prominent place because of his position in the Aberdeen College and Presbytery. Dr Blaikie expends several pages in defending his friend's consistency and in complaints of the want of prudence and a 'spirit of consideration' on the part of the young professor. He scarcely touches upon the question in which the general Christian public of our day are most interested. 'Would Dr Robertson Smith,' it is often asked, 'be dealt with by the Free Church now as he was in 77-81, were the case to recur?' The answer must be 'Certainly not' as to form. Many maintained at the time, and almost all now acknowledge, that the method of 'trial by libel' was inapplicable. There must be ample liberty for investigation in the case of new and disputable questions in scholarship. If a Church is to live by popular suffrage her scholars must have room to inquire and determine. But as to substance the decision to-day would in all likelihood not materially differ. No Evangelical Church in Christendom has yet adopted the recent construction of the Old Testament Books as her own. The answer must be substantially that of Virchow to Haeckel on a famous public occasion, when the latter demanded the teaching in public schools of the Simian pedigree of man. 'The theory may or may not be true,—that is the question in dispute,—but so long as it is so,—and because it is so,—it cannot be taught.'

Of Dr Brown's place in the New Testament Revision Company not too much is made. A good deal more should have been made of it by the company itself. But Dr Brown was very far from under-valuing the work done. Indeed no judgment of the worth of the Revised Version, fairer and better balanced, has appeared than that of our venerable father as here given.

A part of the book which rather disappoints the expectations it raises is that devoted to Dr Brown's correspondence with Cardinal Newman and Dr Martineau. This is not the biographer's fault. It is the scantiness of the material. On turning to the chapters so headed, one is rather amused to find how cheaply the owners

of these great names discharge themselves of their obligation as correspondents with Dr Brown. Some amiable commonplaces are about all one gets, and the whole illustrates mainly the candour and kindliness of Principal Brown and his remarkable success in dealing with men of views so opposite to his own.

Introducing the correspondence with Dr J. H. Newman, Dr Blaikie says: "He (Dr Brown) could hold the Church of Rome to be the Antichrist of the Apocalypse, and yet believe that within her pale the Lord had his faithful servants." There is surely some slight confusion here. The framers of our standards have indeed insinuated that "some churches have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan," but the strongest assertion made is that the Pope of Rome is in no sense the Head of the Church, "but is *that Antichrist*, that man of sin, and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ" (*Confession of Faith*, xxv. § 6). The younger Dr Hodge commenting on this says "the authors of our Confession can hardly have intended to declare that each individual Pope of the long succession is the personal Antichrist, and they probably meant that the Papal system is in spirit, form, and effect wholly antichristian." The elder Dr Hodge expresses himself still more strongly on the sin of denying that Roman Catholics are Christians. Dr Brown was certainly not narrower than either of the Hodges. It is no part of the true Protestant position to hold that the body of men professing Catholic doctrines is Antichristian. Long before the days of the Reformers, and within the bosom of the Latin Church, men had risen up to call the Papal *system* Antichristian. But that is a distinguishable position from the crude one of identifying "the Church of Rome" with the Antichrist of Scripture.

It would have been tempting to have described Principal Brown's liberal views on such questions as that of the proposed Union between the United Presbyterians and the Free Church, on the Revision of the Confession of Faith, on the Declaratory Act, &c. But we must close, only again most cordially thanking Dr Blaikie for this competent portrait of one who was a notable man, a notable scholar, and a notable Christian.

J. LAIDLAW.

**Notices.**

THE Rev. J. H. Wilkinson, M.A., Rector of Stock Gaylard, Dorset, publishes *Four Lectures on the Early History of the Gospels*.<sup>1</sup> The writer's object is to put the general reader in possession of the main points in the case for the Gospels as it stands at present, and to make it possible for him to form his own judgment 'of the relative historical value of the various sources. To do this to any good purpose involves the statement and discussion of questions of great difficulty and intricacy. Mr Wilkinson is remarkably successful in the attempt to make these questions plain enough for anyone to understand how they lie and what is involved in them. He gives an outline of the criticism of the Gospels which is both quite up to date and wonderfully easy to grasp. He deals with his subject in four periods, before A.D. 100, between 100 and 150, between 150 and 200, and after 170. He sketches the story of the Gospels in these several periods successively as it unfolds itself in Palestine, Egypt, Rome, and Syria. His aim is to "sum up all that is known upon the subject generally, and to focus the converging lines of evidence into one connected whole." He does this well, and in doing it supplies a want. He has mastered the best literature on these questions, making most use of the works of Harnack and Zahn. He accepts the prevalent view that the Synoptic Gospels are to be traced back to one primitive gospel, which is taken to be the *Logia*. He agrees with those who hold that the original Gospel of Mark is made up of the *Logia* and Petrine tradition; that the original Gospel of Luke is compiled from the *Logia* and Pauline tradition; and that Matthew's Gospel is "for the most part a construction of S. Mark and the *Logia*." He accepts some things perhaps too readily, but he brings out very clearly how much nearer the traditional dates the Gospels are brought by the school of criticism of which Harnack is the head than was allowed by their predecessors. He recognises varieties in the historical warrant for different parts of the Gospels. He would attach greater value, for example, to those parts which can be shown "with some approach to certainty to have had a place in the ancient *Logia* or the original Mark" than to what he holds to be "the obviously later sources from which S. Luke and the fourth Evangelist drew part of their narrative." But he is convinced at the same time that "whatever embroidery some of the narratives may have received at the hands of their early editors, these editors stood so near the actual facts that it is impossible that they should have been misinformed as to the main events

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 100. Price, 3s. net.

of our Lord's life." Mr Wilkinson has done a real service in publishing these Lectures.

Dr Alexander Whyte gives us another of his careful and informing 'appreciations.' This time the subject is *Sir Thomas Browne*.<sup>1</sup> It is a happy choice. For this 'appreciation' was addressed in the first instance to a great gathering of medical men, being delivered in St Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, as the Inaugural Discourse in connexion with the meetings of the British Medical Association of this year. The estimate of the man is high. It is expressed in strong terms, yet it is just and discerning. It is summed up in the well known words of Tertullian, the meditative physician's favourite among the Fathers — *anima naturaliter Christiana*. Hazlitt would have it that there are only three perfect egotists in all literature—Cellini, Montaigne, and Wordsworth. Dr Whyte would add Sir Thomas Browne to the list, taking him also to be one of the men who are at their best when most alone with themselves. The brief criticisms of the *Religio Medici*, the *Christian Morals*, and Sir Thomas's other books are of a kind to help the reader to understand and value writings which must be placed very much by themselves in English literature. They show, too, how wide is the range of Dr Whyte's literary tastes and sympathies. An admirable selection of passages from Sir Thomas's writings adds to the value of the Essay. The book is attractive in form. It is most tastefully printed. Its modest price brings it within the reach of most men, and it should find a large audience. To read it is to have one's mind and heart enriched.

The Archdeacon of London publishes his *Seventh Charge*,<sup>2</sup> delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry in June of this year. Its subject is the Eastern Churches. It begins with a brief outline of the history of these *Churches* from the first century downwards. It exhibits the present extent of Eastern Christianity, and gives a statement of the general characteristics of the Oriental Church—its speculative tendencies, its stationary character, the rigidity of its doctrine, its lack of the missionary spirit, &c. Considerable space is devoted next to the Russian Church in particular, descriptions being furnished of a Russian place of worship and a Russian Communion. The Doctrinal Standards of the Eastern Church are also examined, and a brief account is given of the various attempts which have been made in the direction of reconciliation and union. In an Appendix a good deal of information is furnished in a handy and useful form on such matters as Baptism and Chrism, the Consecration of a Church, Confession and Com-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 90. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> The Churches of the East. By the Rev. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London : Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 150. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

munion, Ordination, Holy Matrimony, Unction and the Burial of the Dead. Dr Sinclair has read carefully in the most accessible authorities on this vast and interesting subject of the Greek Church, and has made excellent use of his material. In a plain and practical form the *Charge* explains the main points in the history, constitution, doctrine, and practice of this great Communion, and gives a general view of Oriental Christianity which many will be glad to have by them. It makes no pretensions to original research. It does fairly and succinctly what it undertakes to do, viz., to give a digest of what others have written.

We are indebted to a member of the Scottish Bar, Mr Charles John Guthrie, Q.C., for a very attractive volume on *John Knox and John Knox's House*.<sup>1</sup> It has been drawn up as a handbook to John Knox's house at the request of the Trustees of the property. It gives an admirable digest of all that is known about the building, its situation, structure, erection, earlier and later history, contents, and the circumstances of its connexion with the Reformer. But it does much more than this. It provides in concise and graphic form a mass of information about Knox himself, the events in which he formed the foremost figure, and the men of his time. It furnishes a valuable chronicle of his life year by year, a series of testimonies, mostly from contemporary English writers, to his character and work, and a very useful statement of his extant works. It is most tasteful in form. In price it is accessible to almost any purse. It is enriched by a series of no less than 89 admirable illustrations. It represents a great deal of labour. It has been a labour of love, however, and it will be a great boon to many. The collection of testimonies is of singular interest. They are drawn from many different sources, Papists and Protestants, Churchmen and politicians. Here is what Cajetan Palma says of the Reformer—"that crafty little fox, John Knox of Scotland" (*illa astuta vulpecula Joannes Cnoxius Scotus*). And here side by side with that is Milton's—"Knox, the Reformer of a Kingdom—that great man," and Archbishop Spottiswood's witness—"Knox was a man endowed with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of these times."

Professor Gustav Krüger of Giessen publishes, in the *Grundriss* series, a pamphlet consisting of additions to his *History of Ancient Christian Literature*.<sup>2</sup> This is most welcome. It shows both how much has been done within a very brief period, and how careful

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 140. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften. Neunte Abtheilung, Nachträge zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* Von Dr Gustav Krüger. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 32.

Professor Krüger is to keep himself abreast of his subject. The increase which has been made to the materials for a history of the Patristic period, and the mass of literature which has been called forth, are remarkable. All is chronicled here with patient care.

To Professor Krüger we are also indebted for a valuable *brochure*, dealing with subjects belonging to his department of study. His *Neue Funde auf dem Gebiete der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*,<sup>1</sup> gives a record of the additions which have been made to our knowledge in the province of Church History within the period 1889-1898, and of the literature which has been called forth by the publication of the *Logia*, the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Lewis Gospels*, the *Apology of Aristides*, and the various finds of these last ten years.

We report with great pleasure the receipt of the thirty-second volume of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.<sup>2</sup> It contains the following works of Ambrose:—*Exameron*, *De Paradiso*, *De Cain et Abel*, *De Noe*, *De Abraham*, *De Isaac*, *De Bono Mortis*. The text is edited with the greatest care. Scripture passages are given at the foot of the pages. There is an ample chronicle of various readings with the authorities for each. The Latin *Praefatio* enters fully into the particulars of manuscripts and literary questions. The whole is printed in the clearest type. It is such work both in style and in critical value as we are accustomed to get from Vienna. The editor must have spent many an anxious and toilsome hour over his task. He will have the satisfaction of seeing its merits recognised.

Mr Herbert Baynes, M.R.A.S., gives us an interesting volume under the title of *Ideals of the East*.<sup>3</sup> He has already published a considerable treatise, which has attracted some notice, on *The Idea of God and the Moral Sense in the light of language*. He is also the author of smaller books on *The Evolution of Religious Thought in Modern India*, and on *Dante and his Ideal*. In the present volume, which is dedicated to Lord Reay, his object is to convey to the Western mind some idea of the best and most characteristic thought of the East in ethics, metaphysics, theosophy, and religion. He takes his instances from very different sources—Buddhism, Taoism, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Hebraism. He begins with the ethical ideal as expressed in the Noble Eightfold Path of Gautama, and takes next the metaphysical and theo-

<sup>1</sup> Giessen : Ricker, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Editum Consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis. Vol. XXXII. S. Ambrosii Opera. Pars. I. Fasciculus II. Ex recensione Caroli Schenkl. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. lxxxviii. 501-725. Price, £1.4.40.

<sup>3</sup> London : Swan, Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. 99. Price, 5s.



sophical ideals as exhibited in the Tao literature, the Creation Hymn, the Bhavagat-Gita, and the Upanishads. The closing chapter deals with the religious ideal as shown in the Buddha's Confession of Faith, the Sacred Name of the Parsees, Islam's Allah, Semitic Monotheism, and the words of the Son of Man. In each case we get a metrical version of the original, that being regarded as the most appropriate medium for the representation of the essentially poetic diction of the East to the more logical Western mind. The least successful part of the work is, as one might expect, the concluding section, which has the title *The Son of Man and the Ruler of the Jews*. In this an attempt is made to give an elaborated, poetical rendering of the interview between Jesus and Nicodemus. We feel this to be strained and diffuse. But in general the writer accomplishes with considerable success the task he has set himself, and his book will be read with profit.

We refer with much satisfaction to the appearance of a new series of historical publications which promises to be of great interest. The series, which bears the simple title of *Zwingliana*, is undertaken by an Association in Zürich, and has for its object to collect and publish literary matter, representations of pictures and medals, and anything else that throws light on the story of Zwingli's career and the Swiss reformation. The Association numbers between 300 and 400 members, and will become stronger still, we hope. A Zwingli museum has been established, and is now under the care of the Stadtbibliothek in Zürich. The intention is to issue two publications *per annum*. It is a patriotic enterprise, which deserves a large success.

We have received the first two parts of the series,<sup>1</sup> small in size and of modest pretensions, but containing valuable matter. They begin with some careful notes on likenesses of Zwingli, commenting on the fact that, while we have several good portraits of Luther, there is scarcely one of Zwingli that can be confidently regarded as authentic. They refer in especial to the wood-engraving in Zwingli's *Lehrbuchlein* of 1524, the portrait by Hans Asper, and two smaller likenesses on medals by the engraver Jakob Stampfer. These latter, which are older than Asper's work, are photographed on the frontispiece, and have a very attractive look. We have also several letters, an account of a representation of the Plutus of Aristophanes in Zwingli's school on New Year's Day 1531, certain matters regarding Haller and Beza, a description of a Bible of Bullinger's—the Hebrew-Zahn Bible of Sebastian Münster in two vols. folio, of the years 1534, 1535, acquired by the Zwingli

<sup>1</sup> *Zwingliana*. Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Zwinglis und der Reformation. Herausgegeben von der Vereinigung für das Zwinglimuseum in Zürich. Nr. I. and Nr. II., 1897. Zürich: Zürcher und Furrer. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 1s.

Museum. In addition to this we get an account of the French edition of the Zürich Catechism of 1525, some particulars relating to the Zwingli family, a number of miscellanies of various values, and lists of recent literature. Nor should we omit mention of a discussion of the question as to who is meant by Conrad Ryss, the ostensible writer of an interesting Answer to Bugenhagen in the controversy on the Lord's Supper. The result reached by the writer, Mr George Finsler, is that Conrad Ryss cannot be a pseudonym for Ulrich Zwingli as was affirmed by Conrad Schlusberg, but that it stands in all probability for Michael Keller (Cellarius) of Augsburg, who worked along with Johannes Froesch and Urbanus Rhegius. The old tradition of the Reformed Church on the subject, is thus accepted as correct. It has been objected, indeed, by Uhlhorn that the identification of Ryss or Reyss, as the name is alternatively written, with Cellarius rests only on the testimony of Hospinian in his *Historia Sacramentaria* (1598-1602), and that there is no mention made of Cellarius in this connexion by contemporary writers. But it is shown here that Michael Cellarius is referred to as the author of the letter at least a whole generation earlier than Hospinian. For Ludwig Lavater gives the Reformed tradition in another form in his *Historia de origine et progressu Controversiae Sacramentariae* (Zürich, 1563), and Lavater lived in Zürich 1527-1586.

M. C. Bruston, Dean of the Theological Faculty of Montauban, writes on the *Descent of Christ to Hades*.<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet is the latest of a series which has dealt with the *Future Life according to the teaching of Jesus Christ* (1890), the *Future Life according to St Paul* (1895), and the *Millennium*, the third of a collection of *Studies on the Apocalypse* (1884). M. Bruston's object in all these writings is to prove that the teaching of Christ and His Apostles differs essentially not only from the Chiliastic fancies of Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other Fathers of the second century and the early part of the third, but from the doctrine of the ancient Church generally. It is that doctrine that has passed with certain modifications into the Protestant Churches, and in accepting it these Churches, in M. Bruston's opinion, have gone seriously wrong. The doctrines of the resurrection of the flesh or the body at the end of the world, a future universal judgment, a visible bodily return of Christ for that purpose, are regarded by him as Jewish ideas which have no foundation in the words of Christ or those of the Apostles. To make this good is M. Bruston's object, and he has written clearly and ably. But that is far from saying that he has succeeded in doing what he has proposed to do. It is easy enough to show that

<sup>1</sup> *La Descente du Christ aux Enfers, d'après les Apôtres et d'après l'Église.* Paris: Fischbacher, 1897. 8vo, pp. 46.

the simple teaching of the New Testament became mixed up with some doubtful speculations, enlargements, and confusions in the theology of the second and third centuries. It is a different thing to prove that the teaching of Paul or even that of John on the things of the end is wholly and solely 'spiritual' in the sense in which M. Bruston uses that word. A scientific exegesis, we believe, makes it necessary to recognise the existence in the Johannine writings, and more largely and definitely in the Pauline, of more than that. This is the conclusion of the greatest interpreters and of those who have no special theological interest one way or other in these controverted questions, and M. Bruston has not made out a case for the opposite.

In the doctrine of the *Descent to Hades* he has a more promising subject. On the basis of the few and simple statements, which occur in Scripture itself on what happened between the death and the resurrection of Christ, the Churches and the schools have built up a vast theology of very discordant elements, and M. Bruston has an easy task in showing how far beyond the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles most of this goes. He examines the few passages to which it is possible to appeal in the New Testament, the 16th Psalm among the number, with its use in the Book of Acts. He gives special attention to the two passages in Paul and Peter (Eph. iv. 9; 1 Pet. iii. 19). He is of opinion that both speak clearly of a Descent of Jesus to Hades, but that they do so in a sense quite different from that put upon them by the Fathers of the Church and the enlarged text of the Apostles' Creed. He thinks the difference is seen in two things in particular. What are these? In the first place, while the Fathers and the *Symbolum Apostolicum* place the Descent between the death and the resurrection, the two Apostles place it, as he understands them, after the resurrection and exaltation. In the second place, while the same authorities, or to speak more correctly, the most of them, take the object of the Descent to have been to deliver the pious dead of the Old Testament, Paul represents its purpose as having been to make captives, that is, in subduing and reducing to impotence the powers of darkness, or in bringing rebellious souls and spirits under his beneficent yoke; and Peter teaches that its object was to declare the good news of salvation to the guiltiest spirits and those most severely punished. The bulk of the essay is devoted to establishing these propositions. The questions are discussed with a detail which it is impossible to follow here. Some use is made of the pseudepigraphic literature. The exegesis of the passages is minute and careful. The best case is made for the view that the 'spirits in prison' are not those of men (in which case they must needs be contemporaries of Noah), but rebel angels—a view which must be

admitted to have much to support it in the Jewish Apocalyptic. The least convincing part of the essay seems to us to be that which deals with the time of the Descent. To speak but of one thing, the succession of events given in 1 Peter iii. 19-22 points so definitely to the period *before* the resurrection that it will require stronger arguments than M. Bruston is able to offer to persuade us that the Descent took place, according to this Epistle, *after* the resurrection and the exaltation. M. Bruston's dissertation, though it does not carry conviction with it to our mind, deserves careful consideration. It is well written, and is just, not to say generous, to those whose views differ from the contentions and conclusions of the learned author.

Professor W. Wrede of Breslau is the author of a considerable pamphlet which goes into a somewhat elaborate criticism of current ideas of the theological discipline known as Biblical Theology. The pamphlet, which bears the title *Ueber Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie*,<sup>1</sup> is in substance a reproduction of certain addresses delivered by Professor Wrede as part of a summer course instituted by the Theological Faculty of Breslau in the interest of pastors last year. It advocates great changes, and projects a large programme. It is not always consistent with itself, and is of too ambitious a nature. It makes at the same time some good points, and directs our attention to some *desiderata*, especially in the method of the study. It notices the main points in which Biblical Theology may be said to have made advances since the publication of Gabler's address, *De justo discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utriusque finibus*, so far back as 1787. But he thinks that these—the separate treatment of Old Testament and New, the distinct handling of the teaching of Christ Himself and that of the Apostles, the recognition of different types of doctrine in the latter, the recognition of a historical development in the ideas, &c.—do not carry us far after all. He contends that the study is not prosecuted yet in terms of a genuinely historical discipline. Its historical character is formally and theoretically affirmed, he allows; but he cannot see that the admission is really followed up. He holds, indeed, that it never can be, so long as Biblical Theology continues to be studied with the student's eye upon Dogmatic, as he conceives the case to be at present. Further, he considers it fatal to any real historical conception and practice of the study to ascribe to any of the documents which form our sources any such dogmatic predicate as is implied in the use of such a term as 'normative.' What Professor Wrede has in view may be inferred from what he

<sup>1</sup> Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 80. Price, M.1.80.

says of the *name* of the science. He points out that the name *Biblical Theology* means originally a Theology which has a Biblical character, or which is drawn from the Bible, and the term *Theology* is unwelcome to him. He objects out and out to the term *New Testament Theology* as false in both its parts, the New Testament dealing much more with Religion than with Theology. He discounts also such a title as *Urchristliche Dogmengeschichte*, on account of the intrusion of the inapplicable idea of *dogma*. He suggests, therefore, as a more fitting title *Urchristliche Religionsgeschichte*, or *Geschichte der urchristlichen Religion und Theologie*. He would consequently extend the scope of the study far beyond the limits given it at present. The systems of Weiss, Beyschlag, and others are referred to, and Harnack also obtains some notice. But the bulk of the criticism is directed to Holtzmann. And this for these reasons—that his *Neutestamentliche Theologie* is the most recent book of importance in this department, that it is the work of a scholar of great eminence, and that its critical positions are nearly related to Professor Wrede's own.

The new volume of *The Expository Times*<sup>1</sup> is quite up to the standard of former volumes, and has an equally varied provision for its readers. There are continuous series of articles like Professor Sayce's *Archaeological Commentary on Genesis*, biographical papers on Professor Driver and Dr David Brown, doctrinal papers on Ritschlianism, the Atonement and other subjects, critical papers on the books of Scripture, and a multitude of others of many different kinds. The volume speaks of a great deal of care, skill, discernment, and labour on the part of the Editor. The Editorial Notes are always interesting and seasonable. In a brief and pointed way they direct attention to the subjects which are the most novel and most discussed for the month. At a very moderate price readers of many different classes will find much to suit them in these pages.

Dr L. Bonnet's commentary on the *Synoptical Gospels*,<sup>2</sup> which was published in 1880, appears in a new edition, revised and enlarged. It is not a book of the first rank as a scientific commentary. It makes no claim indeed to originality or to any novel treatment of the Gospels. But it is a book that should be of much use to a large class of readers. The Notes are of moderate compass and give in lucid and well-chosen terms the essentials of the exegesis. They are never dry. They aim at conveying the spirit as well as expressing the sense of the Evangelists. The Introductory matter is on a sufficient scale, and is done with a proper regard to

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Volume the Ninth, October 1897—September 1898. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Évangiles de Matthieu, Marc et Luc. Seconde édition, revue et augmentée. Par Alfred Schroeder. Lausanne: Bridel. 8vo, pp. 662. Price, Fr.12.

what the mass of readers require. Pastor Schroeder, to whom we owe the revision, has fulfilled his part well. The volume will be of much service to the Swiss people.

The seventh number of the ninth year of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* is a specially good one. Old Testament scholars will find some things to think of in a paper by Professor Hommel on Genesis and the Prophets; and New Testament scholars in another by Professor Blass on the work of the Philologist in the interpretation of the New Testament. Consistorialrat Staehelin contributes also a criticism of Ritschl's *Dogmatik*, directed largely against Kügelgens' irenical treatise, *Die Dogmatik Albrecht Ritschls, Apologie und Polemik*.

In the *Revue Biblique Internationale* for July, M. Hackspill concludes his careful account of the exegetical work of A. Scholz. Mr J. Meritan contributes a paper on the *Ecclesiology of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, in which he shows *Catholicity* and *Unity* to be the two great ecclesiological notes of the Epistle, and indicates how these are governed by the Christological ideas of the Apostle. We have a well informed article by Fr. V. Rose of Fribourg, on the recent criticism of the Acts of the Apostles. From a strictly conservative point of view the writer examines the positions of Weiss, Hilgenfeld, Wendt and others, and deals specially with the Pentecostal miracle and the episode of St Stephen, on which two events he thinks, critics may be said to have concentrated their efforts. He gives particular attention to Weiss, because he passes, as it is here put, for orthodox among Protestants. He attacks Weiss's statement that in the narrative which the Book of Acts gives of the day of Pentecost, there is a contradiction which no exegesis has yet resolved. He admits that Weiss's criticism is relatively moderate and wise, but thinks that he has formed a false conception of the gift of tongues, and that this has induced hesitation and misapprehension in his exegesis.

The *Biblical World* for July has some good papers. Dr George E. Merrill contributes a brief but interesting report of a *Visit to Codex B*. There is a *Symposium* of a somewhat slight character on the *Kingdom of God*. Dr Henry Hayman gives an account of the *Book of Enoch*, in which he would "sprinkle some grains of salt upon Mr Charles's opinion that the present book consists of six different pieces by as many authors." Mr Charles comes to that conclusion by looking at the inconsistencies of view, especially on eschatological questions, which appear in the book. Dr Hayman thinks such "mental fluctuations in the author of a work purely imaginary, are not beyond what we may allow as probable." He is also disposed to qualify the ordinary view taken of the recognition which the book won in the Church. He doubts whether

any first-class writer except Tertullian can fairly be said to have accepted it as genuine and of divine authority, and thinks that even writers like the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, who speak of it as *Scripture*, may use the term *ἡ γραφή* in the deuterocanonical sense.

In the July number of *Mind* we have the conclusions of three important series of Articles, viz., Mr Boyce Watson's elaborate statement on the *Regulæ of Descartes*; Mr M'Dougall's *Contribution towards an Improvement in Psychological Method*; and Professor E. B. M'Gilvary's discussion of the *Dialectical Method*. The object of the last named series is to establish the adequacy of the Hegelian Method. Professor M'Gilvary rebuts the charge made against Hegel that he merely asserts freedom for the individual without vindicating it. He holds that the Hegelian ethics rests upon the dialectic, and is sufficiently provided for by it. He does not claim that the Hegelian dialectic is the "last word in philosophy," nor even that, as its author worked it out, it is "inerrant." But he regards the Hegelian dialectic as adequate for all scientific needs, and looks upon the Hegelian "insight into the fundamental relation of the One and the Many," as the "insight that solves the problem of present-day thought, the problem of making an ethical world intelligible and an intelligible world ethical." The same number contains valuable papers by Dr E. Westermarck on the *Essence of Revenge*, and another by Professor E. B. Titchener, describing in telling terms the daily working of a *Psychological Laboratory*. The digest of the contents of the chief philosophical magazines is very well done.

Recent numbers of the *International Journal of Ethics* furnish considerable variety of scientific articles, and alongside these some papers of more popular interest. In the July number, e.g., in addition to an acute criticism of the views of Sidgwick and Schopenhauer on the foundation of Morality by a member of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and a capable dissertation on *Philosophy and the Activity-Experience* by Mr William Caldwell of the North-western University, we get papers on such subjects as the case of *Defective Children: their needs and their rights*, and the *National Arbitration Law*. Professor Mackenzie of Cardiff writes, too, on the *Bearings of Philosophy on Education*, his chief point being that the only thing that will save the teacher from sinking into a Gradgrind is that he recognises the necessity of "seeing the society in which we live, the knowledge for which we strive, the mind that we seek to cultivate, in their living realities, so as to view them as wholes, as concrete realities." A paper by Mr Thomas Davidson on *The Brothers of Sincerity* should also be noticed. It gives a very clear and interesting

account of the Society which was gradually formed at Basra towards the end of the tenth century, with the view of transforming the religion of Islam into a philosophy, that drew its inspiration from Arabic translations of the later Greek philosophers, and undertook to "render the harsh, crude superstition of the Koran innocuous by transmuting it, through absorption, into the Neo-Platonic Aristotelianism then popular in the East." The breadth which this Ethical Journal now allows itself appears from the fact that its *Book Review* section includes notices of Professor Allen's *Christian Institutions*, Moore's *Judges* (in the Polychrome Bible), Wellhausen's *Psalms*, &c. These reviews are all well done, with one exception. That is the notice of Wellhausen's *Psalms*. It has fallen into the hands of the contributor, as we infer from the signature, who gives us the paper on the *Brothers of Sincerity* referred to above, and it is another instance of the wisdom of abiding by the precept *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. It is a curiosity. Mr Davidson seems to take Wellhausen for a mere tiro, whose treatment of such a Psalm as the 110th is a "distinct failure," which "could easily be improved." He expresses his regret that the Book of Psalms was not assigned to Dr Cheyne rather. It is all very funny, and must greatly amuse Dr Cheyne himself and anyone who knows anything of the matter. This, however, is but little. The notice winds up with a grand burst against the "inert Christian world sunk in dull orthodox lethargy." What is there that is not to be done for us by that respectable publication, the Polychrome Bible? Its work is to be little short of miraculous. It is to conquer a "conspiracy of silence to keep its truths locked from those who most need them." It has to cope with "thousands of pulpits" in which the old views of the Bible will "long be unctuously proclaimed." But it will do all that, and much more. It is to be the end of "all supernatural authority and prophetic glamour," so far as the Bible is concerned. With the Polychrome at last "the truth is out, and the death of supernaturalism and the triumph of science are only questions of time." This is not criticism, but screaming. Where has Mr Davidson been living? Has the editor been on holiday or perchance nodding? How does tall talk of this kind find a place in a Journal of Ethics?

Among other elaborate papers in the July number of *The American Journal of Psychology* we notice in particular one by Dr J. O. Quantz of the Clark University, which bears the somewhat strange title of *Dendro-Psychoses*. Its object is to make a contribution to the study of the relations between mind and its environment on the side of the influence of trees on the life of man. It looks at the questions why trees have played such an "enormous



part in the emotional and spiritual life of the race"; why primitive peoples continue to worship them, and believe them to be "powerful spirits or the abodes of spirits, which rule the destinies of men"; why the "shrines of early religions have been consecrated groves"; why the "groves of God's first temples" and the Garden of Eden were "plantations of trees," &c. The paper is full of curious information, and is not wanting also in curious reasoning.

The Journal known as the *Annales de Bibliographie Théologique*, now in its sixth year, continues to fulfil its function well. In the August number will be found some very careful reviews, e.g., of Ménégos's *Étude sur la Doctrine de la Trinité*, by P. Lobstein; of Frommell's *Le Danger de l'évolutionisme religieux*, by L. Randon; of Müller's *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jésus*, by M. Malzac, &c.

Among the more notable papers in the *Theologische Rundschau* we may mention those on Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Kühl), and Nitzsch's *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik* (Titius).

In the August number of *The Expository Times*, Professor Ramsay gives some brief, but suggestive *Notes on the 'Acta' of Martyrs*. In the September number there is a careful appreciation of Professor Driver and his contributions to Old Testament study by the Rev. G. A. Cooke, B.D. These two numbers are also enriched by a couple of papers entitled *Faith and Revelation*, in which the Rev. W. Morgan gives a scholarly statement and critical estimate of the fundamental principles of the Ritschlian theology—papers well worth reading.

Among other articles in recent numbers of the *Expositor* we may refer specially to the Rev. G. Wauchope Stewart's examination of the views of Harnack, Spitta, and Jülicher on the Lord's Supper (July, August); and an interesting paper by Professor Rendel Harris which he calls a *Study in Letter-Writing*, and in which from the ordinary structure of Greek letters as represented in the recent finds of papyri he draws certain conclusions, in some cases perhaps too strongly put, affecting the criticism and interpretation of the Pauline Epistles. The most valuable papers, however, in the last three numbers are those in which Professor Ramsay continues his *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*. They are full of interesting points, and at each new step in his exposition he finds something to strengthen his advocacy of the South Galatian theory. Even those who have been most doubtful of it will have to admit that he makes it more and more probable. In this respect his section on "Galatia the Province," in the August number is of particular interest.

In the July number of *The Presbyterian and Reformd Review* there is an incisive criticism by Professor Samuel T. Lowrie of

Professor Zahn's views on the history of Sunday in the Ancient Church. Dr Geerhardus Vos contributes a scholarly paper, conservative in tone, of the recent criticism of *Isaiah*. Professor De Witt writes ably on the "Place of the Westminster Assembly in Modern History," and claims for the Westminster theology an influence not only potent and salutary for the past but capable of great things for the future. John of Barneveldt is again brought under our notice by Professor Dosker in a very able and searching paper. The New Bible Dictionary and a multitude of other books, large and small, are reviewed with great care and conscientiousness.

We have to notice a suggestive and well-written discourse on the relation of the study of Comparative Religion to religious faith by an expert in that important branch of inquiry, Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye of Amsterdam; <sup>1</sup> reprints of two good articles by Dr J. Ritchie Smith of Peekskill, New York, originally published in the *Presbyterian Quarterly*, <sup>2</sup> bringing out the harmony of the Johannine doctrine of judgment with that of the New Testament generally, and exhibiting the contribution made by the two smaller Epistles ascribed to St John to our knowledge of the life of the primitive Church, &c.; a German translation, executed with care and issued as "authorised," of Sabatier's *Esquisse* by Dr August Baur, Dekan in Weinberg; <sup>3</sup> a translation, done with admirable skill and most acceptable, of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11, <sup>4</sup> one of the happy discoveries of recent date, and of far-reaching importance for the light which it sheds on the kind of Hebrew that would have been written in Palestine about 200 B.C.; a small volume of Sermons on *The Messages of the Seven Churches of Asia*, <sup>5</sup> brief, pointed, unpretentious and well written; a new

<sup>1</sup> Die vergleichende Religionsforschung und der religiöse Glaube. Vortrag gehalten auf dem ersten religionswissenschaftlichen Kongresse in Stockholm. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The Doctrine of Judgment in the Fourth Gospel. 8vo, pp. 20. The Second and Third Epistles of John. 8vo, pp. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Religionsphilosophie auf psychologischer und geschichtlicher Grundlage, von Dr theol. August Sabatier. Autorisierte deutsche Uebersetzung. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xx. 326. Price, M. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Translated from the original Hebrew and arranged in parallel columns with the English Revised Version of 1895. By A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A., the editors of the Hebrew Text. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 65. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> A Course of Six Sermons preached in Lent, 1898, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Taunton. By G. O. L. Thomson, M.A. London: Longmans, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 53. Price, 2s.

and revised edition of Dr James Stalker's *The Life of Christ*,<sup>1</sup> a book which has enjoyed a very large circulation, and which possesses qualities of style and treatment well entitling it to that; a *Summary of the Psalms*<sup>2</sup> by David Dale Stewart, M.A., Hon. Canon of Rochester, written with the view of bringing out the fulness of the truth which the Psalter contains concerning Christ, His coming Kingdom, and the characteristics of genuine Christians, giving very brief explanations, conservative in tendency and practical in tone, of each Psalm, and pithy quotations from writers of different schools and churches; an interesting tale, healthy in tone and lively in style, *By Strange Paths*;<sup>3</sup> *The Nourished Life*,<sup>4</sup> a series of *homilies*, as the author appropriately terms them, on Hosea xiv. 5, 6, 7; vivid in style, and saying many good and profitable things on such subjects as Spiritual Beauty, Strength, Progress, Fragrance, Restoration, &c.; *The Sabbath and the Christian*,<sup>5</sup> a concise and pointed statement, well worth reading; *The Vision of the Cross*,<sup>6</sup> a tasteful booklet, devout in tone and pleasingly written, intended to show how Christ's yoke becomes easy; the first part of the seventeenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's invaluable *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>7</sup> containing a full account of the exegetical literature for the period; a rhythmical version of the *Book of Job*,<sup>8</sup> on which great care has been spent, prefaced by some very readable Introductory Notes; *Christ and Antichrist*,<sup>9</sup> a farewell sermon preached by the Rev. Dr Charles H. Wright, in connexion with the closing services in the old Church of St John's, Liverpool, in which the various passages in the New Testament that speak of Antichrist are considered, and the views of critics like W. Bousset are examined; the third edition of a volume of *Sermons on Prayer*,<sup>10</sup> by Samuel Bentley, M.A., Rector of Newent, dealing in a simple, earnest, and practical way with the nature and the duty of prayer, hindrances and helps

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 155.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 140.

<sup>3</sup> By Fannie E. Newberry, author of *Not for Profit*, &c. London: Melrose, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 304. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> By Rev. E. Aubrey, Glasgow. London: Stockwell, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> By Rev. R. J. Drummond, B.D. Edinburgh: James Arnot. Cr. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 3d.

<sup>6</sup> By Stanley Hope. London: Stockwell & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 46. Price, 6d.

<sup>7</sup> Erste Abtheilung, bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. Berlin und Braunschweig: Schwetschke. 8vo, pp. 174. Price, 6s.

<sup>8</sup> The Man who feared God for Nought. By Otis Cary. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxix. 84.

<sup>9</sup> London: Kensit. Cr. 8vo, pp. 34. Price, 3d.

<sup>10</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 91.

to prayer, &c. ; a vigorous and seasonable pamphlet on *The Priesthood of the New Covenant*,<sup>1</sup> dealing with the Scripture idea of the 'Priest,' criticising Sacerdotal theories, testing Sacerdotal claims, and bringing out very definitely the difference between the 'priest' and the Christian minister.

The fourth volume of the English translation of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*<sup>2</sup> is to hand. It is the work of two translators, Mr Millar being now joined by Dr Speira. The four volumes of the English represent two volumes of the original, but the German volumes are large. This fourth volume of the translation begins with the seventh chapter of vol. ii. of the German. The third volume of the original, we are informed, will occupy three volumes of the translation.

We are glad to have this further instalment of the translation of a great book. It takes us over the period from the beginnings of the Arian Controversy on to the Synods of 754, 787, and 842. It deals with questions of vital importance for the whole history of the Church, and with men and movements of the first magnitude. The Christological and Trinitarian Controversies, the great Creeds and Councils, the controversies about images, the worship of saints, relics, and pictures, the figures of Athanasius, Constantine, Theodosius, the Damascene—these are but some of the subjects of this volume. They are of permanent interest, and one can follow Harnack's discussion of them easily and pleasantly in this translation, which reads smoothly and seems to be generally correct.

There are many things within the period covered by this volume on which one is glad to get the judgment of a scholar of Harnack's eminence. He has nothing very novel to say on the question of the origin and reception of the so-called Athanasian Creed. He accepts the view that the first half of it is most probably a "Gallican Rule of Faith explanatory of the Creed of Nicaea," which came into use as a course of instruction for the clergy. The relatively most probable view of its further history, which is admittedly obscure, he takes to be this—that it took its technical form in the sixth century in Southern Gaul, and got into the decisions of single councils "from the psalm books and the breviaries of the monks and clergy," and gradually came to be the "Confession of the Frankish Church in the eighth and ninth centuries." The origin of the second half he

<sup>1</sup> By Werner H. K. Soames, M.A., of St George's, Greenwich. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 67.

<sup>2</sup> History of Dogma. By Adolf Harnack, Ordinary Prof. of Church History in the University, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Science, Berlin. Translated from the Third German Edition by E. B. Speira, D.D., and James Millar, B.D. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xi. 353. Price, 10s. 6d.

acknowledges to be still "wrapt in obscurity." All he will say is that it was perhaps added at the time when the first half rose to the status of a Frankish Confession. The Church of the Franks communicated the creed to the Western Church during the period from the ninth century to the eleventh, and Rome "adopted as a second Creed the Gallico-Frankish statement of the Augustinian doctrine of the Trinity." His judgment of this formulary is severe. "In the Athanasian Creed as a Creed," he says, "we have the transformation of the Doctrine of the Trinity as an article of Faith to be inwardly appropriated, into an ecclesiastical legal statute on the observance of which salvation depends."

With regard to the Nicene Creed, too, in its time of triumph, his judgment is almost equally severe. Its victory was, he holds, essentially the victory of the priests over the faith of the Christian people. It familiarised men with the idea that Christianity is the "revelation of something incomprehensible." And in strong terms he states what this means. "This thought," he says, "has for its obverse side the adoration of the mystery, and for its reverse side indifference and subjection to mystagogues." The people had small consideration given them. What they had to do was simply and unquestionably to believe the Faith. The result was that "they did not live in this Faith, but in that Christianity of the second rank which is represented in the legends of the saints, in apocalypses, in image-worship, in the veneration of angels and martyrs, in crosses and amulets, in the Mass regarded as magical worship, and in Sacramental observances of all sorts."

The injury done to the State itself by the success of the policy by which Theodosius sought to secure the unity of the Church by repressive measures, is also powerfully exhibited. There is an admirable estimate of John of Damascus, with a statement of what he did for the Eastern Church in its doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and of the reasons for his remaining the *classical* theologian of that Communion. And among many other things deserving notice we may refer to the position assigned to Athanasius. Himself no "theologian" in the technical sense of the term, he had the instinct or the genius to grasp the cardinal significance of the thought of Christ's essential unity with God. By giving this the central place, he found a new basis for theology, and was a chief agent in delivering Christianity from the disruption which threatened it at the beginning of the fourth century. "Constantine on the one hand, and Athanasius on the other, saved Christendom."

Professor Harnack has to pronounce on a multitude of questions historical, critical, or doctrinal, and he is seldom slack in giving his verdict. It is impossible for any single human mind to go into all the numberless questions which are answered in Professor Harnack's

various writings, with the uniform patience and exhaustiveness which give confidence. In the present volume, as in others, we have some large generalisations and some sweeping judgments which are open to question, and of which it must at least be said that the grounds for them are not apparent. Here, for example, is the case of Leo the Isaurian. Everyone knows how discordant the estimates are that have been formed of this strong Emperor by our most competent historians. He is not a figure that can well be disposed of by the sweep of one's hand. His character, his policy, the place that is to be assigned him in secular and in ecclesiastical history, are involved in the Iconoclastic troubles with which this volume is concerned. We should expect him to receive distinct and deliberate consideration in the story of these troubles. But we do not find it. What we have is something different, and it is inadequate. A few pages are given to Leo and to the events in which he took part. But they are insufficient. He is simply slumped with other iconoclastic Emperors, and included in a general, indiscriminating judgment delivered on them as a class. The aim of the iconoclastic Emperors was, says Professor Harnack, perhaps justly enough, to "reduce the Church to a complete subjection to the State, to make it a department of the State." He thinks they were bent on deciding what was Christian and how the cultus was to be framed, and that in doing so they were "aided by the fact that it could be shown without any difficulty, that the worship of images was something relatively novel and alien." That may be so, although others take a higher view of the motives and ideas at least of Leo. But then Professor Harnack goes on to characterise these sovereigns thus: "They themselves were violent and rude barbarians, military upstarts, who depended on the sword. They had abandoned the idea of the Church as the chief support of the Empire: it was to be the chief servant. Instead of priests they had soldiers. They merely wished that the Church should not give trouble, and that it should be possible in any given case to make whatever use of it the State might require." A swift and absolute judgment indeed, and one for which, in the case of the Isaurian at any rate, one should be glad to see the grounds. Professor Harnack may have his reasons, but they are not indicated even in the briefest way here.

Dr Albert S. Cook, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University, has done a large and difficult piece of work in his *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*.<sup>1</sup> It is appropriately dedicated to Dr James A. H. Murray of Oxford, whose "New English Dictionary," it declares, "will be one of the glories of England, and is the admiration of her children beyond

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. lxxx. 330. Price, 17s. net.

the seas." The quotations are accompanied by the Vulgate and other old Latin originals, and the use of the book is made easy by an index of passages and another of principal words. There is also an elaborate and scholarly introduction, in which many questions of interest are touched. The great feature of this part of the work is the survey which it gives of the relations in which the Biblical extracts stand to the versions. The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries are taken in turn, and a full statement is provided of the Prose and Poetical Translations which fall within each of these periods. This has never been done before. Anything that we possess as a help in this matter is of very small value. A great service, therefore, has been done, both for the student of English literature and for the Biblical scholar, by the preparation of this complete, minute, and exact chronicle. It represents a great amount of labour, and it conveys much valuable and interesting matter.

This conspectus begins with Caedmon and Aldhelm, and carries us on to the Poetical part of the Paris Psalter, and the poem *Judith* which follows the *Beowulf* in the Cotton MS. in the British Museum known as Vitellius A. 15.

In using his authorities Dr Cook follows the best printed texts. For Ælfric he uses Thorpe's edition of the *Homilies*; for Alfred's *Laws*, Schmid's second edition; for Alfred's Version of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Swete; for his Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Miller; and for his Version of Orosius's *History*, Swete. He makes no attempt to play the part of critic of the text beyond taking some liberty in matters of punctuation, capitals, the marking of quantity and the like.

The book is full of interesting matter. There is, for example, a careful examination of the question regarding the authorship of the Paris Psalter, and it is shown that there is no ground for attributing the book to Aldhelm. The assertion that Guthlac, the Saxon hermit who died in 714, translated the Psalter, is proved to be equally baseless, although it is repeated in the latest encyclopedias. The account which is given of this matter by Mombert in his *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible* is severely criticised. On it Dr Cook delivers himself thus—"The two independent versions by Aldhelm and Guthlac respectively, both mythical, have now become a joint work of the two authors, and this is identified with the Vespasian Psalter which is not a translation, but a mere gloss!" There is an excellent statement, again, on the important Northumbrian Gloss on the Gospels, which is contained in the splendid manuscript known as the "Durham Book," the "Lindisfarne Gospels," or the "Book of St Cuthbert." The Aldred, whose work this Gloss is, and who is in no case to be confounded with Aldred the Provost, is regarded

by our author as possibly, though not certainly, the Bishop of Durham of that name, whose date is 957-68. The Rushworth Version of the Gospels, made by Farman and Owun, and probably of the tenth century, is also dealt with at some length. The same is the case with the poem *Judith* mentioned above, which has been assigned to singularly different dates. Dr Cook is of opinion that it may be regarded as settled that this poem was composed between 800 and 937; but he thinks we have no means of deciding whether it was "in Wessex or Mercia, whether in 856 or 918, whether to celebrate the stepmother of King Alfred or his daughter, Queen Judith or Queen Æthelflaed." Special attention is given to Ælfric, "the foremost representative of Old English culture in the tenth and early eleventh century." A summary of Dietrich's views is given, and the main points in Ælfric's career, so far as they can be determined, are stated. These are but a few of the many things of interest which are brought under our notice in this able work.

Professor Driver has found time among his many and absorbing engagements to prepare a volume on the English Psalter.<sup>1</sup> Its title, *The Parallel Psalter*, so far indicates its scope and purpose. It is intended to promote the study of the Psalms on the part of the English reader and to be a help to the comprehension of them. It takes the Prayer Book version and places over against it, on the opposite page, a new version giving a more accurate representation of the Hebrew. This version is by his own hand, and aims at precision rather than literary excellence. Thus English readers have the advantage of retaining the version with which their ear is so familiar, and which has rare literary merit, and of reading alongside of it another rendering which will explain it and correct it in those matters in which it is confessedly faulty. It is a happy idea, and it is carried out with undoubted success. The volume is also furnished with an admirable introduction, and glossaries of noteworthy expressions and archaisms. It will be gratefully received by many devout readers.

## Record of Select Literature.

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xliv. 486. Price, 6s.



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